I do swear, That the several Weekly Accounts, now by me delivered, of the Duties arising upon Horses, which I have let for the purpose of Travelling Post, or otherwise, from the Day of to the Day of as far as the same have been entered and kept by me are fair, just and true Accounts; and that I have charged therein the Duty for the exact Number of Miles, received for the Use of Horses, from the Travellers who have hired Horses from me; and that I have inserted herein an Account of all the Days I let Notes and Certificates issued by me; and, as far as such Accounts have been entered and kept by any other Person or Persons, I verily believe the same to be true.

So help me GOD.

Sworn before me this Day of 180

Collector.

The Sitting for the Payment of this Account is intended to be between the Hours of and in the of the Day of 180 at

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THE

MODERN

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

CONTINUED

FROM THE

Commencement of Hostilities in the Year

1803.

FORMING A COMPLETE

HISTORICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL, AND LITERARY

Chronicle of Modern Times.

By GEORGE COURTNEY LYTTLETON, Esq.

EMBELLISHED WITH

BEAUTIFUL ENGRAVINGS.

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1804.

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1804

To

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

George Augustus Frederick

Prince of Wales

Duke of Cornwall, Earl of Chester, &c. &c.

The PATRON of the ARTS and SCIENCES.

The Promoter of Literature & polished manners.

And the well founded Hope

Of A Great and Free Nation.

THIS HISTORY

Of the present eventful Period,

Is humbly Dedicated.

Suffield sculp. 21 Leigh Street.

The History of England, at such an important period, must be a desideratum for every class of persons in so vast a community as the British empire. Those in the most exalted sphere of life to the humblest classes of Britons who boast of freedom for their prerogative, are all concerned in the welfare of their country; every medium therefore which conveys information and instruction must claim its due consequence in the breasts of the liberal, the loyal, and the patriotic.

Urged equally by such considerations, the Author assures his readers that nothing offensive to the mind, nothing inconsistent with moderate sentiment shall be introduced in this work; but the arrangement shall be as correct as possible; the facts shall be fairly and equitably stated; and the character and conduct of the contending powers candidly discussed and analyzed: so that the work will form a body of authentic record necessary to illustrate the occurrences of modern times; at the same time that the narrative shall entertain, improve, and gratify the tenacious enquirer, or the superficial observer.

THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

From the Commencement of Hoſtilities in the Year 1803.

INTRODUCTION.

Preliminary Obſervations on the probable Motives for recommencing Hoſtilities with France.—Ambitious Views of the Firſt Conſul.—His inſincere Conduct.—Comparative View of the Commercial Intereſts of Great Britain and France.—Happineſs to both Nations had the Peace continued.—Concluſion drawn that the Conduct of the growing Power of France is hoſtile to the Proſperity of this Country.

IF it were poſſible that hiſtorians could tranſmit to poſterity the ſecret intrigues of courts and cabinets, and explore the true motives of human actions, hiſtory would be more valuable, as it would then diſplay a more exact picture of the human mind, and develope more fully the ſecret cauſes of great events; as, however, authentic information concerning things which are tranſacted in ſecret, is not ſo eaſily obtained, the utmoſt that can be done by the hiſtorian, is to detail the facts which paſs his obſervation with fidelity and accuracy; ever conſidering with the late Dr. Johnſon, "that all the colouring of hiſtory is mere conjecture."

We concluded our third volume with a deduction of miſeries attendant on a recommencement of hoſtilities, and a hope that the bleſſings of pacific negociation would ſuperſede military exertions, productive only of extraordinary viciſſitudes, the commencement and termination of which are equally obnoxious to the happineſs of mankind.

The reſtleſs policy and ambitious projects of the French republic, under the raſh influence of the firſt conſul, having precluded the hope which was thus cheriſhed, the page of hiſtory muſt again be diſfigured by the relation of events, inconſiſtent with univerſal benevolence; and the actions of heroes recited, who have obtained laurels gathered from the ſoil which muſt again be moiſtened by the tears of the widow and the orphan.

The republic of France having excited the aſtoniſhment of Europe by her unprecedented exertions, no ſtate was able to withſtand the increaſing prevalence of her revolutionary principles, except the Britiſh government. Great Britain alone, deſerted by the allies ſhe had liberally ſubſidized, ſurrounded by hoſtile or faithleſs neighbours, internally perplexed by diſaffection and revolt, and attacked by her enemies to the baſis of her mercantile credit; at this momentous criſis, exhibited herſelf the bulwark of Europe,—the defender and ſupporter of the true and eſſential rights of mankind. Such an opponent was too conſiderable not to excite the utmoſt rancour of the chief conſul; a check was put to his aſpiring ambition, and he vowed vengeance againſt the nation who had the virtue and the power to reſiſt his tremendous efforts.

The French government formed at this period the moſt odious military deſpotiſm that ever exiſted; and the autocrat who had aſſumed abſolute power under the ſpecious name of firſt conſul, conſidered that by depriving ſo potent a rival as Great Britain of her political exiſtence, the independence of Europe, which ſhe had ſo ably and vigorouſly ſuſtained, muſt conſequently be deſtroyed, and he would ſucceed in forming an univerſal deſpotiſm; by ſuch means eſtabliſhing a plauſible reputation, inſtead of falling a ſacrifice to the juſt reſentment of the people, whom he had duped, diſhonoured, and enſlaved.

Bonaparte, by extorting the conſulſhip for life, and appointing a ſucceſſor, had rendered himſelf odious to thoſe Frenchmen who were ſtill independent; his hope, therefore, was on the military; to keep the army ſteady to his intereſt, it was neceſſary to hold out a golden bait; another war with Great Britain, rich as ſhe was in ſpecie, merchandize, and internal cultivation, preſented temptations too ſanguine not to be adopted; after the converſation, if ſo it may called, that took place between our ambaſſador and the firſt conſul was known, nothing reſounded in the ears of the French, but the

invaſion of England,—a deſperate and ſudden attack,—not to conquer, but to deſolate, as far as the army, after its landing, could penetrate.

Contrary to the views which firſt ſuggeſted themſelves to the enemy, of diſaffection, want of diſcipline, or indifference for mutual preſervation in the ſubjects of the Britiſh iſles; the former ſoon found that the Defenders of Europe, were perfectly capable of being the defenders of their own ſhores; like Leonidas and his ſmall band of heroes, they were determined to defend the paſs to their country againſt a hoſt of armed and diſciplined robbers and murderers; and protect, by their native bravery, the freedom, the honour, the laws, the morality of themſelves, of Europe, and of mankind.

The ſituation of France at this time, is worthy of obſervation; a late author who is ſaid to have been a witneſs of what he deſcribes, tells us, "no matter who commands there, nor what denomination the government may aſſume; it is a nation poſſeſſing immenſe national ſources of wealth, power, and political influence.

"Situated as France is, under an excellent climate, and with an arable, eaſily worked ſoil, agriculture muſt always be the ſtaple branch of her national induſtry, and the principal ſource from whence ſhe muſt draw her political influence and military power."

It has been ſtated, that, "under the monarchy, the rental and raw produce of the ſoil was charged with about twenty millions ſterling, and that upwards of 300,000 men were employed in collecting the revenue; ſo that with other contingencies, the rental and produce of the territories of Old France, were charged with forty-two millions ſterling; or with two-fifths more annually than thirty millions, would be upon the preſent extent and population of the republic.

"Suppoſing then that agriculture in France is ſtill left to individual enterprize, it appears from calculation, the particulars of which have been very fairly eſtimated, that in the ſpace of a few years peace, France may draw a ſecure, permanent, and growing revenue of thirty millions ſterling, and upwards, from the ſoil of the territory of the republic! and that not only without adding to the former burthens of the cultivation, or creating any new inconvenience to the public, but even after reducing their taxes by two-ſevenths of what was paid under the old ſyſtems.

"As to her *manufactures*, the republic of France has decided advantages over the monarchy, for the revolution has deſtroyed that baneful prejudice which excluded manufacturers, mechanics, and merchants, from what was conſidered as genteel ſociety; it has annihilated the public debt, and the circulating capital is chiefly in ſpecie and wares, labour is low, and the other ſtates of continental Europe can get no manufactures in competition with that of France.

"As to the *military force* of France, it appears to be equal to the military force of the reſt of Europe, Ruſſia excepted; the peace of Nimeguen made the dominions of Louis XIV. the moſt compact and populous kingdom in Europe: that of Utrecht extended them to Spain and the Indies, and a natural conſequence was the conſolidation of the military preponderance of the monarchy.

"Her *colonies* and *ſettlements* abroad are conſidered as a ſource of revenue or a nurſery for ſailors, but to the conſulate, theſe foreign ſettlements are of high importance.

"The *fiſheries* and *trade* of the republic in her preſent ſituation, or in peaceable times, will employ and maintain 120,000 able ſeamen; the foreign poſſeſſions choſen by her rulers, having no boundaries, ſhe may extend her ſettlements, and augment their produce, we may ſay, to infinity; and by managing other powers with a pacific prudence, ſhe may double the number of her ſailors, and ſecure a dominion on the ocean, before any of her neighbours be aware of her deſign. Commanding the powers, the ports and arſenals of Spain, Italy, and Turkey, France may very ſoon poſſeſs the abſolute ſovereignty of the Mediterranean; with the Rhine, ſhe has the foreſts of Germany for the uſe of her dock yards; with Holland ſhe acquires an extent of coaſt and a chain of ſea-ports, which may enable her to raiſe a numerous navy in a few years.

"In this ſituation of the country it appears, that the plan of the chief conſul was to manage the court of Peterſburgh, until he could tie down the Britiſh government to paſſive inactivity *."

It had ever been the leading policy of France to reduce the power and political influence of Great Britain; and now that ſhe had acquired more ſtrength, her inclination was doubly prompted to effect what her rulers had always moſt at heart; but,

"At no period of the war was the ſituation of France ſo critical, as juſt when the preliminaries were ſigned. To have loſt the battle of Marengo, might have loſt the progreſs of the campaign, but the conſequence would have been nothing more. At the juncture we refer to, the exiſtence of the republic, the deſtiny of France, hung upon the will of an irritated and all powerful enemy. The Britiſh navy was completely miſtreſs of the ocean, of the Gulph of Mexico, the Baltic, Mediterranean, and Indian ſeas, from the Point of Florida to Cape Horn, and from Madagaſcar to Japan, every iſland, port, and place, were under our command, and at our diſpoſal; as were alſo the continent of Africa, Egypt,

* Though this account ſeems overcharged, we adopt it as the moſt recent ſtatement of the revenue, population, &c. of France, and merely for the ſake of affording every poſſible elucidation. *Sketches of the Strength and Force of France and Ruſſia. Aikin's Annual Review*, vol. ii. p. 310. *et ſeq.*

Syria,

Syria, Natolia, Cyprus, Candia, the Morea and Grecian iſlands, Malta, Sicily and Liſbon. No nation ever ſtood in ſuch a poſture; a frank declaration to the world, and a liberal propoſition to the court of Peterſburgh and to the United States, would have inſtantaneouſly rallied all the ſovereigns of Europe and America (the king of Spain not excepted) around the Britiſh ſtandard. Then we might have conſolidated our maritime empire; every ſtate that bordered on the ſea would have become our natural ally, and all civilized nations our cordial and conſtant friends. And France, republic or monarchy, no matter which, might have been finally remanded within the limits of her own legal dominions. Theſe Bonaparte ſaw, and by an addreſs, (or perhaps from our want of addreſs) he ſnatched away the fruit of all our toils, by cajoling us into an inſincere peace. Poſſeſſed of no ordinary degree of talent, ſpirit, or perſeverance, no doubt can be entertained, that the firſt conſul was ſolicitous to reduce the ſtrength, and particularly the naval power, of Great Britain; to effect which, his purpoſe was to turn the very means which we poſſeſſed in having interwoven the intereſts of Europe and America with our own, now to unite againſt thoſe kingdoms. Under ſuch conſiderations the treaty of Amiens is deprecated, and the acceſſion to its diſgraceful terms are ſincerely lamented *."

Let us enquire into the relative ſtate of Great Britain and France, during this period. It is certain that the intereſts of the one do not in the leaſt interfere with thoſe of the other, upon theſe grounds, that the commercial intereſts of Great Britain and France are at very great variance, notwithſtanding the vicinity of the two countries, the former conſiſting of a great trading, the latter of a vaſt agricultural, community; each had manufactures, but ſuch as did not interfere with thoſe of its neighbour. Their latitude preſcribed the natural limits of the genius, character, and induſtry of the inhabitants of each country. The vintage of France would have afforded a uſeful counterpoiſe to the natural productions of the Britiſh dominions, whilſt in return the coarſer and more ſubſtantial articles of the manufacture of Britiſh ſubjects might have been ſupplied to thoſe of France. In ſuch a commerce there could not ariſe a motive for jealouſy; it would have been the moſt juſt policy that ought to exiſt in both governments to cultivate ſuch friendly diſpoſitions; but the terms of peace which had been conſtructed without cordiality on the part of the French cabinet, were ſoon incroached upon, and they indicated ſuch jealous motives in their conduct, bordering on hoſtility, as very ſoon gave ſufficient reaſons to conclude, that the deſirable influence of attraction on which each country ought to have acted was, far from being ſecure, or of long continuance.

On the part of Great Britain, there is reaſon to believe ſhe had not any indiſpoſition to the negociation of a free and liberal treaty of commerce. Why it was not deſired by the French government, can only be aſcribed to one of two motives, ignorance or perfidy. The firſt conſul either doubted his capacity to treat upon equal terms, or he harboured deſigns inconſiſtent with the proſperity of England, which time has very amply developed and verified.

The French writers throughout the laſt war, from the commencement of the preſent, and even in the interval of a falſe and hoſtile peace, have preſumed, with an arrogance peculiar to themſelves, to compare France with ancient Rome, and Great Britain with Carthage. Let the ſentiments of one of the moſt enlightened prelates in this age, ſilence their falſe and unjuſt compariſons.

"It has been ſaid of *Carthage*—that all her citizens were merchants, mindful of nothing but of the acquiſition of wealth:—and it has been ſaid of *Rome*—that all her citizens were ſoldiers, mindful of nothing but of the acquiſition of military glory.—The iſſue of our preſent ſtruggle will, I truſt, teach all future hiſtorians to ſay of Britain, that ſhe united characters hitherto eſteemed diſcordant, and incompatible, and combined for her defence the ſtrength of Carthage and of Rome—that her ſoldiers were merchants and her merchants were ſoldiers. Had Carthage been, after the ſecond Punic war, what Great Britain now is, the exclamation of *Cato* (which our *modern Catos*, forſooth, have ſo vociferouſly adopted) the—*delenda eſt Carthago*—would have been conſidered by the Roman ſenate as an impudent gaſconade, unworthy of its attention.

"Let our enemies mark the difference between Great Britain and Carthage, to ſay nothing of that between Rome and France. We are not defended, as Carthage was, by mercenaries, ſeldom faithful, always unintereſted in the event of war, and ſparing of their blood.—We are not ſupported, as ſhe was, by tributary ſtates, impatient of our yoke, and watching for an opportunity to throw it off—We are not aſſiſted, as ſhe was, by allies, envious of our proſperity, and ſecretly hoping to benefit themſelves by our downfal—better none than ſuch allies!—No! we have no mercenary forces, no tributary ſtates, no alliances; but we have more than an equivalent for them all.—A free conſtitution—the work of ages! the wonder of the world! the wiſh of ſurrounding ſtates! the *Palladium* which our anceſtors have committed to our cuſtody; which, whilſt we poſſeſs it, will render us invincible, and which, whilſt we have life, we have to a man determined to defend †."

* *Sketches of the Strength and Force of France and Ruſſia. Aikin's Annual Review*, vol. ii. p. 315.

† *Biſhop of Llandaff's intended Speech to the Houſe of Lords*, p. 8, 9.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Ill Succeſs of the Ruſſian Mediation.—Striking Picture of the Situation of Great Britain.—State of Politics in Europe at the Concluſion of Peace.—Arrogant Demands of France.—Reaſons why Great Britain acceded to the Treaty.—Determines to aſſert her Rights.—Principal Points by which to judge of the Enemy's Motive for Invaſion.—The hoſtile Meaſures of France directed to Individuals.—Intereſting Details of the Detention of Britiſh Subjects.—Apology of the French Government for this Behaviour.—Attributes its Conduct to the Illiberality of the Britiſh Nation.—The Calumny refuted from hiſtorical Facts.—France ever inimical to Britain, in Commerce, and in Alliance.—Though deteſting the Politics of France, the Engliſh have always been hoſpitable to Individuals.—Concluſive Arguments in Favour of Britiſh Complacency and Generoſity.

THE queſtion of the Ruſſian mediation having been fully diſcuſſed in parliament, and the well founded ſuſpicions, that its operation was only meant as a medium to retard the preparations of Great Britain againſt her inſulting and ambitious neighbour, at the ſame time that it might lull and conſume the vigour and ſpirit of the country at this important criſis, having been fully aſcertained; it became neceſſary to enquire into the poſſibility of ſuch a meaſure producing any good effect, and it was found, that though any mediation which promoted peace upon honourable and equitable terms was ever to be deſired, no good could be gained by the one at this time propoſed.

Great Britain now exhibited a ſtriking picture—ſhe was not contending for a ſmall boundary, the honour of a captured flag, the rights of merchandize, or the ceſſion of a fortreſs; but ſhe exhibited herſelf as the arbitreſs of the honour, ſafety, and privileges of the world, ſtaking her political exiſtence, in defence of the rights which ſhe had ever made it a principle to protect and ſupport. She conſidered that the repoſe and order of Europe, as well as of the other parts of the world, had already been too much convulſed by the exploſion of the French revolution; and ſhe determined again to check the pernicious progreſs of Bonaparte's ambitious projects, to circumſcribe his limits, and, if poſſible, to mark the circle beyond which his raſh aſſurance ſhould not in future dare to paſs. Her temper had been avowedly reaſonable and unaſſuming; ſhe had endured inſults to which ſhe had not hitherto been uſed, but the boundaries of forbearance had been invaded in ſo groſs and unprovoked a manner, that the national ſpirit of Britain was worked by repeated inſult, to exaſperation, and an unexampled zeal and unanimity prevailed, highly creditable both generally as well as individually throughout the kingdom. The trifling cavils of internal party gave way to national pride, national ſecurity, and a conteſt for national exiſtence—" a war of incredible efforts!"

By the Treaty of Amiens, the ſtate of politics in Europe, had aſſumed a new complexion, for by this treaty, the ancient ſyſtem was ſubverted, Auſtria had loſt her counterpoiſe to France, Pruſſia was flattered with hopes of aggrandiſement at the expence of the German empire, whilſt Holland, formerly the ally and bond between Great Britain and her continental connexions, was reduced to be a province of France, by the conqueſt of the Netherlands. The peace therefore was wiſely concluded by the Engliſh, becauſe no better terms could be obtained; and though the terms were humiliating, conſidering the ſuperiority which Great Britain had recently obtained, there does not remain a doubt but ſhe would have kept, as ſhe ever had done, ſtrictly to the engagements into which ſhe had thus ſolemnly entered; but no ſooner had France united the power ſhe had been inſidiouſly raiſing, and her governor found himſelf firmly fixed in his ſeat, " than a boaſt was made of the new ſyſtem given to France, and it was termed good and ſound policy to parcel out the continent agreeably to the caprice of the firſt conſul; the conſent which England had acceded to from neceſſity, was now modeſtly deemed to be her proper conduct, and the maxim ſhe muſt from this time invariably purſue;" whilſt it was at the ſame time inſiſted on by France, " that the intereſt of England with the continental powers had ceaſed upon the treaty of Amiens." This had ever been the aim of the French government under the monarchy, and was thought to be fully accompliſhed under the mandatory dictatorſhip of Bonaparte.—England was now to loſe her accuſtomed rights; ſhe was no longer to occupy the extent of dignity and conſideration which ſhe had hitherto ſo creditably maintained in Europe; her rival France arrogated to herſelf an influence till this time unknown, and in audacious pomp graſped at univerſal dominion, to which the other powers, harraſſed by wars and deſolation, were compelled to ſubmit.

But ſuch neceſſity could not operate to perpetuity; Great Britain had acceded to no treaty by which any continental power ſhould be excluded from

from her compaſſion, or from her concern for its future welfare. Her right of being conſervatrix over the ſafety of the continent was an indiſpenſable office, a ſtrong obligation as far as it concerned the rights of others, and a duty ſhe owed to herſelf paramount to every other conſideration. The declaration, therefore, ſo boldly and ſo oſtentatiouſly made by France, in breach of the good faith ſo ſolemnly given, was a ſhock for which the Britiſh cabinet was not prepared, and acted upon the generality of the people in ſuch a manner as to make deep impreſſions upon the public mind, and they became more agitated by indignation at the marked inſults ſo conſtantly received, as the cabinet appeared indeciſive in its deliberations.

At laſt, urged by repeated affronts, the Britiſh government began to feel what was due to its own political importance, and determined to ſupport that importance by means of the invincible courage of the people, and the natural ſources of the country.

The return of lord Whitworth to England, after a number of ſubterfuges reſorted to by the French miniſtry, decided the option of peace and war.

A few principal points here obtrude themſelves to notice, by which may be judged the progreſſive and unqualified invaſions of the treaty of Amiens. The various offenſive declarations of the firſt conſul ſince October 1802, muſt have given cauſe to ſuſpect that he was not ſincere in his wiſhes; but the forbearance of the Engliſh miniſtry was remarkable—the hoſtile miſſion of Sebaſtiani to Egypt, urged more ſerious alarm; the only meaſures in oppoſition by the Engliſh miniſtry was a reſignation of conqueſts, and mere remonſtrances;—but when the French governor demanded the evacuation of Malta, or an expectation of war, the Britiſh government ſtood firm; and took a review of all the violations of peace—the demand to evacuate Malta fixed it in its reſolution; the meaſure of provocation was full, and the chief conſul's inconſiſtency of conduct plainly evinced his ambitious views.

The hoſtile intentions of the French government was not directed only towards that of Great Britain, but deſcended to private individuals, the viſitors or travellers through the country; Dr. Maclean's account of this tranſaction, deſcribes the ſufferings of the Engliſh in ſo ſtriking a manner, that his own words are the beſt medium of information:

"*In* May 1803, the negociations between the two countries were brought to a cloſe, and the Britiſh ambaſſador, lord Whitworth, left Paris. All the Britiſh ſubjects ought, perhaps, in prudence to have departed at the ſame time. But ſome were detained by buſineſs, and ſome by pleaſure; and none of them dreamt of meeting any impediment to their departure.

"For weeks before lord Whitworh left Paris, all the journals were daily exclaiming: "why do the Engliſh quit France? What are they afraid of? Can they not truſt themſelves to the loyalty of the French government, although their ambaſſador is going away?"—This doctrine was preached with ſuch zeal by the journals, all notoriouſly at the diſpoſition of the government, that it ought of itſelf to have created an alarm; "but I am ſorry and aſhamed to confeſs," continues the Doctor, "that notwithſtanding my thorough conviction of the habitual treachery of the parties, I allowed myſelf, like many others, to be moſt completely deceived." Fortunately, however, a great many of the Engliſh had gone away: and the firſt conſul found himſelf ſo diſappointed in the numbers that remained, that I queſtion much whether, if he had known it, he would have incurred the odium of their detention.

"Be that as it may, on the twenty-ſecond of May, ten days after the departure of lord Whitworth from Paris, appeared the following decree*:

> "All the Engliſh enrolled in the militia between the age of eighteen and ſixty, or who hold commiſſions from his Britannic majeſty, now in France, ſhall be immediately conſtituted priſoners of war, to anſwer for the citizens of the republic, who may have been detained, or made priſoners by the veſſels or ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty, before the declaration of war.
>
> "*Paris, 2d Prairéal, year XI.*
> *22d May*, 1803."

"This decree *nominally* only comprehended perſons holding commiſſions in the army and navy, or capable of being enrolled in the militia; *i. e.* males from eighteen to ſixty years of age; for this was the colouring which the French government wiſhed might be given to it in other countries†. But in reality

* The particulars of this curious decree are as follow:

Art. I. Ordered that every commander of the ſquadrons, or naval diviſions of the republic, captains of the ſhips belonging thereto, and other ſhips of war, do bear down upon thoſe of the king of England, as well as upon all veſſels belonging to his ſubjects, to attack, take, and bring them into the harbours of the republic.

II. Commiſſions ſhall be delivered in courſe, to ſuch of the French privateers as ſhall demand them, and who ſhall obtain them, on condition of conforming for the ſaid armaments in courſe, to the laws and rules now exiſting, or which may hereafter be made.

III. All the Engliſh enrolled in the militia, &c. [as above in the text.]

IV. The miniſters are charged, each whom it may concern, with the execution of this order, which ſhall be inſerted in the bulletin des Lois.

Firſt conſul (Signed) BONAPARTE.
By order of the firſt conſul,
Secretary of ſtate (Signed) H. B. MARET.

† In ſpeaking of the decrees and other contents of the French journals, let me here give a general caution to the reader. I can aſſure him, that he will be much nearer the truth,

reality it was extended to perſons of all deſcriptions, old and young, male and female.

"It was at firſt pretended that women and children were exempted from the meaſure. Againſt this I can only ſtate the evidence of facts. Lady Elgin *, upon applying for a paſſport, was refuſed, and afterwards many other ladies. "I have myſelf ſeen boys of ten and twelve years of age ſent from one public place to another," ſays the Doctor, "and refuſed paſſports, becauſe they had not *written* certificates of their ages. It was the firſt inſtance I ever ſaw of *ocular demonſtration* being thought inſufficient to prove that *an infant is not a boy*, or that *a boy is not a man*. Had the exemption even been general and effective, it would have been of little or no uſe; for wives would not have choſen to leave their huſbands, nor parents to part with their children.

"The priſoners in general were ſent to Fontainebleau, Valenciennes, Milan, Niſmes, Verdun, Challons, and other places. They were allowed a certain range to walk in, upon giving their parole not to go away. In this ſituation, thoſe who had the means of ſubſiſtence were not ill off. But, by being removed from Paris, and the other places of their uſual reſidence, to the general depots, thoſe, who had to derive their means of ſubſiſtence from labour, were reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs, and left to ſtarve, ſome of them with numerous families of children.

"——The execution of this execrable decree was conducted in the moſt looſe and inconſiderate manner. Thoſe were ſent to one depot, who ought to have been ſent to another, as having friends or acquaintance in the latter; thoſe were ſent away from the places of reſidence, who, had there been any rational ſyſtem, would have been allowed to remain, and thoſe were allowed to remain, who would have been ſent away. Every thing depended upon chance, whim, and caprice. There was a total abſence of that polite conſideration, which uſed to diſtinguiſh the French people, even while they were committing acts of injuſtice. Lord Elgin was treated with marked incivility; and a degree of harſhneſs, unprecedented, excepting in the reign of terror, pervaded the whole proceedings. In remoter parts, where the conſtituted authorities think they cannot act too vigorouſly in the ſpirit of their ſuperiors, there was ſtill more ſeverity and leſs conſideration. I cannot help obſerving," continues Dr. Maclean, "that while general Junot was amuſing himſelf, keeping Engliſhmen of diſtinction dancing attendance upon him, from day to day, and from week to week, I have ſeen him receive common ſoldiers with affability, and liſten, not ſimply to comply with, but even to anticipate their wiſhes. This *may* be policy, but it certainly is *not* manners."

"I never met with even a Frenchman, who attempted to juſtify this decree of Bonaparte, upon any other ground than that of retaliation. It is in violence and indecency, in my opinion, ſecond to none, excepting that of Robeſpierre, for giving no quarter to the Engliſh †. The French themſelves only attempt to palliate the enormity of this decree, by alledging, that it is a retaliation for the detention of the ſhips and crews belonging to France, which were ſtopped in England before the declaration of hoſtilities.

"Without entering into the merits or demerits of this practice generally, it is very evident, that the two meaſures as applied to the preſent circumſtances, have no kind of ſimilarity. In England, no falſe expectations of protection were held out, either by the government or the public, to the captains or crews of the ſhips in the Engliſh harbours. They knew or ought to have known, that it is the cuſtom in England (right or wrong is not here the queſtion) as ſoon as the government have determined on war, to lay an embargo, on all veſſels belonging to the enemy in their ports. They ought to have gone away in time. Farther, the detention of ſhips and crews is attended with ſome advantage, in as far as it is a transfer of property, and of the means of warfare ‡.

"The detention of the Engliſh travellers in France, as priſoners of war, is, on the contrary, not only the groſſeſt violation of the laws of nations, and the rights of hoſpitality, that has ever been committed in any country pretending to civilization; but it had the farther peculiarity of having been accompanied or preceded by circumſtances of the vileſt treachery and deceit. The Pariſian journals, which dared not to have done it without the poſitive orders of government, took the greateſt pains to perſuade the Engliſh not to go away, giving them every poſſible encouragement to expect a continuance of hoſpitality and protection. If they had attained

if he conſiders them as the expreſſion of what the French government wiſh ſhould be underſtood in other countries to be their orders or intentions, than if he underſtands them literally as conveying matters of fact.

* Lady of the earl of Elgin, ambaſſador from the Britiſh court at Conſtantinople, who with her lord, though in a diplomatic capacity, was among the priſoners.

† With ſorrow and abhorrence I read, on the Continent, that ſome perſons on this ſide the water had gravely debated the queſtion:—"Whether quarter ſhould not be refuſed to the French in the event of their invading this country?" There are ſome queſtions that do not, in my opinion, admit of a debate; and this is certainly one of them. What! Is there any man exiſting, of a truly Engliſh mind, who can think, that in order to repel all the power of France, or even all the power of Europe, it can be anywiſe neceſſary for us to reſort to ſuch unuſual, barbarous, and diſgraceful means of warfare? All ſuch propoſitions, in my opinion, indicate a poorneſs of ſpirit, and a want of juſt confidence in our ſtrength.

‡ To illuſtrate this particular more clearly, reference muſt be had to the proclamation by the Britiſh court, reſpecting the embargo: inſerted vol. iii. p. 553. note.

their object of inducing the bulk of the Engliſh to ſtay, they would no doubt have afterwards exulted in a trait, of which almoſt any other nation would have been aſhamed, of treachery ſo conſummate. In ſhort, this *unique* decree had no one advantage to the perpetrators to recommend it; and, as is now generally ſuppoſed, would have had no motive or object, but the gratification of private or perſonal reſentments.

"By a late order, all the perſons ſo conſtituted priſoners, who remain in France, have been tranſferred to Verdun and Challons, ſome ſay into the citadels of theſe places. They were obliged to maintain, and to pay half-a-crown a day to each of the dragoons who accompanied them on the journey. Even clerks in counting-houſes have not been ſpared.

"In conſequence of the repreſentations of Mr. Robins, one of the priſoners who, fortunately obtained a paſſport, the Britiſh government humanely ſent two thouſand pounds for the relief of theſe unfortunate people.

"The number of Engliſh travellers detained in France, there is reaſon to believe, never exceeded a thouſand, although the French journals exulted in having entrapped ſix or eight thouſand of them. Among the principal detained were the marquis and marchioneſs of Tweedale, the earl and counteſs of Elgin, the earl of Yarmouth, lord and lady Mountcaſhel and family, ſir John Morſhed, ſir James Crawford, ſir James de Bath, ſir Thomas Clavering, ſir Thomas Wallace, hon. Mr. and Mrs. Anneſley, hon. lieutenant colonel Anneſley, hon. G. Hamilton, ſon of lord Boyne, hon. J. Blaquiere, ſon of lord De Blaquiere, hon. Mr. Eardley, hon. Meſſrs. Henry and Edward Tufton, brothers to the earl of Thanet, captain Leveſon Gower, lieutenants Lambert and Douglas, and other officers of his majeſty's ſhip Shannon*, captain Brenton, hon. Mr. Walpole, Mr. Dacre, and Mr. Cutler, of his majeſty's ſhip Minerva," &c *.

Another inſtance of aggreſſion which occurred during the time when he obtained his paſſport, and was leaving the French territory, is feelingly deſcribed by Dr. Maclean: "During this interval, I was invited to dine with a party of Americans, at the Chartrons (at Bourdeaux). A few minutes before we went to table, a ſcene of a very painful nature took place in the houſe. Two Engliſh captains of ſhips, who had fallen into the hands of the enemy, had concealed themſelves in the garret for ſix weeks, and were in hopes of being able to make their eſcape in ſailors' habits, on board of ſome neutral veſſel. Some *mouchard* (ſpy) had now informed againſt them, and their hopes were in a moment deſtroyed. They were arreſted by officers of the police, and conveyed, with circumſtances of ignominy, to priſon. The landlady was ſeverely reprimanded, and with difficulty eſcaped the ſame fate. She would certainly have been fined or baniſhed, had ſhe not been an American, and had not the agents of the French government, whoſe policy it is to appear to ſhew civility to that of America, thought proper to p[illegible]don her, in compliment to the conſul of that nation, who had the humanity to intercede in her behalf†. What a charmingly compendious ſyſtem of government it is, under which individuals are condemned or pardoned, according to the will and pleaſure of their ſuperiors!

"The unfortunate captains, whoſe names are Conduit and Jones, were dragged to priſon without a farthing of money in their pockets. Upon learning this, captain Marner, and other Americans, very humanely ſet on foot a ſubſcription, and immediately collected from fifteen to twenty guineas, which were conveyed to them in priſon. The gentleman I have juſt mentioned (an Iriſhman by birth) incurred the diſpleaſure of the police for daring to ſhew compaſſion to unfortunate Engliſhmen. But armed with an American paſſport, he laughed at their reſentment‡."

In extenuation for ſuch an act of violence and injuſtice, it was neceſſary that the French government ſhould give ſome colourable apology; which was couched in theſe terms:

"The miniſter for the marine and the colonies, read a diſpatch from the maritime prefect at Breſt, dated this day, (2d Prairial§, year 11, May 22,) announcing that two Engliſh frigates had taken two French merchant veſſels in the bay of Audierne,

* Theſe ſhips were not taken in any engagement by the enemy; they fell a prey to them by having had the misfortune of being vanquiſhed by the elements.

† *Excurſion in France, &c. from the Ceſſation of Hoſtilities in* 1801, *to the* 13*th of December* 1803. By Charles Maclean, M. D. p. 110. *et ſeq.*

‡ *Maclean's Excurſion*, &c. p. 241.

§ As the difference of the notation of time is at preſent very great between the Engliſh and French nations; and as chronological accuracy is deſirable to aſſiſt the reader, the following calendar is inſerted, to aſcertain the dates of ſeveral tranſactions in the courſe of this hiſtory:

THE NEW FRENCH CALENDAR CORRECTED WITH THE ENGLISH.

French.	*Engliſh.*	*French.*	*Engliſh.*
Vendemaire - - First Month.	September 23 to October 22	Pluvioſe - - - Fifth Month.	January 21 to February 19
Brumaire - - - Second Month.	October 23 to November 21	Ventoſe - - - Sixth Month.	February 20 to March 21
Frimaire - - - Third Month.	November 22 to December 21	Germinal - - - Seventh Month.	March 22 to April 21
Nivoſe - - - Fourth Month.	December 22 to January 20	Floreal - - - Eighth Month.	April 21 to May 20

French

erne, without a previous declaration of war, and in manifeſt violation of the right of nations: the diſpatch is as follows:—

"The day before yeſterday, two Engliſh frigates took two veſſels in the bay of Audierne*; one bound for Quimper, for building timber; the other laden with ſalt for Fecamp.

"(Signed) CAFARELLY, Marine Prefect."

Here followed the decree for detention, &c. after which were ſubjoined ſome obſervations by the government, apparently conſiſted in moderate terms, and throwing the onus of ill-uſage on Great Britain.

"The Engliſh Government has then commenced hoſtilities by the ruin of one or two miſerable merchants, who, under the faith of treaties, were ſailing peaceably upon our coaſts. It has committed this hoſtile act without declaring war, without any of the forms preſcribed and agreed on between poliſhed nations, and according to the deteſtible principles of a public right which it has created for itſelf, and which is mere barbarianiſm throughout.

"It is with pain that the government of the republic is compelled, in retaliation, to make priſoners of war all the Engliſh enrolled in *military ſervice*, now on the territories of France.

"In all that is illiberal it will leave to England to ſet the example; but the French people muſt act towards England, as England acts towards France. Europe has too long purſued a different line of conduct, which is the ſpecial cauſe of England having conſtituted a diſtinct public right to which it is at this time ſo thoroughly accuſtomed, that every art of reciprocal juſtice appears to England unjuſt."

Let us examine how far the accuſation of the *deteſtable principles* ſo *boldly* advanced againſt the Government of Great Britain is juſt; and then by a comparative view of the conduct of France in her conqueſts, her treaties, and her alliances, evince the truth or falſehood of ſuch an aſſertion.

French.	*Engliſh.*	
Prairéal - - - Ninth Month.	May to June	21 19
Meſſidor - - - Tenth Month.	June to July	20 19
Thermidor - - Eleventh Month.	July to Auguſt	20 18

French.	*Engliſh.*	
Fructidor - - - Twelfth Month.	Auguſt to September	19 17
Supplementary Days.		
1 Feaſt of Virtue,	September	18
2 Feaſt of Genius - - -		19
3 Feaſt of Work - - -		20
4 Feaſt of Opinion - - -		21
5 Feaſt of Recompence - -		22

Note. The French months conſiſt of only 30 Days each, and every tenth day is a decade or holiday, thus the 10th Vendemaire is the firſt decade; the 20th the ſecond decade; the 30th the third decade, and ſo on through all the other months in the year.

* Audierne is a ſmall ſea-port, agreeably ſituated in a little bay, on the mouth of a rivulet, which comes from Pont le Croix.

† "We have declared ourſelves not to have any glimmering of antipathy againſt the French, conſidered as a nation: on the contrary, we admire them as a wiſe, a judicious, and induſtrious people: their ſtateſmen, the world knows, do not want heads to contrive, or hearts and hands to execute the greateſt deſigns. If they were in general as upright in their negociations with other nations, as they are ſanguine in promoting the intereſt and glory of their own at the expence of or on the ruin of others, their ſtateſmen, would not be leſs admired for their honour, than the nation is for its wiſdom and politeneſs.—But long experience hath convinced the whole world as well as England in particular, that this is not the caſe; for, inſtead of acting upon the ſquare, they act upon the round of chicanery, upon principles that no nation can long maintain friendſhip with them.—In a word, their politicians ſeem to be ſucceſſively trained up in the grand arts of———, and to ſo ſuperlative a degree, that they ſcarce ever fail to outwit or deceive thoſe of all the nations, as might be ſhewn in numberleſs inſtances; but that is not my buſineſs.—All that I aim at, is no more than to excite my countrymen to be as vigilant and zealous in advancing their own commerce and navigation, as the French laws have been to deſtroy them. If, indeed, they can fairly beat us out of the trade of the world by their ſuperior induſtry and ingenuity, not by ſuperior craft and Machiavelian policy, they would deſerve to be our maſters, and we to become their ſervants.

From every document which hiſtoric truth can furniſh it is incontrovertibly proved that in all her conqueſts, Great Britain has ever been equally brave and generous, public faith has never been encroached upon, individual property has always been protected, the native religion of the conquered has been duly attended to, and the matters of conſcience never invaded. In her treaties of commerce, probity, integrity, and a regard to equal rights has been her ſtanding maxim. In peace or in war none but the moſt invidious will accuſe her of being the aggreſſor. She has been the protectreſs of the Liberties of Europe whenever they were invaded, without any material recompence to herſelf, but uſually at the expence of her finance; for it has been found by dear bought experience that dominions upon the continent coſt more to get and keep than they are worth; and nothing but the preſervation of the balance of her power could ever induce Great Britain at any time to intermeddle upon the Continent. Let any one converſant with the world, paſs but a tranſient reflection on the ſtate of mankind through the globe, and he will find, that ſcarcely any thing prevails, but a confederacy of civil, eccleſiaſtical and military power, more eſpecially in France, notwithſtanding the oſtentatious diſplay of the Tree of Liberty, againſt the liberties and properties of the whole human ſpecies, except in the Britiſh Iſles and their dependent dominions.

Having thus far urged the plain obſervation, that Great Britain is equitable in all her undertakings, civil, commercial, and military, we turn our attention to the policy of France; and in as candid and fair a manner as we are able, deduce ſome important facts neceſſary for eſtabliſhing what we are about to aſſert.

We are informed from high commercial authority, that France, ever made it a point to circumvent Great Britain, in her naval conſideration and her trade†.

With

With reſpect to her obſervance of the faith of treaties let her conduct be inveſtigated for the ſpace of a century and a half back and it will appear very evident, that univerſal dominion was always her aim, under every ſpecies of government; and to obtain this, every tie which ought to be held ſacred in national faith has been broken; every treaty incroached upon or fruſtrated; and every declaration made to the world has ever been calculated to cover ſome hoſtile preparation, under the ſpecious names of peace, of ſelf-defence, or of guarding and protecting the religion and liberties of mankind, or rather of thoſe whom ſhe thought it neceſſary to her intereſt or ambitious views to ſubdue. Under the glorious appearance of reſcuing injured weakneſs, ſhe made uſe of the leſs powerful to aſſiſt in cruſhing thoſe who ſeemed moſt able to croſs her deſigns—under the name of liberty, without regard to right or wrong, ſhe has aſſiſted people againſt their ſovereigns and ſovereigns againſt their people—in republics or mixed governments her ſtudy has been to foment diviſions, till their reſpective governments were ſo weak, as not only to loſe their own ſupport, but having rendered themſelves by means of French politics, obnoxious to their neighbours, they could not claim any aſſiſtance in the day of diſtreſs, and therefore became an eaſy prey, as humbled provinces, to aggrandize the criminal ambition of their more crafty promoters to evil *.

Though the Engliſh have had, for upwards of a century,

ſervants.—But this is far from the caſe. Our artiſts and manufacturers, properly encouraged, are a match for any nation whatſoever; nor do our merchants want ſkill and penetration to extend our commerce to the remoteſt parts of the globe, nor our repreſentatives wiſdom and ſagacity to regulate and advance it to the utmoſt, when the true ſtate of any branch of trade is faithfully laid before them for their conſideration.

But let the wiſdom of the Britiſh legiſlature be ever ſo profound, and their zeal in the great cauſe of commerce ever ſo warm; let our ſtateſmen and ambaſſadors be ever ſo ſagacious, yet while this nation ſhall act towards France perfectly conſiſtent with the principles of reaſon, conſiſtent with her treaties and the national faith: while this ſhall be the irreproachable conduct of Great Britain towards France, and all other nations, and a conduct the reverſe hereof is ſhewn towards this kingdom, are we not under theſe circumſtances, whenever this ſhall happen, obliged to be upon our guard in negociating with ſuch nations, that we may not be perfidiouſly tricked out of our commerce and poſſeſſions, which we have been ſo many centuries in raiſing?

That France, in particular, has not for many years acted by this nation as ſhe ought to have done, is apparent enough from what ſhe has done, and what ſhe is ſtill attempting to do, in North America, to the great injury of the Britiſh colonies there. And, for the further injury ſhe had endeavoured to do, and is ſtill attempting to do to our ſugar colonies; for what encroachments alſo ſhe has made upon our trade on the gum coaſt of Africa, and how ſhe uſurped the right of trade at the Britiſh ſettlements of Whydah, and in the river Gambia, and at Anamaboe; and how in conſequence thereof, ſhe has aggrandized her own ſugar colonies at the expence of ours, by ſupplanting us in this capital branch of trade at foreign markets,

If theſe things are candidly and impartially examined into, we conceive it will appear, that no nation has ſuffered ſo much in her commerce, by French policy, as Great Britain: and that this reſtleſs kingdom is ſtill ſteadily purſuing the ſame ſyſtem, which they have been many years governed by. *Poſtlethwayt's Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*, 1757. ART. FRANCE.

* Of this kind were the invaſions of Flanders and Franche Compte in 1677-8 of Holland, Flanders, Franche Compte and Germany from 1672 to the treaty of Nimeguen—But theſe are only faint views of their maſterly politics; for this peace had no ſooner diſarmed the Empire and Spain, and given France ſuch advantages as diſabled thoſe ſtates to oppoſe her, than Louis XIV. rejected with indignity the demand of the places in Germany, which he was enjoined to deliver up by that treaty; and by virtue of the *Chamber of Re-union*, a court erected by his own arbitrary commiſſion, he claimed and ſeized upon, in the time of peace, the garriſons of Luxemburgh and Straſburgh, and other conſiderable diſtricts in Germany.

This open violation of a treaty ſo lately and ſolemnly ſworn to, was too notorious and dangerous to be ſmothered and overlooked. Europe was totally alarmed, and ſeveral potentates met at Augſburgh and entered into a league to defend themſelves againſt France. But the empire being then engaged in a Turkiſh war, and thereby deprived of the means to do herſelf juſtice for the perfidy and encroachments of France, Louis, by a truce which he propoſed, of twenty years, prevailed with the confederates to acquieſce in his uſurpations.

The peace of Ryſwick ſeemed, in ſome degree, to check the progreſs of the French monarch's deſigns: the confederacy was too powerful; and there was no alternative ſo advantageous for him as to ſign that treaty. But neither the guarantees of that peace, nor the exhauſted ſtate of his finances, occaſioned by his chargeable intrigues carried on in all the courts of Europe by Money, Faction, Promiſes and Threats, and by his great armaments by ſea and land, his alliances with Portugal, Savoy, Bavaria, Cologn, the neutral princes, and the expenſive war in Italy, could prevail with him to ſit down under the equitable conditions, which he had ſubſcribed and authenticated upon oath. He was obliged to raiſe money at fifteen per cent. Both public and private credit was ruined in France. Trade and commerce was brought to the loweſt ebb; yet that itch of governing, and the ſucceſs which attended his former conduct in like caſes, made Louis forget his own weakneſs and diſtreſſes, and prompted him to forfeit his Honour, Reputation, and Conſcience, ſo that he might increaſe his uſurpations upon the Spaniſh monarchy; which he then claimed, and reſolved by force of arms to give to his grandſon, the duke of Anjou.

How far he ſucceeded in this ſcheme is fully deſcribed in the annals of that long, expenſive, and bloody war, which, notwithſtanding all thoſe difficulties on the part of France, Louis maintained againſt the united force of the moſt potent nations round about him, till he found an opportunity to manufacture a peace; by which the Spaniſh monarchy, the chief object of the war, was forgot, and given up to the very perſon againſt whoſe claim all Europe had taken up arms, with engagements never to ſheath the ſword till the duke of Anjou ſhould be compelled to deſert from his pretenſions, and to deliver it up to the houſe of Auſtria. By the treaty of Utrecht the houſe of Bourbon obtained the crown of Spain; and Louis was then induced to enter into a treaty, as the only certain means to put an end to a war, which in all probability would have proved fatal to his vaſt deſigns. A treaty at ſuch a criſis was the only meaſure to ſecure him a compenſation for ſo expenſive a war; to deliver him from its dangers, and to place

century, every ſufficient reaſon to deteſt the politics of the French court; yet a real hatred to the French as a nation, has never been harboured but by untutored minds; men of ſenſe and knowledge give them their due in every reſpect, notwithſtanding the preſent declared enmity between the two realms; and let the appeal to the hearts of thouſands of diſtreſſed Frenchmen be anſwered, whether they have not met with extraordinary civilities, and an extenſive benevolence, from the Britiſh government, and Britiſh ſubjects, even inconſiſtently with what is denominated, true patriotiſm, which enjoins a preference of natives to foreigners, even when the latter had no ſuperior excellence to recommend them except the mere calls to humanity, which was indiſcriminately extended to alleviate their ſufferings?

But to the laſting honour of the Britiſh government, as well as of the Britiſh nation, be it added, that notwithſtanding the hard and cruel treatment experienced towards Britiſh ſubjects in France, inconteſtible proofs conſtantly occur, that the well bred part of this country do not naturally hate the French nation. They triumph over their enemies in the virtues of humanity, as much as they have in many great inſtances overcome them in arms; and though the points contended for are objects of the greateſt moment, and of higher importance than any in which Great Britain has hitherto been engaged againſt the arbitrary and crafty deſigns of France, there is leſs native rancour and animoſity on the part of the former, than at any other period—Let the cauſe be aſcertained:—The mild principles of Chriſtianity are better underſtood and more regarded in Great Britain than within the hoſtile regions of revolution, conſpiracy, and infidelity. Theſe only are the *deteſtable principles*, *illiberality* and *barbariſm*, which England has exerciſed againſt her enemies; the page of hiſtory is ever pure—and let the annals of future ages be the faithful records by which poſterity ſhall judge of the undeſerved calumnies of the one, or the decided and well attributed merits of the other!

the duke of Anjou upon the Spaniſh throne, and thereby to leave France in a condition to proſecute her darling deſign of obtaining univerſal empire.

Having nothing to fear, and depending upon the friendſhip of his grandſon upon the throne of Spain, Louis, who had made a peace upon no other terms, than to gain quiet poſſeſſion for Philip the fifth of Spain, and conſidered that treaty as he had done every one before it, to be no longer binding than it might coincide with his intereſt and advantage; ſeeing the Engliſh diſarmed, and leſs able to oppoſe his uſurpations and to puniſh his breach of treaties; laid an immediate ſcheme to drive them out of the North American trade, and to *ſteal* from them the fiſhery of Newfoundland. The antient limits of Acadia, which were ſpecified to be the property of Great Britain, were diſputed and denied; the Britiſh fiſhery in America was injured by French interlopers, and all the Britiſh plantations from Cape Florida to the Bay of St. Lawrence were encroached upon, and confined, within narrow and arbitrary bounds, by a chain of forts, contrary to the letter, true meaning, and intention of that treaty.

At home the government was diverted from thoſe encroachments and infringement of the treaty of Utrecht, by diviſions and parties fomented by the French court, which at laſt broke out into an open rebellion in the year 1715; by a war with Spain, and by the armaments of Sweden, whoſe enterprizing king threatened to invade Great Britain in favour of the excluded family; both which events were known to be the effects of the French councils at Verſailles; which at laſt pulled off the maſk, reſtored Dunkirk, defended the Spaniſh depredations and cruelties, and maintained a right to their own encroachments upon the Britiſh colonies in North America.

Not being able to make any thing by a war, to be carried on in the New World; after many fruitleſs campaigns, that had almoſt ruined their trade and finances; and taking the advantage of the weakneſs, and pacific temper of the *Britiſh miniſtry*, a treaty at Aix la Chapelle was propoſed, by which Britain was obliged to cede her conqueſts, to give hoſtages for her faithful diſcharge of the conditions of the treaty, and to leave the limits of her colonies, the encroachments of the French in North America, and the neutral iſlands, to the determination of commiſſioners.

But Britain was no ſooner diſarmed; her armies diſbanded, her fleets laid up, and the nation lulled aſleep by the hopes of a laſting peace; than the French more vigorouſly than ever renewed their hoſtilities on the continent of America, and in defiance of remonſtrances and every argument for peace, their armies were augmented, the allies of Great Britain were ſeduced, her trade was interrupted, and preparations were made to extirpate the Britiſh name from the continent of North America.

This breach of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle forced Britain once more to arm in defence of her property. Her ſucceſs, and the condition and miſery of France, it is ſaid, inſpired the perfidious enemy with terms of moderation. No longer able to maintain a footing on the American continent; driven out of the ſeas, deprived of commerce, and diſtreſſed in her funds and her credit, France had recourſe to the art of negociation. Louis XV. found that a treaty was the only way to put an end to a war, which otherwiſe might, in all likelihood, put an end to any further ſchemes for arriving at univerſal empire. A treaty only could ſecure, what he was not able to maintain by arms. A treaty only could give him any chance to recover what the fate of war had taken from him; and nothing but a treaty could leave France in a condition to give Great Britain and her allies any further occaſion to be continually armed in defence of their rights, liberties and property. A diſadvantageous peace was formed in 1763 and ſubſiſted only, till the interference of the French in aſſiſting the diſcontented ſubjects of Great Britain, again cauſed the ſword of war to be unſheathed.

From what has been advanced, no doubt then remains that the principles of the French nation have been and ſtill are the ſame, whether its government be a monarchy, an oligarchy, an ariſtocracy, or a democracy; and that its grand project is either by force or craft to ſubjugate every nation under univerſal dominion. The treachery of this government towards Great Britain has been ſtrongly and repeatedly evinced. Its too ſucceſsful endeavours to ſeparate America from the mother country are recent in every one's memory; its ſecret endeavours to raiſe diſſentions both in England and Ireland, are well known and are convincing proofs that what the French cannot effect by force, they accompliſh by guile. *See all the Public Journals and other Documents of the various periods above mentioned.*

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Motives of the French Government not ſo much Provincial Conqueſt, as to accompliſh the Slavery of Europe.—His Majeſty's Declaration.—Contraſt between the Conduct of Great Britain and France.—Inſulting Objections againſt the King of Great Britain's Interference reſpecting the Affairs of the Continent.—Remarks on the infraction of the Peace with reſpect to Malta.—That Iſland deſcribed.—The Conduct of the French and Spaniſh Governments has contributed to the Changes which have taken Place in the Order.—The ambitious views of France proteſted againſt.—Moderate Terms of the Declaration.—Illiberal Reply from the French Government.—Concluding Reflections.

FROM a long but neceſſary digreſſion, we proceed.—Great Britain having borne the aggreſſions of France with a degree of patience and forbearance very unuſual with a ſtate of ſuch political conſideration, at laſt aſſerted her privilege; and expoſed to the world the motives of her enemy for recommencing hoſtilities; the Britiſh government fully aſcertained that Malta, Holland and Switzerland were not the immediate conſiderations ſhe was about to contend for; its charge againſt France was of a more general and determinate nature, namely, an accuſation, *of having degraded Europe to dependance, and of violating the ſpirit, whilſt inſidiouſly obſerving the letter of a treaty.*

His majeſty's declaration appearing about this time brought with it evidence of the moderation of the Britiſh cabinet; it was couched in ſuch firm, and maſterly language, that its omiſſion in this place, though glanced at in a note of our laſt volume, would be derogatory to the magnitude and ſolidity of its tendency, as well as to the literary taſte of the time.

"HIS MAJESTY's DECLARATION AGAINST THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

"His Majeſty's earneſt endeavours for the preſervation of peace having failed of ſucceſs, he entertains the fulleſt confidence that he ſhall receive the ſame ſupport from his parliament, and that the ſame zeal and ſpirit will be manifeſted by his people, which he has experienced on every occaſion when the honour of his Crown has been attacked, or the eſſential intereſts of his dominions have been endangered. During the whole courſe of the negociations which led to the preliminary and definitive treaties of peace between his Majeſty and the French republic, it was his Majeſty's ſincere deſire, not only to put an end to the hoſtilities which ſubſiſted between the two countries, but to adopt ſuch meaſures, and to concur in ſuch propoſitions, as might moſt effectually contribute to conſolidate the general tranquillity of Europe. The ſame motives by which his majeſty was actuated during the negociations for peace, have ſince invariably governed his conduct. As ſoon as the treaty of Amiens was concluded, his majeſty's courts were open to the people of France for every purpoſe of legal redreſs; all ſequeſtrations were taken off their property; all prohibitions on their trade, which had been impoſed during the war, were removed, and they were placed, in every reſpect, on the ſame footing, with regard to commerce and intercourſe, as the inhabitants of any other ſtate in amity with his majeſty, with which there exiſted no treaty of commerce.

"To a ſyſtem of conduct thus open, liberal and friendly, the proceedings of the French government afford the moſt ſtriking contraſt. The prohibitions which had been placed on the commerce of his majeſty's ſubjects during the war, have been enforced with increaſed ſtrictneſs and ſeverity; violence had been offered, in ſeveral inſtances, to their veſſels and their property; and, in no caſe, has juſtice been afforded to thoſe who may have been aggrieved in conſequence of ſuch acts, nor has any ſatisfactory anſwer been given to the repeated repreſentations made by his majeſty's miniſters or Ambaſſador at Paris. Under ſuch circumſtances, when his Majeſty's ſubjects were not ſuffered to enjoy the common advantages of peace within the territories of the French republic, and the countries dependent upon it, the French government had recourſe to the extraordinary meaſure of ſending over to this country a number of perſons for the profeſſed purpoſe of reſiding in the moſt conſiderable ſeaport towns of Great Britain and Ireland, in the character of commercial agents or conſuls. Theſe perſons could have no pretenſions to be acknowledged in that character, as the right of being ſo acknowledged, as well as all the privileges attached to ſuch a ſituation, could only be derived from a commercial treaty: and as no treaty of that deſcription was in exiſtence between his Majeſty and the French Republic, there was conſequently too much reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the real object of their miſſion was by no means of a commercial nature; and this ſuſpicion was confirmed, not only by the circumſtance that ſome of them were military men, but by the actual diſcovery that ſeveral of them were furniſhed with inſtructions to obtain the ſoundings of the harbours, and to procure military ſurveys of the places where it was intended they ſhould reſide. His Majeſty felt it to be his duty to prevent their departure to their reſpective places of deſtination, and repreſented to the French Government the neceſſity of withdrawing them; and it cannot be denied that the circumſtances under which they were ſent, and the inſtructions which were given to them, ought to be conſidered as

deciſive

deciſive indications of the diſpoſitions and intentions of the government by whom they were employed.

" The conduct of the French Government, with reſpect to the commercial intercourſe between the two countries, muſt therefore be conſidered as ill-ſuited to a ſtate of peace; and their proceedings in their more general political relations, as well as in thoſe which immediately concern his Majesty's dominions, appear to have been altogether inconſiſtent with every principle of good faith, moderation, and juſtice. His Majeſty had entertained hopes, in conſequence of the repeated aſſurances and profeſſions of the French Government, that they might have been induced to adopt a ſyſtem of policy which, if it had not inſpired other powers with confidence, might, at leaſt have allayed their jealouſies. If the French Government had really appeared to be actuated by a due attention to ſuch a ſyſtem; if their diſpoſitions had proved to be eſſentially pacific; allowances would have been made for the ſituation in which a new government muſt be placed after ſo dreadful and extenſive a convulſion as that which has been produced by the French revolution. But his Majeſty has unfortunately had too much reaſon to obſerve, and to lament, that the ſyſtem of violence, aggreſſion and aggrandizement, which characterized the proceedings of the different governments of France during the war, has been continued with as little diſguiſe ſince its termination. They have continued to keep a French army in Holland, againſt the will, and in defiance of the remonſtrances, of the Batavian Government, and in repugnance to the letter of three ſolemn treaties. They have, in a period of peace, invaded the territory, and violated the independence of the Swiſs nation, in defiance of the Treaty of Luneville, which had ſtipulated the independence of their territory, and the right of the inhabitants to chuſe their own form of government. They have annexed to the dominions of France, Piedmont, Parma, and Placentia, and the Iſland of Elba, without allotting any proviſion to the king of Sardinia, whom they have deſpoiled of the moſt valuable part of his territory, though they were bound, by a ſolemn engagement to the emperor of Ruſſia, to attend to his intereſts, and to provide for his eſtabliſhment. It may, indeed, with truth be aſſerted, that the period which has elapſed ſince the concluſion of the Definitive Treaty, has been marked with one continued ſeries of aggreſſion, violence, and inſult, on the part of the French Government. In the month of October (1802) his Majeſty was induced, in conſequence of the earneſt ſolicitation of the Swiſs nation, to make an effort, by a repreſentation to the French Government, to avert the evils which were then impending over that country. This repreſentation was couched in the moſt temperate terms; and meaſures were taken by his Majeſty for aſcertaining, under the circumſtances which then exiſted, the real ſituation and wiſhes of the Swiſs Cantons, as well as the ſentiments of the other cabinets of Europe. His Majeſty learned, however, with the utmoſt regret, that no diſpoſition to counteract theſe repeated infractions of treaties and acts of violence, was manifeſted by any of the powers moſt immediately intereſted in preventing them; and his Majeſty therefore felt that, with reſpect to theſe objects, his ſingle efforts could not be expected to produce any conſiderable advantage to thoſe in whoſe favour they might be exerted.

" It was about this time that the French Government firſt diſtinctly advanced the principle, that his Majeſty had no right to complain of the conduct, or to interfere with the proceedings of France, on any point which did not form a part of the ſtipulations of the Treaty of Amiens. That treaty was unqueſtionably founded upon the ſame principle as every other antecedent treaty or convention, on the aſſumption of the ſtate of poſſeſſion and of engagements ſubſiſting at the time of its concluſion; and if that ſtate of poſſeſſion and of engagements is materially affected by the voluntary act of any of the parties, ſo as to prejudice the condition on which the other party has entered into the contract, the change, ſo made, may be conſidered as operating virtually as a breach of the treaty itſelf, and as giving the party aggrieved a right to demand ſatisfaction or compenſation for any ſubſtantial difference which ſuch acts may have effected in their relative ſituations; but whatever may be the principle on which the Treaty is to be conſidered as founded, there is indiſputably a general law of nations, which, though liable to be limited, conſtrained, or reſtrained, by convention law, is antecedent to it, and is that law or rule of conduct, to which all ſovereigns and ſtates have been accuſtomed to appeal, where convention law is admitted to have been ſilent. The Treaty of Amiens, and every other treaty, in providing for the objects to which it is particularly directed, does not therefore aſſume or imply an indifference to all other objects which are not ſpecified in its ſtipulations, much leſs does it adjudge them to be of a nature to be left to the will and caprice of the violent and the powerful. The juſtice of the cauſe is alone a ſufficient ground to warrant the interpoſition of any of the powers of Europe in the differences which may ariſe between other ſtates; and the application and extent of that juſt interpoſition is to be determined ſolely by conſiderations of prudence. Theſe principles can admit of no diſpute; but if the new and extraordinary pretenſion advanced by the French Government, to exclude his Majeſty from any right to interfere with reſpect to the concerns of other powers, unleſs they made a ſpecific part of the ſtipulations of the Treaty of Amiens, was that which it was poſſible to maintain, thoſe powers would have a right, at leaſt, to claim the benefit of this principle, in every caſe of difference

difference between the two countries. The indignation of all Europe muſt ſurely, then, be excited by the declarations of the French Government, that, in the event of hoſtilities, theſe very powers, who were no parties to the Treaty of Amiens, and who were not allowed to derive any advantage from the remonſtrances of his majeſty in their behalf, are nevertheleſs to be made the victims of a war which is alledged to riſe out of the ſame treaty, and are to be ſacrificed in a conteſt which they not only have not occaſioned, but which they have had no means whatever of preventing.

" His majeſty judged it moſt expedient, under the circumſtances which then affected Europe, to abſtain from a recurrence to hoſtilities on account of the views of ambition and acts of aggreſſion manifeſted by France on the continent; yet an experience of the character and diſpoſitions of the French Government could not fail to impreſs his majeſty with a ſenſe of the neceſſity of increaſed vigilance in guarding the rights and dignity of his crown, and in protecting the intereſts of his people. Whilſt his majeſty was actuated by theſe ſentiments, he was called upon by the French Government to evacuate the Iſland of Malta *. His majeſty had manifeſted, from the moment of the ſignature of the Definitive Treaty, an anxious diſpoſition to carry into full effect the ſtipulations of the Treaty of Amiens relative to that iſland.

* The avowed point complained of as an infraction of the treaty of Amiens, having been the refuſal to deliver up Malta, a deſcription of the Iſland, its geography, and its political importance to Great Britain, will be acceptable to the reader: Malta lies a little to the ſouth of Sicily, and may properly be claſſed among the Italian iſlands. It was anciently called *Iberia*, afterwards *Ogygia*, and by the Greeks *Melite*; from the laſt of which the Saracens formed the appellation of Malta. It is of an oval figure, about twenty miles in length, and twelve in breadth. The ſurface of the iſland is principally a white ſoft rock, covered to the depth of a foot with pretty rich earth, producing great quantities of indigo, cotton, grapes, olives, figs, lemons, oranges, and other fruit; but not a ſufficient quantity of corn or wine for the conſumption of the inhabitants. Theſe articles are therefore obliged to be imported from Sicily. Pulſe, roots, herbs, and culinary vegetables of every kind, are produced in abundance, beſides plenty of paſture.

The heat is exceſſive, and the inhabitants are much peſtered and incommoded with gnats. The population is eſtimated at ninety thouſand; theſe much reſemble the natives of Sicily in their manners and behaviour. This iſland was ſucceſſively ſubject to the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and the Romans. Upon the declenſion of the Roman empire, it was ſubdued by the Goths, and then by the Saracens: wreſted from them by the Normans in 1090, from which time Malta and Sicily had the ſame maſters, till Charles V. gave the iſland to the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem, after they had loſt the iſland of Rhodes.

The knights conſiſt of eight nations; the principal of which are French, Italian, Spaniards, Engliſh, and German. In France they calculate three tongues: thoſe of Auvergne, Provence, and France, peculiarly ſo called. Spain is divided into thoſe of Arragon and Caſtile. They have commanderies or eſtates in all or moſt of the Roman catholic countries, and their number is ſuppoſed to amount to about three thouſand.

By the ſtatutes the knights ought all to be of ancient noble families, and to produce proofs of an illuſtrious anceſtry, but ſometimes nobility is diſpenſed with on account of perſonal merit, and ſuch are called Cavaliera di Gratia. The order having adopted St. Auguſtine's rule, conſequently, as a religious fraternity, is ſubject to the pope: Not only the knights, but the chaplains and ſerventes, ſtile themſelves brothers; of which title the grand-maſter muſt not be aſhamed. To this high dignity many important privileges are annexed, every member being capable of advancement to a cardinal's hat. No natural children, thoſe of princes only excepted, nor perſons under eighteen years of age, can be admitted into the order; but the pope may diſpenſe with theſe qualifications, and the grand-maſter has an unlimited privilege to grant this favour to fix perſons.

By foreign princes this potentate is ſtiled *Alteſſe Eminentiſſime*; by his ſubjects Moſt Serene Eminence; but, by the knights, only Eminence. In matters relating to the order he is accountable to his council and the chapter; but, with regard to the iſland and its inhabitants, he is entirely abſolute. When at home, he uſually wears a black gown of a peculiar form, with the large golden key of the holy ſepulchre hanging by his ſide; but, on a journey, he appears in a lay habit, and wears a ſword. The principal among the high officers of the order are, the Grand Commandeur, who is choſen out of the nation of Provence, and is preſident of the treaſury and the chamber; the Marſhal, who is choſen from that of Auvergne, has the chief military command, and diſpoſes of the priſoners according to his own will and pleaſure; the Grand Hoſpitaler, choſen from the nation of France, has the care of the ſick; the Admiral, elected from the Italian nation; the Grand Conſervatora, from the nation of Arragon, ſigns all orders for payments and other expenditures: the Secretary, choſen out of the nation of Caſtile, and has the direction of all public deeds and inſtruments in writing; the Great Balley, elected from the German nation, has the care of the fortifications of Civitâ Vecchia, and the iſland of Gozo; the Turcopelier, who was choſen from the Engliſh nation, and formerly ſuperintended the cavalry and guards; but that office is now executed by the Seneſchal.

To theſe ſucceed the priories, of which the great priory of Germany holds the firſt place. Its Adminiſtrator was in 1546, raiſed by the emperor Charles V. to the rank of a prince of the empire; with a ſeat and voice in the diet among the princely abbots. His reſidence is at Heiterſheim in Brieſgau, and he muſt annually remit to the grand-maſter, whoſe vicar he is reputed to be, the neceſſary contributions for acting againſt the Turks, and the uſual aſſeſſment payable by every commandery.

The Grand Priors reſide in the ſeveral Roman catholic nations, where there are commanderies, over which they preſide, being conſidered as the grand-maſter's vicars. There are grand-maſterſhips of the order among the proteſtants, but they ſend no remittances to Malta. The principal ſtatute of the order, that each knight ſhall aſſiſt at leaſt in three expeditions againſt the Turks, is not now ſtrictly obſerved. The knights make vows of celibacy and chaſtity; notwithſtanding which every man keeps as many concubines as he pleaſes, moſt of which are Grecian beauties, which they have taken in the iſlands of the Archipelago, ſubject to Turkey. They have land forces, and a ſquadron of men of war. The Grand-Maſter, who is the head of the order, and chief commander in the iſland, is elected by the grand priors.

Valetta, or *Citta Nuovo*, is the capital of the iſland of Malta, ſo called from its having been built by the grand-maſter Fred. Joh. de Valletta, in 1566. It is a handſome town, with an excellent harbour and ſtrongly fortified. The palace of the Grand-Maſter, and the hoſpital for ſick knights, are ſuperb ſtructures.

iſland. As ſoon as he was informed that an election of a grand maſter had taken place, under the auſpicies of the emperor of Ruſſia, and that it had been agreed by the different priories aſſembled at St. Peterſburgh,

ſtructures. Here are ſeveral convents, nunneries, and churches. The houſe for the reception of Turkiſh ſlaves is a handſome building. The number of inhabitants in this town is eſtimated at 2000. There are no venomous reptiles or inſects in the iſland, whence ſome imagine that this was not the place were the apoſtle St. Paul was bit by a viper, but another iſland, now called Melida, near Raguſa. The other principal places are *Citta Vittorioſa, Senglea, Bormola,* or *Burloma, Citta Nuova Cottonera, and Malta, Medina,* or *Citta Vecchia.*

Malta is undoubtedly the key of Egypt, and its conqueſt was the firſt ſtep in a train of incalculable events, planned by Leibnitz, a ſubject of the elector of Hanover, with a view to the attainment of the commerce of India—though at that time the attempt was not peculiarly inimical to England. In the late inſtance, it certainly was obtained through the treachery of the French; it is equally clear that the knights of St. John are no longer able to defend it; nor would it be prudent to truſt thoſe who have once been corrupted. Britiſh ſoldiers, beloved as they evidently are by the Malteſe, are the only gurantees who ſhould be relied on; and to evince in a ſtriking manner the high reſpect in which the Britiſh name is held here, we notice the "PUBLIC INSCRIPTIONS illuminated at the feſtival celebrated at Malta, as a teſtimony of the gratitude of the inhabitants to his Majeſty for having made Malta a free port,—

"GEORGIO TERZIO
Re e Padre
Prima di Catlene
Poi di Dazii
Liberó
Malta grata

Liberta di Commercio,
Data a Malta grata,
Da Nazione libera e Maſſima.
Ai 5 Novembre, 1801.

ALTRA.
Padre de popolo, GEORGIO TERZIO,
Libertà di Commercio,
Diede a Malta grata.
Ai 5 Nov. 1801.

Libertà di Commercio,
Dono a Malta grata,
Di Nazione Libera e Maſſima.
Ai 5 Nov. 1801.

"The town was illuminated, Te Deum ſung, the ſhips in the harbours and the batteries ſaluted. The merchants gave entertainments, and Mr. Charles Mattei, the firſt merchant, gave a moſt ſplendid dinner to Lord Keith.

"In the evening his Majeſty's civil commiſſioners for the government of Malta and Gozo gave a ball. The four cities and country towns were illuminated, and particularly the theatre, at the expence of Mr. Mattei."

The contraſt exhibited by the French during the time they remained poſſeſſors is as remarkable; and the following anecdote is of a piece with other records of French enormities, and cannot be made too public. It muſt be remembered that we mean not to accuſe the nation, who, we know, deteſt ſuch tranſactions as well as ourſelves, but the army, thus violating in its ravages, and revolting at the ſame time, and in an equal degree, humanity, juſtice, and religion.

'Citta Vecchia, which, as has been already mentioned, is ſituated in the centre of the iſland, was its ancient metropolis. It is the ſeat of a biſhop, and poſſeſſes ſome remarkable buildings, among which are the Palazzo Magiſtrale, and the cathedral.

'In a vault beneath the church are now ſeen the mouldering forms of ſeveral monks, who, till the arrival of the French, were the officiating prieſthood. Their brief, extraordinary, and lamentable hiſtory is as follows:

'Soon after Bonaparte left this iſland to conduct his expedition to Egypt, a French garriſon was marched into Citta Vecchia, whoſe firſt object was, to pillage the public buildings, and plunder the inhabitants; and when they found reſiſtance, maſſacre and bloodſhed accompanied their rapine. When, therefore, they began to deſpoil this venerable edifice, the monks fled for ſafety into the adjoining catacombs, and being loſt in their ſubterranean mazes, were ſtarved to death: nor were they found, till after the enraged peaſantry had riſen to revenge their wrongs; when, after a maſſacre of the French, they drove the reſt to the ſhelter of La Valetta.

'The inhabitants of Citta Vecchia, to perpetuate the hatred of this act of ſacrilege, as well as of the people who practiſed it, have placed the bodies of theſe pious victims in a vault beneath the church, where they appear in the dreſs of their order, and in the attitudes in which they were found dead in the catacombs.

'The Malteſe manifeſted the firſt diſpoſition to revolt, at the moment when the French were in the act of pillaging this church.—A garriſon, conſiſting of about an hundred men, was attacked, and the greater part of them deſtroyed. The commandant, alſo, was thrown from the balcony of the houſe in which he reſided. The French, alarmed at this ſpirited act of reſentment, immediately withdrew their men from the different parts of the country, and retired within the walls of La Valetta. The deſign of an inſurrection to take place in that city had been formed; but ſuch precautions were employed by the French as to prevent it from being carried into execution.

The high grounds of Malta are not in the direction of its length, but on the ſide towards Africa; *viz.* on the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt. The leaſt uneven part of the iſland is at its greateſt breadth, at the eaſt of La Valetta; and the direction of the valleys is of courſe from the higher to the lower grounds. It is theſe valleys which conſtitute the harbours of Malta; and the depth of water, at different parts of the north-eaſtern coaſt, is occaſioned by the deep channels formed by the rain from the higher grounds.

The ſmall iſland of Comino, the ancient *Hephæſtia,* lies between Malta and Gozo. It is about five hundred paces in circumference, is fertile, and has a fort.

The Iſle of Gozo, lying near that of Comino, is about thirty-ſix miles in circumference. It is a very fruitful ſpot, has ſeveral good harbours, and ſtrong forts, and contains about three thouſand inhabitants. It gives title to a marquis, and its annual produce is eſtimated at 25,000 ſcudi.

The land of Gozo is much higher than that of Malta, and the coaſts are defended by perpendicular rocks of a frightful appearance; the loftieſt of which are towards the ſouth and weſt. Thoſe which guard the ports of Malta, oppoſite to Gozo and Comino, correſpond with the rocks of thoſe iſlands. Some vallies which are in the ſame direction with thoſe of Malta, do not form ports to this iſland on account of the high land that ſurrounds them. Its ſurface is leſs uneven than that of Malta, and conſequently better adapted for cultivation: it appears, indeed, that the upper bed was originally, in a great degree, horizontal; but in both iſlands the rock is of the ſame nature. In each of them there are hills, either inſulated or connected with others, whoſe ſummits are remarkably flat and level;

Peterſburgh, to acknowledge the perſon whom the court of Rome ſhould ſelect out of thoſe who had been named by them to be grand maſter of the Order of St. John, his majeſty propoſed to the French Government, for the purpoſe of avoiding any difficulties which might ariſe in the execution of the arrangement, to acknowledge that election to be valid: and when, in the month of Auguſt, the French Government applied to his majeſty to permit the Neapolitan troops to be ſent to the Iſland of Malta, as a preliminary meaſure for preventing any unneceſſary delay, his majeſty conſented, without heſitation, to this propoſal, and gave directions for the admiſſion of the Neapolitan troops into the iſland. His majeſty had thus ſhewn his diſpoſition not only to throw no obſtacle in the way of the execution of the treaty, but, on the contrary, to facilitate the execution of it by every means in his power. His majeſty cannot, however, admit, that at any period ſince the concluſion of the Treaty of Amiens, the French Government have had a right to call upon him, in conformity to the ſtipulations of that treaty, to withdraw his forces from the Iſland of Malta. At the time when this demand was made by the French Government, ſeveral of the moſt important ſtipulations of the arrangement reſpecting Malta remained unexecuted. The election of a grand maſter had not been carried into effect. The 10th article had ſtipulated that the independence of the iſland ſhould be placed under the guarantee and protection of Great Britain, France, Auſtria, Ruſſia, Spain, and Pruſſia. The emperor of Germany had acceded to the guarantee, but only on condition of a like acceſſion on the part of the other powers ſpecified in the article. The emperor of Ruſſia had refuſed his acceſſion, except on the condition that the Malteſe* langue ſhould be abrogated; and the king of Pruſſia had given no anſwer whatever to the application which had been made to him to accede to the arrangement. But the fundamental principle, upon the exiſtence of which depended the execution of the other parts of the article, had been defeated by the changes which had taken place in the conſtitution of the order ſince the concluſion of the Treaty of Peace. It was to the Order of St. John of Jeruſalem that his majeſty was, by the firſt ſtipulation of the 10th article, bound to reſtore the Iſland of Malta. The order is defined to conſiſt of thoſe langues which were in exiſtence at the time of the concluſion of the treaty; the three French langues having being aboliſhed, and a Malteſe langue added to the inſtitution. The order conſiſted, therefore, at that time, of the following langues, viz. the langues of Arragon, Caſtile, Germany, Bavaria, and Ruſſia. Since the concluſion of the Definitive Trea-

level; and it is very perceptible that theſe ſummits formed a part of the original ſurface, as they are covered with ſtones much harder, more heavy, and of a cloſer grain than the reſt. The under-beds are of different conſiſtencies, and more or leſs ſubject to decay, according to their expoſure to the air. Some of theſe beds are compoſed of a ferruginous ſand, feebly cemented with a chalky glutinous ſubſtance. On the oppoſite ſides of the ſteep rocks of Malta, and in the hollow ſpaces which ſeparate the hills in Gozo, there are ſome little hillocks, of a grayiſh clay, which does not appear to be natural to the places where it is found; and muſt have accumulated after the excavation of the vallies. The rains, to which theſe hillocks offer but a weak reſiſtance, have mouldered and formed them into the figures they poſſeſs.

The Malteſe are lively, active, and induſtrious; their language is a mixture of Arabic and Italian; but Vaſſari contends that they have a language of their own, peculiarly animated and expreſſive; it is, apparently, allied to the Phœnician.

In a political view, the following conſiderations are of ſingular importance: the feelings and the repreſentations of the Malteſe with reſpect to the reſtoration of the iſland to the order, and the guarantee of Ruſſia. Of the order, they ſay, with truth, that, the revenues of the knights being loſt, they have no power of defending the iſland; that Malteſe troops will be no longer truſted; and that the garriſon, if the iſland be ſurrendered, will always be in the pay of France. The following obſervations merit particular attention:

"They know that Ruſſia is at this moment eager to ſee the order, or what is equivalent, France, hold Malta, (the intercepted letters prove this;) that Ruſſia, her projects againſt Turkey may lie dormant during one reign, will ever be revived; and that whoever has Malta has a ſure means of uniting with Ruſſia; and that if France will give up the Turks, ſhe may rely on the co-operation of Ruſſia to oppoſe the Britiſh having any power in the Mediterranean.

"They know that Ruſſia, united with France, may excluſively enjoy all the commerce of the Levant; that France may be ſupplied with naval ſtores from the Black Sea in all ſecurity; that a Ruſſian army may march in a few days from their ſettlements in the ſouth of the Caſpian, to the dominions of Zaman Sha, and put into effect the threats of the late empreſs Catharine, to drive us out of India.

"In ſhort as long as they are perſuaded that Malta is the key of India, and the link that will unite Ruſſia and France, that will ſhut us out of the Mediterranean, and prevent us for ever from counteracting the influence of France in Italy; that will create a naval power, which may one day appear, and bid us defiance in the Atlantic.

"As long as Great Britain poſſeſſes Malta, though every ſurrounding nation be our enemies, ſhe will be miſtreſs of the Mediterranean.

"With reſpect to England, they are not ignorant of the importance of this iſland as a place of commerce; that this would be the great market for Britiſh manufacture, and Italian, Turkiſh, and Ruſſian products; that in this arſenal every convenience for building, fitting out, or laying up a fleet, is to be found; that this might be the granary of Europe; that corn, to any amount, might be collected here, and ſtored up, from the Black Sea, from Egypt, and from every port where it were cheap, to ſupply every country where it may be wanted, and Great Britain itſelf in time of ſcarcity." *Anderſon's Campaign in Egypt, Barlow's Hiſt. of Europe, &c.*

Theſe views are worthy of the higheſt attention. We ought not to engage in the diſcuſſion; but may expreſs our warmeſt hopes, that the iſland will not be unconditionally reſtored.

* By Langue or Tongue is to be underſtood the eight tongues or nations into which the principals of the order were divided. The tongues were eight, namely, Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Arragon, Germany, Caſtile, and England.—Theſe had their chiefs at Malta, who were called Pillars, and Conventual Baillies.

ty, the langues of Arragon and Caſtile have been ſeparated from the Order by Spain, a part of the Italian langue has been aboliſhed by the annexation of Piedmont and Parma to France. There is ſtrong reaſon to believe that it has been in contemplation to ſequeſtrate the property of the Bavarian langue; and the intention has been avowed of keeping the Ruſſian langues within the dominions of the emperor.

" Under theſe circumſtances, the Order of St. John cannot now be conſidered as that body to which, according to the ſtipulations of the treaty, the iſland was to be reſtored; and the funds indiſpenſably neceſſary for its ſupport, and for the maintenance of the independence of the iſland, have been nearly, if not wholly, ſequeſtered. Even if this had ariſen from circumſtances which it was not in the power of any of the contracting parties to the Treaty to controul, his majeſty would nevertheleſs have had a right to defer the evacuation of the iſland by his forces, until ſuch time as an equivalent arrangement had been concluded for the preſervation of the independence of the Order and of the iſland. But if theſe changes have taken place in conſequence of any acts of the other parties to the Treaty; if the French Government ſhall appear to have proceeded upon a ſyſtem of rendering the order, whoſe independence they had ſtipulated, incapable of maintaining that independence, his majeſty's right to continue in the occupation of the iſland, under ſuch circumſtances, will hardly be conteſted. It is indiſputable that the revenues of the two Spaniſh langues have been withdrawn from the Order by his Catholic majeſty; a part of the Italian langue has, in fact, been aboliſhed by France, through the unjuſt annexation of Piedmont and Parma, and Placentia to the French territory. The elector of Bavaria has been inſtigated by the French Government to ſequeſtrate the property of the Order within his territories; and it is certain, that they have not only ſanctioned, but encouraged, the idea, of the propriety of ſeparating the Ruſſian langues from the remainder of the Order.

" As the conduct of the governments of France and Spain have therefore, in ſome inſtances directly, and in others indirectly, contributed to the changes which have taken place in the Order, and thus deſtroyed its means of ſupporting its independence, it is to thoſe governments, and not to his majeſty, that the non-execution of the 10th article of the Treaty of Amiens muſt be aſcribed. Such would be the juſt concluſion, if the 10th article of that treaty were conſidered as an arrangement by itſelf. It muſt be obſerved, however, that this article forms a part only of a Treaty of Peace, the whole of which is connected together, and the ſtipulations of which muſt, upon a principle common to all treaties, be conſtrued as having a reference to each other.

" His majeſty was induced by the Treaty of Peace to conſent to abandon, and to reſtore to the Order of St. John, the Iſland of Malta, on condition of its independence and neutrality. But a further condition, which muſt neceſſarily be ſuppoſed to have conſiderable influence with his majeſty, in inducing him to make ſo important a conceſſion was the acquieſcence of the French Government, in an arrangement for the ſecurity of the Levant, by the eighth and ninth articles in the treaty ſtipulating the integrity of the Turkiſh Empire, and the independence of the Ionian Iſlands. His majeſty has, however, ſince learnt, that the French Government have entertained views hoſtile to both theſe objects, and that they even ſuggeſted the idea of a partition of the Turkiſh Empire. Theſe views muſt now be manifeſt to all the world, from the official publication of the report of colonel Sebaſtiani; from the conduct of that officer, and of the other French agents in Egypt, Syria, and the Ionian Iſlands, and from the diſtinct admiſſion of the firſt conſul himſelf, in his communication with lord Whitworth. His majeſty was, therefore, warranted in conſidering it to be the determination of the French Government to violate thoſe articles of the Treaty of Peace, which ſtipulated for the integrity and independence of the Turkiſh Empire and of the Ionian Iſlands, and conſequently he would not have been juſtified in evacuating the Iſland of Malta, without receiving ſome other ſecurity, which might equally provide for theſe important objects. His majeſty accordingly feels that he has an inconteſtible claim, in conſequence of the conduct of France ſince the Treaty of Peace, and with reference to the objects which made part of the ſtipulations of that treaty, to refuſe under the preſent circumſtances, to relinquiſh the poſſeſſion of the Iſland of Malta. Yet, notwithſtanding this right, ſo clear and ſo unqueſtionable, the alternative preſented by the French Government to his majeſty, in language the moſt peremptory and menacing, was the evacuation of Malta, or the renewal of war.

" If the views of ambition and aggrandizement, which have thus been manifeſted by the French Government ſince the concluſion of the Treaty of Peace, have in ſo very particular a manner attracted the attention of his majeſty, it has been equally impoſſible for him not to feel, and not to notice, the repeated indignities which have been offered by that government to his crown, and to his people.

" The report of colonel Sebaſtiani contains the moſt unwarrantable inſinuations and charges againſt his majeſty's government, againſt the officer who commanded his forces in Egypt, and againſt the Britiſh army in that quarter. This paper cannot be conſidered as the publication of a private individual; it has been avowed, and indeed bears evidence upon the face of it, that it is the official report of an accredited

credited agent, publiſhed by the authority of the government to which it was addreſſed, who thereby have given it their expreſs ſanction. This report had been publiſhed a very ſhort time, when another indignity was offered to this country in the communication of the firſt conſul of France to the legiſlative body. In this communication he preſumes to affirm, in the character of chief magiſtrate of that country, "That Great Britain cannot ſingly contend againſt the power of France;" an aſſertion as unfounded as it is indecent, diſproved by the events of many wars, and by none more than by thoſe of the war which has been recently concluded. Such an aſſertion, advanced in the moſt ſolemn official act of a government, and thereby meant to be avowed to all the powers of Europe, can be conſidered in no other light than as a defiance publicly offered to his majeſty, and to a brave and powerful people, who are both willing and able to defend his juſt rights, and thoſe of their country, againſt every inſult and aggreſſion.

"The conduct of the firſt conſul to his majeſty's ambaſſador at his audience, in preſence of the miniſters of moſt of the ſovereigns and ſtates of Europe, furniſhes another inſtance of provocation on the part of the French Government, which it would be improper not to notice on the preſent occaſion; and the ſubſequent explanation of this tranſaction may be conſidered as having the effect of aggravating, inſtead of palliating the affront.—At the very time when his majeſty was demanding ſatisfaction and explanation on ſome of the points above mentioned, the French miniſter at Hamburgh endeavoured to obtain the inſertion, in the Hamburgh paper, of a moſt groſs and opprobrious libel againſt his majeſty; and when difficulties were made reſpecting the inſertion of it, he availed himſelf of his official character of miniſter of the French Republic, to require the publication of it, by order of his government, in the Gazette of the ſenate of that town. With this requiſition ſo made, the ſenate of Hamburgh were induced to comply; and thus has the independence of that town been violated, and a free ſtate made the inſtrument, by the menace of the French Government, of propagating throughout Europe, upon their authority, the moſt offenſive and unfounded calumnies againſt his majeſty and his government. His majeſty might add to this liſt of indignities, the requiſition which the French Government have repeatedly urged, that the laws and conſtitution of his country ſhould be changed relative to the liberty of the preſs. His majeſty might likewiſe add, the calls which the French Government have, on ſeveral occaſions, made upon him to violate the laws of hoſpitality, with reſpect to perſons who had found an aſylum within his dominions, and againſt whoſe conduct no charge whatever has at any time been ſubſtantiated. It is impoſſible to reflect on theſe different proceedings, and the courſe which the French Government have thought proper to adopt reſpecting them, without the thorough conviction that they are not the effect of accident; but that they form a part of a ſyſtem, which has been adopted for the purpoſe of degrading, vilifying, and inſulting his majeſty and his government.

"Under all theſe inſults and provocations, his majeſty, not without a due ſenſe of his dignity, has proceeded with every degree of temper and moderation to obtain ſatisfaction and redreſs, while he has neglected no means conſiſtent with his honour and the ſafety of his dominions, to induce the government of France to concede to him, what is, in his judgment, abſolutely neceſſary for the future tranquillity of Europe. His efforts in this reſpect have proved abortive, and he has therefore judged it neceſſary to order his ambaſſador to leave Paris. In having recourſe to this proceeding, it has been his majeſty's object to put an end to the fruitleſs diſcuſſions which have too long ſubſiſted between the two governments, and to cloſe a period of ſuſpenſe peculiarly injurious to the ſubjects of his majeſty.

"But though the provocations which his majeſty has received, might entitle him to larger claims than thoſe which he has advanced, yet anxious to prevent calamities which might thus be extended to every part of Europe, he is ſtill willing, as far as is conſiſtent with his own honour, and the intereſts of his people, to afford every facility to any juſt and honourable arrangement, by which ſuch evils may be averted. He has, therefore, no difficulty in declaring to all Europe, that notwithſtanding all the changes which have taken place ſince the Treaty of Peace, notwithſtanding the extenſion of the power of France, in repugnance to that treaty, and to the ſpirit of peace itſelf, his majeſty will not avail himſelf of theſe circumſtances, to demand in compenſation all that he is entitled to require, but will be ready to concur, even now, in an arrangement by which ſatisfaction ſhall be given to him, for the indignities which have been offered to his Crown and to his people, and ſubſtantial ſecurity afforded againſt further encroachments on the part of France.

"His majeſty has thus diſtinctly and unreſervedly ſtated the reaſons of thoſe proceedings to which he has found himſelf compelled to reſort. He is actuated by no diſpoſition to interfere in the internal concerns of any other ſtate; by no projects of conqueſt and aggrandizement; but ſolely by a ſenſe of what is due to the honour of his crown, and the intereſts of his people, and by an anxious deſire to obſtruct the further progreſs of a ſyſtem, which if not reſiſted, may prove fatal to every part of the civilized world."

This manly, though moderate declaration of the Britiſh Government, was in itſelf unanſwerable; but as the firſt conſul and his cabinet were neceſſitated to make ſome kind of reply for the ſatisfaction of thoſe

whom they ruled, the following appeared in the Moniteur, confeſſedly the government gazette of France:

STATE PAPER.

Paris, May 26.

The declaration of the King of England has just appeared. It is accompanied with a volume of papers of 145 folio pages. This volume contains ſeventy-two articles, among which ten only are official, and even of theſe many are inſignificant. Sixty-two are extracts of letters from the miniſters to their agents, and from Engliſh agents to their cabinets, letters which have doubtleſs been fabricated by the *chancellerie*, to ſuit the convenience of miniſters. Thoſe notes which are the moſt important, and the moſt proper for ſhewing to the Engliſh people the proceeding of the French Government, and true ſpirit of the negotiation, have been carefully ſuppreſſed; and what appears the last degree of ſhameleſſneſs, and even of folly, is, that in the note of lord Whitworth, dated the 10th of May, and given in page 112 of the official papers of London, the moſt eſſential paſſage is omitted, with an infidelity which could not eſcape cenſure.

The Moniteur then proceeds to give, in a double column, copies of the note, in its original ſtate, and as it has been printed by the Engliſh miniſters. The difference between them conſiſts in the omiſſion of the following words in the firſt paragraph of the before-mentioned letter after the words "3d inſtant:" *And this propoſal having been judged inadmiſſible from the refuſal of his majeſty the emperor of Ruſſia, to be a party thereto, and at the same time beyond his majeſty's just pretentions.*

This infidelity, committed for the purpoſe of concealing a falſe allegation which can no longer be ſuſtained, required the commiſſion of another. The Engliſh miniſters have, conſequently, ſuppreſſed the note tranſmitted in anſwer on the 12th of May, which note was of the following tenour:—

"*Paris, May* 12.

"The underſigned has it in charge to acquaint his excellency lord Whitworth, ambaſſador from his Britannic majeſty, that the firſt conſul having propoſed, in his note of the 14th of this month, that the iſland of Malta ſhould be placed in the hands of one of the three guaranteeing powers, Ruſſia, Auſtria, or Pruſſia, it would not be ſufficient to ſet that propoſition aſide, to argue on the refuſal which his majeſty the emperor of Ruſſia might make, of receiving this truſt, ſince the intentions of their majeſties the emperor of Germany and the king of Pruſſia would remain to be known.

"That beſides the aſſertion contained in his excellency's note, dated 30th of this month, and which is expreſſed in these terms, 'from the refuſal of his majeſty the emperor of Ruſſia to accede to it,' is entirely contrary to the guarantee which his Imperial majeſty formally offered, with the ſlight alterations which the firſt conſul made no difficulty of adopting, and which he knows that the Engliſh miniſtry refuſed, meditating, beyond doubt, even then, the ſtrange pretenſion of retaining Malta.

"That, further, this aſſertion is alſo in abſolute oppoſition to the aſſurances which the firſt conſul has received from Peterſburgh, ſince the meſſage of his majeſty has been known there, and which have juſt been renewed to him by an authentic communication, which count de Marcoff yeſterday gave of the intentions of his court.

"It hence reſults, that it is impoſſible to reconcile the laſt communication made by his excellency lord Whitworth, with the freſh confirmation, which has juſt been received, of the diſpoſitions of his majeſty the emperor of Ruſſia, and that it cannot but be ſuppoſed, that his Britannic Majeſty, when better informed, will, of himſelf, loſe no time in cauſing to be given to his excellency, inſtructions different from thoſe which he has communicated, in the name of his government.

(Signed) "C. M. TALLEYRAND."

Although the above illiberal gaſconade ſeems at firſt ſight to arreſt the feelings and to excite ſentiments derogatory to the Britiſh character; it will be ſeen by a minute inveſtigation that a trifling omiſſion would not be of equal import with the great queſtion now to be diſcuſſed—the ſafety and honour of two great contending nations. But the poiſon diſtilled by the ſervile perſons, who had denominated themſelves the conſtituted authorities of France, was an increaſe too powerful not to undermine an intellect merely human: thus Bonaparte was exalted "a miſerable and unhappy monument of mental intoxication*!" Conveniently verſatile in

* In order to be convinced of Bonaparte's aim at univerſal empire, it is only neceſſary to trace his conſtant, regular, and gradual progreſſion to the attainment of that deſpotic ſway which he actually poſſeſſes. Had his mind been cultivated by the modeſt leſſons of the enlightened, the amiable Fenelon, the following monition would have made a laſting impreſſion on his mind:

"A prince whoſe genius is entirely military, will levy endleſs wars to extend his dominions and ruin his people to add a new title to his name. If the nation which he now governs, is unhappy, what is it to them how many more he conquers. A foreign war long continued, cannot fail of producing diſorder at home, the manners of the victors themſelves become corrupt during the general confuſion.—How much has Greece, ſuffered by the conqueſt of Troy! ſhe was more than ten years deprived of her kings; and wherever the flame of war is kindled, the laws are violated with impunity, agriculture is neglected, and the ſciences are forgotten.—The beſt prince, when he has a war to ſuſtain, is compelled to the ſame conduct which diſgraces the worſt, to tolerate licentiouſneſs, and employ villainy in his ſervice: how many daring profligates are puniſhed in time of peace, whom it is neceſſary to reward during the diſorders of war? no nation was ever governed by a conqueror that did not ſuffer by his ambition. The victorious and

in whatever concerns religious or moral propriety, a total abſence of principle was induced into the firſt conſul's mind; and whatever conduced to accompliſh his ends he ſuffered no reſtraint to impede—we hope not for the occaſion to add "that ſhould he ever find himſelf in a ſituation of extraordinary difficulty or danger, he would rival in cruelty any tyrant in ancient or modern times." A diſpoſition like this would be dangerous in an enemy, but much more dangerous in a friend!

The conduct of the Britiſh miniſtry at this time was candid and temperate. The ſtate papers of which they were the authors, manifeſted the great moderation and forbearance of the Britiſh government, under a continued ſyſtem of aggreſſion and menace, with which the French rulers had inſulted this country.

The delaration of his majeſty was ſuch as became a great nation, whoſe faith and dignity it moſt ably juſtifies. It was a ſimple narrative of recorded facts, that convinced the underſtanding, without any deluſive aid, drawn from argument or abſtract reaſoning. In the negociation itſelf, the ſophiſtry of the chief conſul was miſerably oppoſed to the plain dealing of an Engliſh plenipotentiary; demonſtrating through the whole little more than the weakneſs of his own judgment, and the irritability of a coarſe and ungovernable temper! Even in his affectation to deprecate a rupture with England, he had not the ordinary policy to diſguiſe, that warfare with her was predetermined in his mind. Nothing could, however, better diſplay the inſincerity of the chief conſul's conduct, during the time in which the peace was ſuppoſed to ſubſiſt, than his open ſanction of Sebaſtiani's report of the view of the ſtate of the French republic, ſigned Bonaparte; of the French manifeſto inſerted in the Hamburgh paper; of correſpondence ſhewing the deſigns of France on the iſlands of the Adriatic; and of an intercepted correſpondence to Fauvelet, the French commercial agent at Dublin, by which it appears his government inſtructed him ſecretly to obtain plans of the ports in Ireland. The following are the moſt intereſting paſſages of his inſtructions:—

You are required to furniſh a plan of the Ports of your diſtrict, with a ſpecification of the ſoundings for mooring veſſels.

If no plan of the ports can be procured, you are to point out with what wind veſſels can come in and go out; and what is the greateſt draught of water with which veſſels can enter therein deeply laden.

and the vanquiſhed are involved almoſt in the ſame ruin, while the King grows giddy amidſt the tumult of a triumph. As he is utterly ignorant of the arts of peace, he knows not how to derive any popular advantage from a ſucceſsful war; he is like a man that not only defends his own field, but forcibly takes poſſeſſion of his neighbour's, yet can neither plough nor ſow, and conſequently reaps no harveſt from either; he ſeems born not to diffuſe happineſs among his ſubjects by a wiſe and equitable government, but to fill the world with violence, tumult, and deſolation."

CHAP. III.

Short Account of Party Intereſt.—The Danby, — Sutherland, — Marlborough, — Godolphin, — Townſhend, — Walpole, — Newcaſtle, — Bedford, — Pitt, — Grenville.—Mr. Addington's Entry into Office, adheres at firſt to the Grenvilles, who promiſe him their Support, but deſert him.—Mr. Pitt, on the contrary, ſupports him.—Gains the Intereſt of the Whig Party.—Propitious Circumſtances of his Entry into Adminiſtration.—But unſucceſsful and irreſolute.—Opinion in Favour of this Adminiſtration.—General Remarks.

PREPARATORY to giving an outline of the character which the Britiſh miniſtry bore at this time; it will be neceſſary that ſome obſervations on the ſtate of parties ſhould be introduced.

The Britiſh conſtitution partaking, in a very great degree, of the forms of a republican government, the country, like the ancient republics, has conſtantly been influenced, more or leſs by ariſtocratic family connexions. The Danby and Sutherland influence in the ſeventeenth century, was ſupplanted by that of Marlborough and Godolphin, to this ſucceeded the power of Townſhend and Walpole; the Newcaſtle intereſt gradually reduced this aſcendancy, in the reign of George II. till the latter was humbled in its turn by the Bedford party. As a counterpoiſe to the Newcaſtle and Bedford influence, a new conſtellation aroſe in the political hemiſphere; Mr. Pitt afterwards earl of Chatham formed the adventurous project of building up a family, connected with himſelf by blood, and adopting, in general the ſame line of politicks with himſelf, hence ſprung the Grenville intereſt, which from its firſt acceſſion to power, had exerciſed that power in a very conſpicuous manner upon the great theatre of politics; and, by the occupation of high offices and the accumulation of wealth and dignities, may be conſidered as the moſt powerful in the kingdom. To this vaſt connexion the ſon of the earl of Chatham allied himſelf, and, at the ſame time owed and gave ſupport.—The intereſts of Mr. Pitt, as chancellor of the exchequer, and the Grenvilles were inſeparable; and whilſt Mr. Pitt's wiſhes were conſtantly attended to in the houſe of commons, his relative lord Grenville exerted a parallel influence in the houſe of peers.

It was not probable, that unconnected with any other great party, a new miniſtry could be able to

move againſt ſo preponderating an influence. Mr. Addington therefore on coming into office as prime miniſter, thought it a great object, to ſecure ſo powerful an alliance. His appointment, no doubt had been made in the moſt honourable and dignified manner; but though he had exerciſed with the higheſt credit, a legiſlative office of the higheſt importance, the official buſineſs he had now undertaken was new to him; he had no family connexion to uphold his meaſures—and his parliamentary intercourſe probably went no farther than the mere civility which his ſituation as ſpeaker of the houſe of commons demanded. He could not, conſequently, think it adviſeable definitively to accept the appointment offered by his majeſty without conſulting his connexions in the late adminiſtration, and aſcertain the nature of the ſupport they intended to give him.

The danger that impended from the admiſſion of Mr. Fox, and with him the Devonſhire, Shelburne, and Bedford parties, is ſaid to have operated very powerfully on that of Grenville, and therefore a promiſe of attachment to Mr. Addington's intereſt was not ſo difficult to obtain, conſidered as the rivals of the late adminiſtration in popularity, and other advantages; but however theſe circumſtances might concur, Mr. Addington would not accede to the reſponſibility propoſed, till he had aſcertained the ſtrength on which he was to act, and obtained from the late miniſtry, from Mr. Pitt and lord Grenville in particular, a moſt ſolemn pledge, of their conſtant, active, and zealous ſupport.

A promiſe indifferently given was differently underſtood by all the parties concerned; and a mental reſervation ſeems to have been with the members of the former cabinet, that a refuſal to vacate their offices to make room for their predeceſſors ſhould be conſtrued into a breach of compact on the part of the preſent miniſtry; Mr. Pitt alone, on the diſcuſſion of the peace, kept faithful to the pledge which he had given. He defended both the expediency and the terms on which it was concluded, and neither thoſe who had formed the peace, nor the whigs who had conſtantly adviſed it, were more ſtrenuous in its ſupport—he gave it his full and unequivocal approbation.

The Grenvilles however gave it their decided oppoſition; and they acted conſiſtently; for it has ſince been diſcovered that they were hoſtile to the peace itſelf, and only acted in favor of the negociations at Paris and Liſle, in conceſſion to their colleagues and againſt their own conviction.—The whig party, and the upholders of Mr. Fox, on the contrary, had uniformly recommended the meaſure then acceded to as eſſential to all the beſt intereſts of the ſtate. Thus the means which followed the peace and ſeemed to attract the whig party ſtill cloſer to the miniſtry, on the contrary widened the breach between the latter and the houſe of Grenville. One great benefit however was derived from the moderation with which the adminiſtration conducted itſelf; the meaſures of coercion, which the violence of faction had rendered partly neceſſary, was now, in no great degree, longer reſorted to. Faction and its malignity had pined itſelf into inſignificance; the mildneſs of the government was more convincing of the ineſtimable bleſſings of the Britiſh conſtitution, than volumes of libellous fallacy would have been capable of diffuſing to the contrary.

Under ſuch propitious circumſtances, a hope might juſtly be cheriſhed, that ſo bleſt as the nation ſeemed at this time, every happineſs, every comfort was to be expected. It had been Mr. Addington's ſingular fortune to obtain his preferment without a conteſt; his mind had not been embittered by the natural efforts of long and habitual hoſtility; he had not ſeized the adminiſtration as a ſpoil, but had received it as a gift; he was not therefore tied by any pledge; the heat of party had not led him to make any promiſe; nor had any raſh engagements induced him to ſeduce the populace; and it was only by becoming the miniſter that he was eſteemed the friend of the people; indeed he was the only miniſter who had enjoyed the full tide of popular favor ſince the great earl of Chatham.

Yet, under all theſe favourable circumſtances, though the Addington adminiſtration might come into power with the moſt juſt, the moſt honeſt, and the moſt patriotic intentions; not having the aſſiſtance of the vaſt abilities, the political wiſdom, and the decided ſupport of the great conjunction of talents requiſite to withſtand the cunning contrivance, and the hoſtile views of the French cabinet, their decrees were irreſolute, their meaſures were imbecile, and their whole conduct was inconſiſtent.

All the accuſations againſt Mr. Addington's adminiſtration have been ſummed up under one title, want of capacity: we will ſtate from two very reſpectable publications the opinions held upon this ſubject:

"When you aſk for the proofs of the incapacity of Mr. Addington from his enemies, what you receive is an invective on the terms of the peace. This is the only part of his adminiſtration which they preſume to condemn; this of courſe is the only circumſtance from which they are entitled to infer his want of capacity. But as far as I am acquainted with my fellow-ſubjects, not many of them will be found to agree with theſe men in regarding the peace as an evil to this country; they ſeem rather to unite in thinking it one of the greateſt bleſſings; that Mr. Addington, by neceſſary conſequence, ſhewed wiſdom, inſtead of folly, in procuring it to his country; that ſuch as it was, it was greatly deſirable; and that it was not owing to Mr. Addington, but to the circumſtances in which he was placed, that it was not better.

"The men who abuſe Mr. Addington were wont to

to proclaim that peace on no terms ought to be made with republican France. Why they have changed the queſtion from *no terms*, *to ſome terms*, they have never yet explained. It is apparent that ſuch perſons are not likely to be eaſily pleaſed with terms. They have however ceaſed the cry that peace with France is the adoption of jacobiniſm, becauſe they find that it has ceaſed to make any impreſſion; they only now aſſert that by the terms of the peace we have laid ourſelves at the mercy of France, and that we ought to have continued the war till we got better terms.

"Let us ſtate a few facts in illuſtration of theſe aſſertions. At the time when the negociations commenced the French were in complete and undiſputed poſſeſſion of the left bank of the Rhine, and their victorious armies covered Switzerland, and the whole of the north of Italy. Had the war continued therefore, whatever reſources theſe poſſeſſions afforded for carrying it on, the French enjoyed. What more did the peace give to France? Malta, and the Cape of Good Hope, ſay its enemies. Their concluſion is admirable: with Malta and the Cape, ſay they, we were not only a match for the French, but might entertain good hopes, by continuing the war, of beating them; give to them Malta and the Cape, and then we are totally at the mercy of France, and ſhe may conquer us whenever ſhe chuſes to take ſo much trouble! What profound and uncommon inſight theſe gentlemen muſt have into the nature of Malta and the Cape! The opinion of an ordinary thinker would be, that if Great Britain was able, according to theſe politicians, to beat France when ſhe had Malta and the Cape, ſhe is not in any extraordinary danger from France now; and if ſhe is not in any extraordinary danger from France now, why then the peace was a good one. The difficulty of this argument is inſurmountable: either Great Britain was unable to continue the war with France, aggrandized as ſhe then was; or, if Great Britain was able, then is ſhe in no ſtate to be afraid of France now.

"During the war, ſay the accuſers of the peace, we engroſſed all the trade of Europe; now France may ſhut us out from all the trade of Europe, and ſhe will ruin us. What profound acquaintance with the nature of commerce, and with the ſituation of Europe, does this objection diſplay! And what a misfortune to this country that her buſineſs is not in the hands of perſons of ſuch exalted wiſdom! France is unable to ſhut out our commerce from her own ports, as ſhe finds by experience! And can ſhe ſhut it out from the reſt of Europe? It is our own fault that we do not ſend to France, in ſpite of her, a much greater ſhare of our commerce than we do. But by laying ſuch heavy duties upon the importation of French goods, our merchants are obliged to come back without a cargo, and thus trade at a great diſadvantage. Does France ſhut us out of Holland, out of the Baltic, out of the Mediterranean, out of the Adriatic? Is the Emperor of Ruſſia, as a compliment to Bonaparte, likely to refuſe the money carried into his dominions by the Britiſh merchants? Is it probable that the king of Pruſſia will give up, as a trifle, the immenſe benefits derived by his ſtates from the trade of Dantzic, Elbing, and Koningsberg, almoſt excluſively carried on by the Britiſh? Is there any danger that the Emperor of Germany will be ſo obliging to the French as to ſay to the Britiſh merchants—keep out of my harbours, and approach no more with thoſe noble means of the improvement of my dominions? One fact is, that Great Britain has *exported*, in the year of peace, in a very large proportion above any preceding year. And another fact is, that the influence of France on the continent of Europe has ſunk moſt materially ſince the ceſſation of hoſtilities, and that of Great Britain riſen! I know that in this laſt aſſertion I am correct, and that there is not a man capable of eſtimating the temper of nations, and acquainted with the continent of Europe, who will not aſſent to it.

"But St. Domingo—and Louiſiana—what formidable things are they?" Truly ſo they are; but to France, not to Great Britain! France is a country languiſhing in poverty. Whatever means can yet be picked up in it, are not to be employed in improving itſelf, but ſent to a diſtant colony, the mother-country ſtill remaining in poverty and weakneſs. The anxiety ſhewn by the French government about diſtant poſſeſſions, while they have ſuch an extent of unimproved poſſeſſions at home, proves them completely to be of that tribe of vulgar politicians, of which we have ſo many ourſelves, that we cannot be ſurprized to find France ſtocked with them. If France reſolve to make herſelf too ſtrong for us in the Weſt Indies, ſhe will give us admirable compenſation, by not growing too ſtrong at home.

"But do not the preſent alarms prove the peace to have been abominable?" Far from it! Such was the nature of the preceding war, ſuch was the ſtate of mind in which it left the inhabitants of Europe, ſuch in particular was the ſtate of mind in which it left the inhabitants of France and of Great Britain, that a ſtate of uncertainty, of alarms, was to be looked for, in ſpite of any terms of peace that could be deviſed. No peace could have prevented ſuch a ſtate! The wonder to all reflecting men is that the minds of the people of France and of Great Britain ſhould be compoſed to the degree in which they are, not that ſome marks of the old agitation ſhould yet remain. The wonder too is, not that ſome ſubjects of altercation ſhould be found in fulfilling the terms of ſuch a peace, as that negociated by Mr. Addington and his colleagues, but that it was poſſible to make a convention, which ſhould give us ſo fair a proſpect of recovering the bleſſings of peace and good neighbourhood, as that which they made. Who ever negociated

gociated a peace in ſuch difficult circumſtances, as that of which we treat? Is not this to be taken into the account in talking of the merit of thoſe who procured it? When was Europe in the diſjointed and chaotic ſtate in which the laſt war left it? When had any miniſter a nation to treat with of the nature of Republican France? When had the arms of any power acquired ſuch an aſcendency over thoſe of the other ſtates of Europe? It was a new and untried ſcene upon which Mr. Addington and his colleagues had to enter; it was a ſituation of affairs without a parallel in the hiſtory of nations; and the peace which they procured is a bleſſing, for which they deſerve the gratitude of their fellow-citizens, a reward which juſt poſterity will not fail to pay them *."

Thus far is very amply ſtated on one ſide of the queſtion; we muſt now attend to what is advanced on the other ſide and draw our concluſion from the premiſes:

Another very creditable and well written publication has given an explanation of what he calls "the ſyſtem of Mr. Addington's adminiſtration." He wiſhes to diveſt the public mind of any prejudices ſtill exiſting in its favour, and urges impartiality to view it in its conſequences.

"If we conſider for a moment," ſays this writer, "that Mr. Addington's adminiſtration commenced during a war which had called forth all our exertions, that it concluded a peace, and ſaw the renewal of hoſtilities a few months afterwards, it is not too bold to affirm, that whatever ſet of men ſucceed him cannot with prudence on a ſudden totally change the plans of their predeceſſors. Theſe plans are too cloſely interwoven with the occurrences of the times, and bear too near a relation to the ſyſtem of general warfare, to endure the violence of a ſudden ſhock; and care muſt be taken in 'rooting out the tares, that we root not out the wheat alſo.'

He then has a reference to the conduct of that miniſtry, when accepting their ſituations; and combats the opinion of their modeſty in the mode of that acceptance:

"That adminiſtration has had its advocates, who laboured to prove how much its members deſerved public confidence, for accepting their ſituations at a moment of peril and difficulty. Great pains were taken to perſuade the country that they aſſumed the reins of government with reluctance and even virgin coyneſs, but that they felt vigor and confidence from the ſupport they received, which induced them to undertake the arduous ſituation. This is their repreſentation; and, thus circumſtanced, they began by making appeals, both in and out of parliament, deſiring only to be judged by their actions, and craving credit for the conduct they intended to purſue. This credit was granted to them by a liberal public, and this credit was their due; for it is in the firſt inſtance always due from the parliament and the people to the miniſter whom his majeſty has been pleaſed to appoint, and nothing but the ſubſequent miſconduct, or incapacity, can forfeit the pledge."

From thus deducing the credit gained, to its ſource, an inſinuation is ſuggeſted to prove that the publications of Mr. Addington's virtue and talents were meant as miſrepreſentations of Mr. Pitt and his friends:

"Theſe appeals were not, however, confined to their maiden efforts, they were conſtantly reſorted to, whenever the ſmalleſt oppoſition was manifeſted; for, like fretful children, they were impatient of contradiction, and deemed it ſtupid or ungrateful in the parliament and the country either not to comprehend their meaſures, or to condemn them; yet, whilſt there appeared a deſire in the nation, which muſt have exceeded their moſt ſanguine expectations, to grant the fulleſt ſcope of indulgence to their good intentions, they grew ſo jealous and uneaſy at the very appearance of any diminution of confidence, that, ſoon after the laſt ſummer receſs, the public was reſorted to by anonymous publications, not only to prove the virtue and talents of Mr. Addington, but, by way of foil, and "*baſſo relievo*," to repreſent Mr. Pitt and his friends in the moſt odious colours."

After mentioning the auſpicious omens of public confidence which Mr. Addington was about to experience, the author reverts to a ſtatement of the great ſtrength of the country when Mr. Pitt reſigned the adminiſtration:

"The ready and liberal manner in which the public gave the ſhare of confidence demanded by the late adminiſtration, from their coming into office, and during their continuance there, was no doubt flattering to them at the moment; but its continuance and long ſuffering have left them to bear the burdens of their errors, without a ſhadow of apology.

"When Mr. Pitt quitted the adminiſtration, we had armies both at home and abroad, more numerous and better appointed than this country had ever poſſeſſed before. Our fleets were victorious in every part of the globe, and our dock-yards ſupplied with an abundance of naval ſtores; every colony of the enemy worth taking was in our hands, and the firſt conſul, anxiouſly deſirous of peace with England, in order to conſolidate his power. This, in a few words, was our triumphant ſituation, under the vigilant adminiſtration of Mr. Pitt, on the eve of concluding peace with France. Whether too much was, or was not, conceded, when the peace itſelf was made, will not now be inquired into. Bonaparte has openly declared, he did not think we ſhould ever have conſented to ſuch terms; and, perhaps, it was the extreme pliancy he perceived in our government that encouraged him to aſſume the menacing tone he afterwards adopted.

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* Literary Journal, Vol. I. p. 447.

" It is not meant to raiſe captious objections to the terms of peace, although, to judge fairly of it, we muſt always look at the *ſtatu quo* of the two countries upon the preliminary articles which ſettled the outline of pacification, when each party had conſidered their poſitive and relative ſituations towards each other, as well as towards the other powers of Europe."

The hoſtile conduct of Bonaparte and his adherents, next engages the writer's attention:

" But the immenſe acceſſion of ſtrength acquired by France, during this period, we ſhall long have to lament; and certainly this circumſtance would not only have juſtified our inſiſting upon other terms, but made it our incumbent duty to do ſo."

The reduction of our forces at the time the French were increaſing theirs is properly conſidered:

" The peace eſtabliſhment voted by parliament, and on which miniſters alſo congratulated themſelves, was in the firſt inſtance to have been *reduced* ſtill further; and what remained of it was not in a ſtate to act upon ſudden emergency. France looked at this conduct with ſecret pleaſure, as it ſo admirably ſeconded her views.

" The recruiting for the regular army, which had totally ſtopped, was renewed ſome months after the peace, when miniſters began to awake from their lethargy, and to diſcover they had carried the diſarming project to an unwarrantable length. This defenceleſs ſituation was one of the early returns made by miniſters to the country for the unlimited confidence repoſed in them; nor let it be ſaid in vindication that economy was their motive, for what are we to think of that truly cold economy, which, in common language, ſaves the money of the nation, at the riſk of the nation itſelf!

" That people which bounds its efforts only with its being, muſt give the law to that nation which will not puſh its oppoſition beyond its convenience." As France received back her conquered colonies, and perceived our perſevering ſyſtem of diſarming, her encroachments were confirmed, and her preparations for war advanced in moſt rapid progreſs; and it is ſcarcely poſſible to read the occurrences which took place between the governments of the two countries without heartfelt regret, that the nation had truſted her ſafety, and her honour, to men utterly incapable of ſo important and ſo ſacred a charge. It has been truly ſaid, that " a great ſtate is too much envied, too much dreaded, to find ſafety in limitation. To be ſecure, it muſt be reſpected. Power, and eminence, and conſideration, are things not to be begged. They muſt be commanded; and they who ſupplicate for mercy from others, can never hope for juſtice through themſelves."

" France, from the very concluſion of peace, not only retained, but even ſtrengthened, her warlike attitude by land and ſea, and left no doubts as to her views. Still, however, we were acting directly oppoſite to ſound policy, for the preſervation of that peace recently obtained by ſo many ſacrifices. Let us take a ſhort comparative view of the conduct of the two countries at the moment to which we allude.

" Our army was reduced from 250,000 men to 128,809 men. The navy from 130,000 to 50,000, which the miniſter ſaid he hoped ſtill further to reduce to 30,000; while, at the ſame moment, France was greatly augmenting her army, and the greateſt activity prevailed in all her ſea-ports for the equipment of her navy; towards which ſhe purchaſed not only a larger quantity of hemp in the Baltic than this country ever did in *any year of the war*, but actually bought what our government ſold at 30*l.* which had coſt us 70*l.* per ton. There was ſomething ſo very remarkable in the mode adopted by France to encreaſe her army in a rapid and extraordinary way, juſt after the peace with England, that it ought to be brought into notice, as it furniſhes undeniable proof how little ſhe was diſpoſed to cultivate pacific relations, either towards us or any other part of Europe. On the continent, the iron hand of French rapacity ſhewed itſelf at a very early period; for, it was ſoon after the definitive treaty that the ſenate congratulated the French people ' on the grand and happy ſyſtem of innovation (that is, the pillage of the continent of Europe) being brought to perfection in the year X.' It was only ſix weeks after the peace of Amiens that the raiſing of men, by conſcription, was revived, the moſt unpopular ſyſtem that had exiſted in France in the worſt of times; and an immediate levy was ordered of 120,000 men, to be repeated annually, to encreaſe the army of the line, already amounting to 300,000 men, beſides 150,000 militia, as an army of reſerve, to act as auxiliaries, to be levied and completed in three years. By this it appeared that one of the firſt *pacific acts* of the French government was to organize an army by regular ſyſtem, which would, in the preſent year, (1804,) amount to nearly one million of men; and this fully explains the paragraph in lord Whitworth's letter of the 21ſt of February, 1803, which ſays, that, in his communication with Bonaparte, he had ſtated that he could immediately put in motion an army of 480,000 men, ready to perform any deſperate enterprize, and that he would place himſelf at their head, to paſs the Streights of Calais. With theſe notorious facts in poſſeſſion of the public, Bonaparte did not ſcruple to affect a ſurpriſe at his majeſty's meſſage of the 8th of March, and to aſſert, in the face of all Europe, that he made it a glory to have been taken unprepared and by ſurprize."

To this is added a catalogue of French aggreſſions with the inconſiſtent conduct of the Britiſh miniſtry, and is very well adapted to the author's purpoſe in eſtabliſhing his opinions:

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" The annihilation of the ancient independent Republic of Switzerland, in profound peace, forms a prominent feature in the catalogue of French aggreſſion towards all Europe, and this country in particular, againſt which it was marked with pointed inſult in the official documents publiſhed, when the firſt conſul forced his mediation upon that unhappy country, and threatened his vengeance for their having dared to utter a murmur of complaint, or make an appeal TO US for protection againſt their tyrannical oppreſſor. The rapid manner of our withdrawing the interference we had ſo precipitately offered was a proof of our deference to the will of Bonaparte. The various demands made by him, in a tone of imperious command, for ſurpreſſing the liberty of the preſs, and diſmiſſing emigrants, who had ſought protection in this country—the refuſal of every kind of ſatisfaction to Engliſh creditors, and preventing the recovery of their juſt debts, as well from private perſons as from the French government—the attempt to abridge, nay, almoſt annul, the power of the emperor of Germany, and the proceedings carried on and connected with theſe arbitrary ſteps in the moſt hoſtile manner to our national intereſts—the refuſal to withdraw his troops from Holland, notwithſtanding the ſtrong remonſtrances of the Dutch people, and his declaration that he took upon himſelf the ſettlement of all differences in that country, which he treated like a department of France—the arreſt of and conduct towards captain D'Auvergne, an officer of rank and eminence in the Britiſh navy —the ſyſtem of abuſe adopted in his official journal againſt his majeſty perſonally, as well as againſt the people of this country—the oppreſſive reſtrictions upon the trade with England, further aggravated by every ſpecies of vexation, and the ſeizure of Engliſh ſhips and property, in defiance of the regulations which France herſelf had eſtabliſhed—the peremptory demand to evacuate Malta, although none of the conditions ſtipulated by the Treaty of Amiens on this point had been complied with, and ſome of them been even rendered impracticable, by the meaſures of his own dependant allies, together with the little diſpoſition which was ſhewn to ſubſtitute others, and accommodate differences—the hoſtile motive avowed in the official report of Sebaſtiani's voyage to Egypt, with the inſulting explanation given to our ambaſſador, to which was added the memorable challenge that we dared not go to war.

" His majeſty's German dominions were wreſted from us *a few days* after the recal of our ambaſſador from Paris, by a French army under general Mortier, who was known to have been appointed to the command of the Hanoverian army ſeveral weeks before. Notwithſtanding which, our miniſters confidently aſſerted, that the French could not be in Hanover in leſs than two months; and, always purſuing the ſame tardy meaſures, tranſports were hired to carry off the troops and effects from that devoted country, which were actually lying in the River Thames while it was pillaging by the French generals!"

The indulgence of parliament, the partiality of the public, and the univerſal ſupport of Mr. Addington's adminiſtration are brought as proofs of confidence ill-beſtowed, and concluſive data of inattention and incapacity:

" Oppoſition did not exiſt during the adminiſtration of Mr. Addington. He began his career in unclouded ſkies, and, like the ſummer ſun, his rays were only obſcured by vapours which he raiſed around himſelf. Never was a public more partial to an inexperienced miniſter, for he filled the meaſure of his follies before he tired the good nature and loſt the confidence of the country.

" The conduct of parliament towards his adminiſtration, from the firſt moment of its exiſtence, ſhews that he held the reins of government with credit for zealous and upright intentions; and the ſupport from Mr. Pitt and his friends, on the peace, was given under a firm reliance, that though great ſacrifices had been made to attain it, yet what remained of doubts and obſcurity would be met by increaſed vigilance and decided conduct. It is impoſſible to put any other conſtruction upon the feelings of the public, or the conduct of individuals on this occaſion; and it cannot be too clearly ſtated, ſo long as thoſe (whether in or out of parliament) who defended the peace are accuſed of inconſiſtency in their ſubſequent conduct towards the late adminiſtration. The ſupport given to that meaſure was in uniſon with the feelings of the country at that moment. It by no means implied a future ſanction to an accumulation of aggreſſions injurious to our intereſts, and far leſs a relaxation of that vigilance and energy, which the conduct of France, ſince that epoch, impoſed upon us more than ever as an imperious duty to perform. This, in a few words, is the point at iſſue between the parties on this part of the queſtion. As to the views and intentions of the firſt conſul towards this country, he has furniſhed evidence ſufficient to put them out of all doubt. The confidence in Mr. Addington did not ſtop here; he was ſuffered to do more than would have overthrown an adminiſtration of much higher talents than his could boaſt.—The country was on a ſudden replunged in war, after a reſpite of only a few months, by the acts of the ſame men in power; and here again credit was given them for their good intentions, to have averted if poſſible ſo terrible a calamity, although in truth it came upon us from a perſeverance in a ſyſtem radically weak and defective *."

We have thus ſtated, to the beſt of our power, the opinions on both ſides, concerning the ability or inability of the Addington adminiſtration to this period, and although we do not find room to praiſe the continued ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act, the cry

* *The Conduct and Character of the late and preſent Adminiſtration conſidered.* P. 3, et ſeq.

of conſpiracy, the production of ſealed bags of papers, the continuance of martial law in Ireland, the ſyſtem of ſecret impriſonment and other equally obnoxious meaſures; we are fully inclined to give the moſt ample credit to a miniſtry, who, from the moſt fair, equitable, and honeſt motives, reſtored peace to the country, diſburthened it of odious taxes, and by the moderation of its meaſures, had not French cunning been prevalent over Britiſh generoſity, might have conducted itſelf to the ſatisfaction of the country and agreeably to the excellent character which it evidently poſſeſſed.

CHAP. IV.

Public Anxiety on the Deciſions of Parliament.—Mr. Fox's Idea of a Negociation canvaſſed.—Aggreſſions of the Firſt Conſul recapitulated as a Reaſon againſt negociating.—The Diviſion on the Call for State Papers lamented.—Why.—Impoſition of the French Journaliſts by falſe Statements to deceive the People.—Inſtanced in interpolating Mr. Sheridan's Speech concerning Bonaparte's Tyrannical Conduct.—Remarks on Negociation continued, and that Mode of acting refuted.—Mr. Pitt's Opinion in Parliament on the general Subject in diſpute.

THE proceedings in parliament, on no occaſion excited ſo much curioſity, or were looked to with more anxiety and expectation than at this time. Mr. Fox had ſaid *, "That France had diſcloſed a wiſh to have Egypt; but that a wiſh is not neceſſarily followed by an enterprize for its gratification; that a plan was formed by France in 1786, for obtaining Egypt, and that the miniſters of that time, inſtead of going to war, negociated a commercial treaty with France."

This aſſertion had been fully controverted upon equitable grounds; for when it is conſidered what a new appearance politics have aſſumed ſince that period, a complete change of circumſtances will evince to the well regulated and reflecting mind, that the preſent era of politics is very different from that of 1786; inſtead of the ſyſtematical monarchial government of France, where diplomatic arrangements were, at leaſt, reſpected, Great Britain had to cope with the caprice of a man, who by an unchecked career of uſurpation, aggrandizement, and ambition, grew frantic with ſucceſs, and dealt out the moſt daring deſpotiſm; no one could therefore conſider himſelf an Engliſhman, and reſtrain his indignation on peruſing the inſults which the Firſt Conſul, in his converſation with lord Whitworth, offered to the ſovereign of the Britiſh empire. Even to temperate men, the papers laid before parliament conveyed an abundant ground for a declaration of war. There was ſcarcely a ſingle act of the Firſt Conſul ſince the ſignature and ratification of the Treaty of Amiens, that had not afforded matter of juſt offence to this country. His views of aggrandiſement, exemplified in his acquirement of Piedmont, and other parts of Italy, his obtaining poſſeſſion of the Iſle of Elba, his behaviour towards Switzerland, and his conduct in marching French troops into Holland, were ſufficient grounds for taking up arms againſt a power ſo avowedly void of faith, and regardleſs of the principle of the law of nations; that no government having made a treaty of peace ſhall obtain acceſſion of territory, which neceſſarily involves an addition to its ſtrength, without the conſent of the other contracting party. But excluſive of theſe leading features of offence in the conduct of the Firſt Conſul of France, his very complaints of affronts and inſults, conveyed to the Britiſh government by M. Otto and general Andreoſſi, were inſulting and derogatory to the king's honour and dignity. The remonſtrances made by the firſt gentleman went directly to an attack on the rights of hoſpitality. They demanded a deprivation of that protection which the Britiſh government had, ſo honourably to the character of the country, extended to the princes of the blood, of the lately overthrown French monarchy, to the French biſhops, and other French individuals. The expectation that ſuch a demand would be complied with, is moſt arrogant and preſumptuous. The next requiſition was, that the Britiſh preſs ſhould be reſtrained by poſitive laws. The very propoſition of ſuch a matter was almoſt beyond the forbearance of Britiſh patience to liſten to. In this country, the law is inveſted with full powers over the preſs. We lament its licentiouſneſs, occaſionally indulged in, as much as any men, but we feel conſolation in the recollection that its exceſs may be reſtrained, and its indecency puniſhed by the good ſenſe and ſound judgment of a Britiſh jury, as often as an appeal ſhall be thought proper to be made to one. The liberty of the preſs is one of the vital and fundamental principles of the conſtitution of the Britiſh empire, and every ſubject of our gracious ſovereign ſhould ſubmit to the diſgrace of cloathing himſelf with ſackcloth and heaping his head with aſhes, when he ſees the government ſo degraded, as to bow to the dictation of a foreign power with reſpect to the government of the preſs.

With regard to the various other topics adverted to, and complained of in his Majeſty's declaration, there is ſcarcely one of them that does not in itſelf contain ſo much matter of offence to a great and independent country, that, when refuſed to be ſatisfactorily explained, does not conſtitute a reaſonable, or rather a juſtifiable cauſe of war.

Though the debates in parliament were now extremely intereſting and important; it was lamented that thoſe noblemen and gentlemen, who, in each houſe, expreſſed their anxiety to keep the door for conciliation

* In the Debate of May 24, 1803, on a motion for an Addreſs to his Majeſty on his Meſſage relative to the war with France.

tion open, puſhed their argument to a diviſion, upon the call for public papers during the negociation; as ſuch a circumſtance might have led to very unfortunate conſequences, being very probable that, for the ſake of deluding the people of France, the Firſt Conſul might draw from it a concluſion that the parliament of Great Britain was divided in opinion as to the juſtice of the war*. With all the deference due to the abilities and honour of the members of both houſes, poſſeſſed, as they are, and as the world acknowledges, of diſtinguiſhed talent and unſullied virtue, the above conduct was to be deplored, as unneceſſary; there being a certain point in negociation where the ground is ſerious and important beyond which the government of a great country ſhould not go, unleſs it were willing to hazard its meaſures as contemptible, and itſelf a marked object of deſerved ſcorn and ridicule in the eyes of the world, for its miſchievous puſillanimity. It ſhould be conſidered that the earlier a war is brought to a termination, the better it will be for both countries, who have the misfortune ſo to be involved; ever remembering that means of conciliatory negociation are always open whether in peace or war.

As nothing of importance occurred after Mr. Fox's motion on the mediation of Ruſſia during the continuance of the month of May, for the ſake of method, and to maintain the proper connexion of the Hiſtory, a few additional remarks preſent themſelves.

The communication already made by Ruſſia, however vague and indefinite, when compared with what lord Hawkeſbury had aſſerted in the debate on the mediation, might have prepared the public mind for ſome friendly overture on the part of Ruſſia; but it was at that time a very ſlight foundation, and ought not, if truly appreciated, to have produced ſuch an effect. War had been declared. It had alſo been carried into execution; and under thoſe circumſtances lord Hawkeſbury had ſaid, "That government would not relax its exertions, but, at the ſame time, that it would not refuſe the friendly offices to bring about a reconciliation. No pacific concluſion was therefore to be deduced from ſuch premiſes. Upon every principle of policy or caution, no miniſter could dare to uſe any other language; for it would be very ſtrange, if embarking in a war of neceſſity, for in no other light could the country conſider it, a miniſter

* This obſervation is much ſtrengthened by peruſing a recent publication in which the following is worthy of particular notice: "On ſome occaſions the Pariſian official papers impoſe on their French readers an apparent detail of what the *inſolent* iſlanders expreſs, in their ſpeeches and writings againſt the great Conſul; but this in ſo artful and mutilated a ſtyle, as either to ſuppreſs whatever might render Bonaparte odious, to ſoften ſuch matters down by milder expreſſions, or even ſubſtitute others of a wholly different import.

This mode of tranſlating was exemplified in a ſpeech of Mr. Sheridan's, printed in the Morning Chronicle and in the Moniteur. When the Engliſh orator cannot refrain from expreſſing the higheſt indignation at Bonaparte's treachery and tyranny towards Switzerland, and the Engliſh journaliſt faithfully communicates all his ſtrong and ſevere expreſſions, the Moniteur makes the orator merely ſay, "I allude particularly to the conduct of this power towards Switzerland."

When Mr. Sheridan ſpeaks of the workings of humbled pride in the breaſt of ſuch a man as Bonaparte; of his endeavours at revenge for humiliations ſuffered; and of his increaſed power to gratify that revenge; the unfaithful French reporter applies the whole to France, which has already experienced what Engliſh arms can effect. He makes the orator take a view of the map of Europe, and obſerve that nearly the whole is over-ruled by France. He deſcribes the Firſt Conſul as governing the whole world of which the Engliſh orator in this place ſays not one word; and in this way does Bonaparte's able tranſlator and faithful reporter make the enemy of Bonaparte ſay the very things which the French hear of him with moſt pleaſure.

When the Engliſh orator afterwards ſhews that Bonaparte has more urgent reaſons than the Bourbons for attempting daring enterprizes, and conſtantly aiming at the government of the whole world, becauſe the latter had the prejudice of a long train of celebrated anceſtors in their favour, and could ſecurely depend on the ſentiments which affection and loyalty inſpired towards the hereditary ſucceſſor of a powerful throne, the Moniteur merely obſerves, "France is not now what it was under the Bourbons. That family had a reſpect for hereditary ſucceſſion, and for the other branches that had ſprung from the ſame ſtem;" not a word of which is in Mr. Sheridan's ſpeech.

—When the energetic Engliſhman thus proceeds: "In Bonaparte's ſituation there is a phyſical neceſſity for his proceeding continually in his plans of conqueſt, for he muſt inceſſantly hold up to the French the proſpect of making them the maſters of the world, if they will only continue to bow before him as his ſlaves;" the ſubtle conſular writer only ſays; "Bonaparte is under a moral neceſſity of aſſuring the French people, that he will make them maſters of the world, if they will only conſent to obey him."

Equally perverted and maimed is that paſſage of the ſpeech wherein it is ſhewn, that Bonaparte does not think ſo much of improving the trade of France, as of ruining that of England; of crippling and deſtroying the Engliſh marine; and that, except England he has nothing worthy of his ambition, as the reſt of Europe lies like a vaſſal at his feet.

The Engliſh orator, with great ſtrength of reaſoning, and in the moſt ſtriking colours of truth, deſcribes the education of Bonaparte to have been "of that kind which renders him incapable of purſuing commercial plans that require a ſpirit of moderaton, and have in them nothing dazzling;" he adds, that "bred in a camp, he purſues all his aims with the ambition of a conqueror, and the heedleſs precipitation of a deſpot." He aſks, "What is the nature of that philanthropy and philoſophy on which the Conſul expatiated to Mr. Fox with ſo much energy;" Sheridan at length concludes in the following words:—"The proud preſumption of Bonaparte gives us an important leſſon. He calls himſelf an inſtrument in the hand of Providence; one ſent from God, who is to reſtore to the Swiſs their loſt happineſs, and to place Italy on the ſummit of power and ſplendour. I however believe that Bonaparte is an inſtrument employed by Providence to attach the Engliſh more and more to their Conſtitution and Liberty: whoever treads upon Britiſh ground, after leaving France, feels as if he had eſcaped from a dungeon, and were reſtored to light and freedom." On this head, the French reporter, omitting almoſt all the preceding obſervations, confines himſelf to the following words: "Bonaparte is an inſtrument in the hands of Providence, not merely to puniſh the people of England and Ireland, but to confirm them in the love of their conſtitution." *Bonaparte and the French People under his Conſulate.*

miniſter ſhould declare in parliament, "he would not liſten to any terms of accommodation!"

Mr. Fox's motion therefore could only be intended to mark his averſion to the war:

A treaty offenſive and defenſive between the principal powers of Europe, for the purpoſe of curbing the ambition of Bonaparte, was an event devoutly to be wiſhed for; but although the general readineſs to accept the mediation of Ruſſia, it is not to be believed that Mr. Fox expected in the preſent ſtate of things, that any good could reſult from it. Mediation avails in all caſes, where both parties betray an uncomplying diſpoſition; but that was not our caſe. There was no degree of conceſſion or forbearance conſiſtent with national honour, we might almoſt ſay exiſtence, which had not marked the conduct of this country ſince the ſigning of the Treaty of Amiens. The emperor of Ruſſia could not as a mediator aſk us to ſacrifice more to the friendſhip of the Firſt Conſul than we have ſacrificed already. As an umpire then he could only read a leſſon of moderation to the Firſt Conſul; but after the latter had openly avowed his deſigns upon Egypt, after he had declared that Egypt "ſooner or later" muſt be his, we ſaw no chance of his conſent to an arrangement for the perfect ſecurity of that province; and without ſuch ſecurity, miniſters could not, without a total diſavowal of their policy, give up Malta. Deſpairing then of the ability of Ruſſia to work ſuch a reformation in the government of France, and to extort from it ſuch an arrangement at the preſent moment, we could expect no good from its mediation, whilſt the conduct of France betrayed a very hoſtile and angry ſpirit.

The treatment of all the Engliſh, Iriſh, and Scotch in France, both male and female, who had been arreſted by order of the Firſt Conſul—the ladies having been ſent to Fontainbleau, and the men diſtributed in the ſeveral priſons—were very poor ſpecimens of his deſire for conciliation. A general detainer had been alſo laid upon all the Engliſh in France, and a ſimilar meaſure been taken in Holland.

Under ſuch unpropitious circumſtances for pacific negociation, no other concluſion could be drawn than that with a foe ſo unprincipled, a power ſo depraved, the war muſt evidently continue, notwithſtanding all the ſpeculations to the contrary.

The opinions of great men during periods ſo intereſting are of conſequence; Mr. Pitt's upon this occaſion is very important to be known, therefore it is ſubjoined, to ſhew, that in this inſtance, as well as in many others, he had identified himſelf as the advocate of Mr. Addington's miniſtry. He harmonized with their conduct, language and principles ſo completely, that we muſt conſider their adminiſtration equally ſolid and ſubſtantial, as if it had been oſtenſibly the adminiſtration of Mr. Pitt:

"In all or moſt of the great general principles of policy laid down by the Honourable Gentleman oppoſite me (Mr. Fox) I moſt heartily concur. I heard them with much ſatisfaction, and that ſatisfaction was enhanced by the manner in which they were received and approved of by my noble friend; as from this circumſtance we may ſafely infer, that ſhould an opportunity occur of this country availing itſelf of a powerful continental mediation, the confidential adviſers of his Majeſty are determined that opportunity ſhall not be loſt. I am extremely happy to find that we are all now agreed in the general principle adopted and acted upon in the beſt of times, and never more ardently ſtruggled for than during the late—a principle which has eſtabliſhed the ſecurity, increaſed the fame, and conſolidated the trueſt and beſt intereſts of this country; viz. that the real policy of England is to avail itſelf of all the aſſiſtance it can derive from the other powers of Europe, in guarding and maintaining the rights and independence of the whole, and particularly of the minor powers, who muſt be incapable of making any effectual reſiſtance of themſelves to oppoſe reſiſtance to the encroachments of the more powerful and ambitious; not directing our views particularly againſt France, though on account of our frequent wars, ſhe has conſtantly been regarded as our natural enemy; but, on a more liberal and manly ſcale, againſt any other nation that ſhould be purſuing ſuch objects, that, without any peculiar jealouſy or partiality, we ſhould endeavour to draw the attention of others, as well as watch ourſelves, not which was the power offending, but whoſe were the ambition and aggreſſion, and that on all ſuch occaſions, the aggrieved might confidently look for protection from Great Britain, though itſelf out of the reach of thoſe wounds to which others are expoſed. I do not deny that there may be countries ſo diſtant, or ſo circumſtanced as not to be Britiſh objects, in ſuch a degree as that we ſhould at all times riſk a war for them, though the oppreſſed muſt ever be entitled at leaſt to our compaſſion. I particularly rejoice at this general ambition, and chiefly from the Honourable Gentleman oppoſite me; becauſe, at a time when an adminiſtration, of which I had the honour to be a member, was making an application of this principle, I had the misfortune to find myſelf zealouſly oppoſed by that Honourable Gentleman, with the full force of thoſe powers and talents which he is always ſo well able to diſplay, and which I have good reaſon ever to remember? and it is with pleaſure I obſerve his declaration, and temperate ſpeech of this evening, ſtrictly and wiſely limited to their object, amount almoſt to a contradiction of his former ſentiments. I was acting upon a full conviction of the propriety of this principle of continental alliances, that till I deſpaired of obtaining any aſſiſtance from the Continent, I never thought of entering into any ſeparate negotiation

ciliation for peace. In the laſt war, I allow that great and unprecedented ſubſidies had been granted to foreign powers, and even to ſome who afterwards abuſed them, and that great ſacrifices were made for that purpoſe by this country; but it was all with an adherence to this true and approved principle. It was only when we had no longer any chance of aſſiſtance from the Continent, and none of its intereſts to provide for; it was only when we had to conſider of no more than terms for ourſelves that we found ourſelves more at liberty to make conceſſions, and even of Britiſh objects, in order to avoid the evils of a protracted war. I aſſure the Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Fox) that what I have ſaid has been ſpoken with the utmoſt ſincerity, and not with the ſlighteſt view of referring to former diſcuſſions, nor for the purpoſe of alluding to any variations in his ſentiments. I ſincerely think that it is of infinite importance to the country to remember the principles on which he ſupported his motion of this evening, as his opinion cannot fail to have all that weight in the nation to which his high character and eminent talents are ſo juſtly entitled. It is ſtill of the more conſequence that this opinion ſhould be known, as many gentlemen in this houſe, under the ſhelter of his authority, have carried the oppoſite principle much farther than ever I have known him to do, who openly rejoiced at our being diſencumbered, as they call it, of all ſuch alliances, who publicly rejoiced when they appeared no longer attainable, are now ready to maintain, that nothing could be more unjuſtifiable than to ſacrifice any Britiſh objects, however ſmall, to continental purpoſes or alliances. I have already ſaid, that all foreign powers were not ſo much Britiſh objects as that any encroachments on them could be, in all caſes and circumſtances, conſidered as grounds of war. War muſt be the leſs deſirable on ſuch occaſions, and, perhaps, even not juſtifiable, when it may not be likely to attain its objects. It was for this reaſon, that he ſaw many great apprehenſions paſs without any ſerious interference on the part of England. Let theſe gentlemen learn and be aware of the authority in which it is this night admitted, that Britiſh objects may ſometimes be advantageouſly ſacrificed for continental purpoſes; and that whether in war, or in the courſe of negotiations, which may lead either to war or peace, it is the duty and policy of this country to avail itſelf of any diſpoſition it may find or excite in any of the great powers of the Continent to act in concert with it. I cannot but very highly approve of the temper and diſcretion with which the honourable gentleman abſtained from applying the effect of the mediation he recommends to the particular objects in diſpute between the two countries. The honourable gentleman has adverted to another object, of a nature as important as it is deſirable, which I ſhould be extremely happy, if I could look forward to with any confident or ſanguine expectation. The honourable gentleman expreſſed his hopes, founded on the humane and magnanimous character of the Emperor of Ruſſia, would extend his influence more generally and comprehenſively on the general peace and ſecurity of Europe; that the other powers ſhould remain in their preſent ſituation; that thoſe who had loſt by war ſhould put up with their loſſes; that thoſe who had gained advantages ſhould not be allowed to entertain any means of extending them. Certainly, if, by a league between the great powers of Europe, theſe grand objects could be accompliſhed, if there could be found any means of uniting with or engrafting on the proffered mediation of the Emperor of Ruſſia in the preſent differences, any proſpect or chance of perpetual peace, and general guarantee of the intereſts of all, I ſhould conſider that, for ſo deſirable an object in this diſpute, ſomething leſs advantageous than otherwiſe to the intereſts of England, would be conſidered as inadmiſſible. Be that as it may, I think we are all agreed that we ought not unneceſſarily to ſeparate ourſelves from continental connections and alliances, but be ready, to link ourſelves in intereſt with them again, either in war or peace, whenever an opportunity may preſent itſelf; and I readily concur in the opinion, that the Emperor of Ruſſia would be the moſt advantageous, powerful, and moſt natural ally for this country. But if we ſhall be left ſingly to ſtruggle againſt a dangerous and implacable adverſary, if reduced to fight alone in order to counteract the hoſtile views of France upon Britiſh intereſts, I would not indiſcreetly part with any of thoſe great and ſubſtantial ſecurities which had been gained by Britiſh valour, and which Britiſh valour would ſtill, if neceſſary, retain. I would not throw away any of the advantages we now poſſeſs, either by continuing hoſtilities, till ſome accommodation may be agreed upon, or the retention of theſe ſecurities, which in the proſecution of the war muſt be productive of the moſt beneficial effects to ourſelves, and may, under a variety of poſſible circumſtances, induce ſome powers of the Continent to ſhake off their fetters to unite and to make a common cauſe with us. In that caſe we ſhould reap a double advantage for retaining them; and at all events, the retention of ſuch important ſecurities would, at leaſt, hold out an encouragement which may, ſooner or later, have an effect upon the powers of the Continent favourable to our intereſts. Notwithſtanding this, I am very far from recommending to the people of this country to hope, or even to dream, that this conteſt was not to be their own, or to ſuppoſe that the ſtruggle will, in any caſe, reſt with the powers of the Continent, unleſs they conſent to be reduced to the ſame degree of debaſement, degradation and miſery, to which ſo many countries and eſtates have been ſubjected chiefly by their own weakneſs

weakneſs and timidity. Feeling then the force of the grand principle which the honourable mover has ſo candidly admitted, and confident that the determination of miniſters not to loſe any chance of effectual mediation which may preſent itſelf, if the honourable gentleman be led to believe that there remains no immediate neceſſity of preſſing it, I am in hopes that he will not perſevere in his motion, nor ſuffer it to be put to the previous queſtion, which, however, I think was the beſt mode my noble friend could have taken to get rid of it. The reaſon why I am ſo anxious for this is, that the inference which might be drawn from a diviſion would be, that one ſide of the houſe was leſs diſpoſed to adopt the ſyſtem of mediation and conciliation than the other; and that the acceptance of the mediation would come more graciouſly, and with greater effect, if the government could not be ſuppoſed to have been forced into it by a haſty interference of the parliament."

CHAP. V.

Intereſting View of Politics.—The Motives of the French aſcertained and explained.—Moderation of the Engliſh evidenced by the King's Proclamation for raiſing the Militia.—Sir Francis D'Ivernois's Remarks on the general Subject of French Perfidy.—Difference of the Deſire of the Engliſh to maintain Peace contraſted with that of France.—Curious Anecdote of the Introduction and Treatment of Ambaſſadors.—The Preparations for Hoſtility proved by various Works carried on in France.—Gun-boats deſcribed.

WE now take an intereſting view of the political hemiſphere. In France it had been made matter of reproach againſt the Engliſh government, that they were intimidated by the threat of an invaſion by a force conſiſting of four hundred and eighty thouſand men. That there was a ſufficient ground for ſuch apprehenſion, at a time when the Engliſh forces, naval and military, were ſo much reduced, and moreover, ſo much diſperſed, that had the Firſt Conſul thought it worthy his purpoſe to ſacrifice fifteen or twenty thouſand men, and the firſt veſſels he might have found in Holland, it was by no means certain that a landing in England might not have been effected, and very conſiderable ravages committed, before troops could have been collected ſufficient to repel and chaſtiſe ſuch an attack: Nor would there have been in ſuch an outrage any greater breach of faith, than was diſplayed in the invaſion which ſo long and ſo bitterly tormented the inhabitants of Egypt.

In ſuch critical circumſtances, what ſteps were the Engliſh miniſtry to follow? Had they publiſhed to the world the inſolent menaces, which had been uttered to the ambaſſador of their ſovereign, they would have cut off all hope of peace, and all poſſibility of negociation. If they had brought forward the hoſtile budget, of which, though not formally publiſhed, they undoubtedly had cognizance, Bonaparte would immediately have ſuppreſſed it, have prevented another, and made Europe ring with his charges againſt them of miſrepreſentation and falſehood.

We follow the intereſting obſervations of ſir F. D'Ivernois, and remark with him, that "the criſis was ſingularly preſſing." It was abſolutely neceſſary, without a moment's delay, to man the fleet, to call out the militia*, and to aſſign, at the ſame time, ſome oſtenſible cauſe for ſuch meaſures. A motive juſt and ſufficient in itſelf, and capable of being laid before the world without prejudice to the negotiations then on foot, preſented itſelf in the military preparations carried on upon the coaſts of France and Holland, including among others, the expedition equipped at Breſt for the Eaſt Indies, and that which, in violation of the law of nations,

* To ſhew how moderate the Engliſh government were in all their meaſures, the following will be evidently convincing:—

BY THE KING.

A Proclamation, for increaſing the Militia.

GEORGE R.

Whereas it is expedient that the number of our Militia forces ſhould be increaſed without delay: And whereas the occaſion thereof hath been communicated to Parliament: We have thought fit, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, to publiſh this our Proclamation; and we do hereby in purſuance of the powers which are veſted in us by an Act paſſed in the forty-ſecond year of our reign, intituled "An Act for amending the Laws relating to the Militia in England, and for augmenting the Militia," and of another Act paſſed in the ſame year, intituled "An Act to raiſe and eſtabliſh a Militia Force in Scotland," order and direct that, in addition to the number of men already required to be raiſed under the ſaid Acts by the ſeveral Counties, Ridings, Stewartries, Cities, and Places therein mentioned, there ſhall forthwith be raiſed and enrolled in the ſaid ſeveral Counties, Ridings, Stewartries, Cities, and Places therein mentioned, reſpectively, ſuch a number of men as may amount to, but not exceed the proportion of one-half of the whole number of men required to be raiſed by the ſaid Acts in each County, Riding, Stewartry, City, and Place reſpectively: And we do hereby further order and direct our Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants reſpectively, of the ſaid ſeveral Counties, Ridings, Stewartries, Cities and Places, immediately to aſſemble and forthwith proceed to apportion the number of men hereby required to be raiſed in their reſpective Counties, Ridings, Stewartries, Cities, and Places among the ſeveral Hundreds, Rapes, Lathes, Wapentakes, or other Diviſions, and alſo among the ſeveral Pariſhes, Tythings, or Places therein reſpectively, and thereafter to proceed to raiſe and enrol ſuch men on or before the 16th of July next enſuing.

Given at our Court at St. James's, the 26th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1803, in the forty-third year of our reign. GOD ſave the KING.

and the faith of treaties, the Conſul fitted out at Helvoetſluys to take poſſeſſion of Louiſiana.

It is to be obſerved, that the king of England's meſſage to parliament by no means repreſented that the avowed were not the real deſtinations of theſe armaments; but, on the contrary, expreſsly ſtated, that the neceſſity for taking meaſures of precaution with reſpect to them, aroſe from the poſſibility "of an unfavourable termination to exiſting negotiations of very high importance, and of which it repreſented that the iſſue was uncertain." This laſt circumſtance was a ſufficient juſtification; or if any addition to it had been thought neceſſary, the military preparations of France, the vaſt force raiſed there in time of peace, the exceſſive expenditure on the French navy, contraſted with the important reductions in the force of Great Britain, might have been mentioned in general terms: and in this caſe, to be ſure, we might have been ſpared Bonaparte's deluſive cry, ſo eternally repeated, that he had but three corvettes at Dunkirk, and two frigates in Holland.—(He finds it prudent to ſay nothing of the ſtrong force fitted out at Breſt under Linois.) But, not to dwell longer on this point, the fact is, that our miniſters never repreſented the naval armaments of France as the ſole or even as the chief motive of the meaſures of precaution, to which they had recourſe. On the contrary, it was particularly and repeatedly ſtated to Talleyrand, that "even had thoſe armaments not been ſo notorious as they were, the very circumſtance of the firſt conſul's determination to augment ſo conſiderably his army in time of peace, would have been a full and ſufficient motive for ſuch meaſures of precaution*."

All this, however, in the contemplation of Bonaparte, it ſeems ſignified nothing. Inſtead of repelling the charge of ſo conſiderably augmenting his army, the conſul ſtill harped upon his two frigates, and his three corvettes; in order to ſhew that ſuch a force was neither alarming in itſelf, nor directed againſt England. He would have it ſuppoſed, that this country had maintained they were: and the unvaried aſſertions of the firſt conſul apparently was a denial of this. "If on the 8th of March 1803, there were in the ports of France or Holland any formidable armament; if any ſingle movement was going forward, on which the moſt jealous ſuſpicion could fix an unfavourable conſtruction, then are we the aggreſſors, and the king of England's meſſage, and his hoſtile poſition, were dictated by juſt precaution," &c.

But this reaſoning, is gratuitouſly fallacious. It never was contended, that the mere exiſtence of a formidable armament in a French port, would render France an aggreſſor againſt England, unleſs it could alſo be proved that it was directed againſt that country. The meſſage of March the 8th did not inſinuate any thing of the kind, but implied the very reverſe.

Fifteen months before, the Engliſh government had ſeen depart from the ports of France and Holland a formidable armament, of a very different deſcription. Why was it, that they put no unfavourable conſtruction upon that? Why was it, that they carried their indulgence ſo far, as to permit it to ſail before the definitive treaty of peace? Becauſe their own fleet was then on a war-eſtabliſhment—becauſe Bonaparte had not then inſtituted his annual levy of 120,000 conſcripts, or proclaimed that he could, in a moment, complete his army to the number of 480,000 effective men—laſtly, becauſe it was then impoſſible to foreſee ſuch *pacific* meaſures, as his budgets for 1802 and 1803.

Bonaparte affirmed that he had made no preparation—that the armaments alledged againſt him were purely *ideal*. But the Engliſh government without attempting to ſpecify by name every yard, every arſenal, and every warehouſe, in which he expended the enormous ſums appropriated to his navy, ſums far exceeding thoſe expended by the court of Verſailles in the year of preparation for taking part againſt England in the American war, knew very well, that he was building many new veſſels at Breſt, at Toulon, at Rochefort, and at L'Orient; they knew very well, that the French government had bought up in the Baltic, and even in London, great quantities of naval ſtores †. But ſurely, without going into all theſe details, it was quite enough to give them the alarm, as to his actual or intended armaments, to learn from his own documents, that for the laſt ſix months his naval expences had been one half greater than thoſe of any half year in the war.

Let us reverſe the caſe: let us ſuppoſe, that in the beginning of 1803, Great Britain, inſtead of reducing one half of her forces, naval and military, had conſiderably increaſed them, while France had been diminiſhing her's. Would not ſuch a conduct have been regarded at St. Cloud, as the certain forerunner of hoſtilities? Would not the conſul have held it out to Europe, as a declaration of war? Could any man have blamed him, if he had had immediate recourſe to *meaſures of precaution*? Or would it have been expected, that he ſhould have reſted perfectly ſatisfied with a declaration on the part of England, that ſhe had taken *no ſtep, on which the*

* See Lord Whitworth's diſpatch to Lord Hawkeſbury, of March 12, 1803.

† The quantity of hemp purchaſed is ſtated in accounts worthy of credit, at twelve thouſand tons, being a greater quantity than was uſed by the Engliſh navy in the moſt active year of the laſt war. If this be true, and it is ſtrongly corroborated by the diſpatch with which he has equipped his numberleſs gun boats, it is ſurely not too much to infer, that he had that armament in his contemplation.

moſt

moſt ſuſpicious jealouſy could put an unfavourable conſtruction?

Bonaparte might indeed have alleged a plauſible pretext for the vaſt expences on his navy. To a certain degree, an unuſual expenditure upon that object might have been juſtified, by the ſtate of ruin, to which the victories of England had reduced it in the war. But he was above having recourſe to ſuch arguments. He would not *juſtify* his conduct, but *denied* it. He had made no preparations; and, *on ſuch an occaſion, it was his higheſt glory to have been taken by ſurpriſe* *.

Strange to tell, the members of the French legiſlature, who, in thirteen ſhort months had given their aſſent to his two peace-budgets, and had voted his two levies of 120,000 men each, forgetting, all at once, their own decrees, received with devout docility, and repeated with a fervor of admiration thoſe words of the *Saviour of France:* "His higheſt glory is to have been taken by ſurpriſe. Memorable expreſſion! which at once explains to us the invulnerability of his poſition, and enables us to form a judgment of the greatneſs of his ſoul. But, however reluctant were the determination to which he was compelled, and though his forbearance ſuffered France to receive a blow before ſhe took up arms, we may ſtill be aſſured, that the genius of Bonaparte can never be taken by ſurpriſe."

Thus ſpoke Regnault †, one of his council of ſtate, and we are informed his ſpeech was crowned with applauſe.

It ſeems then, he would have it believed, that *he was taken by ſurpriſe;* he, who eighteen months before the rupture had raiſed the expences of his peace-eſtabliſhment to ſixty-three millions of livres beyond thoſe of the laſt year of the war—He, who in eleven months of peace had eſtabliſhed by law a levy of recruits, juſt four times as numerous as the army, which, in the year 1800, had over-run Germany, and reconquered the whole of Italy.

He makes a merit of being *taken by ſurpriſe*—he who, before he was apprized of the meſſage which called forth this modeſt declaration, had boaſted to Lord Whitworth that he had provided againſt every event which could occur, and was prepared for the worſt; *that he could, at a moment's notice, complete his army to the number of four hundred and eighty thouſand men.*

He ſtates it to be his higheſt glory that he was taken by ſurpriſe; he, who ſo very few days before had, *with honeſt pride*, proclaimed, that *in the preſent day England, ſingle handed, was unable to contend with France.*

He was taken by ſurprize—He who, immediately after he had, by the inſtrumentality of Regnault, recorded this *memorable expreſſion* in the archives of the legiſlators, at the moment of their adjournment, addreſſed to them through the ſame man, the following expreſſions, *at leaſt equally memorable.*

"You, legiſlators, will not fail to promote in your reſpective neighbourhoods the publication of the fact, which has already been made known here. Let all the inhabitants of the country be apprized, that the enſuing campaign, will not require the impoſition of any new tax. The taxes voted for the peace-eſtabliſhment will anſwer all the calls of war ‡."

So that, at laſt, we find the *damning proof* of Bonaparte's being *taken by ſurpriſe*, is, that the force which he had kept up, under the name of a peace-eſtabliſhment, was fully calculated to meet all the demands of war.

The real fact is, that the information communicated by Regnault was perfectly true, and the intereſt of the communication might have been heightened, if he had been at liberty to diſcloſe the ſplendid fiſcal advantages, which a war held out to his maſter.

This brings us to a matter of very great importance. In the actual ſtate of Bonaparte's finances, it was abſolutely impoſſible that 369,000,000 livres could be expended on his army and navy, without producing a deficit of from 100 to 150 millions, which, as he muſt have known, could not be diſcharged, but by that ſingular item in the conſular ways and means *recettes extérieures*; that is to ſay, the contributions or the plunder of foreign countries. §"

The anxiety of the Britiſh government that all the articles of the peace ſhould be abided by, is a criterion by which to judge of their other intentions; but that the French ruler had no real intention from the beginning to maintain what he had ſolemnly acknowledged, is evident, from his continuation of French troops in Holland, contrary to the very letter of the principal articles of pacification. The following authentic documents by Lord Hawkeſbury, are very ſtrong memoranda of the want of good faith in the First Conſul:

Papers preſented to the Houſe of Commons by Lord Hawkeſbury, reſpecting the continuance of the French troops in Holland.

No. I. *Extract of a diſpatch from Mr. Liſton to Lord Hawkeſbury; dated the Hague, Nov. 5*, 1802.

The anxious apprehenſions under which the Dutch government have for ſome time laboured, have been in ſome meaſure calmed by the accounts received to-day from different quarters.

Their Ambaſſador at Paris has tranſmitted a copy of a nervous and well-written memorial, preſented by him to the miniſter of foreign affairs (in conſequence of the inſtructions lately ſent from hence;)

* See General Andreoſſy's note of March 29, 1803.
† *Moniteur*, May 23, 1803.
‡ *Moniteur*. May 30, 1803.
§ *Facts and Illuſtrations*, p. 31, et ſeq.

and he informs the Secretary of State that he received the moſt poſitive aſſurances from M. de Talleyrand, that it was by no means the intention of the Firſt Conſul to increaſe the number of the French troops in the Batavian Republic, or to march back thoſe now upon the frontiers into the interior parts of this country: That, on the contrary, it was his fixed determination to withdraw the whole as ſoon as the proper arrangements could be made for that purpoſe.

No. II. *Extract of a diſpatch from Mr. Liſton to Lord Hawkeſbury; dated the Hague, Nov.* 12, 1802.

Whatever may be the reſolution of the Firſt Conſul, reſpecting the final evacuation of the Batavian Republic, by the troops of France, (a ſubject on which this government remains in a ſtate of doubt and uncertainty) there ſeems reaſon to ſuppoſe that a certain portion of them, the 17th and 74th demi-brigades of infantry, amounting to about four thouſand men, are to be embarked at Helvoetſluys, and tranſported to Louiſiana, under the direction of General Victor, who has been appointed to the chief command in that new colony.

No. III. *Extract of a diſpatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkeſbury; Paris, Dec.* 13, 1802.

The Batavian Ambaſſador, Vos van Steinvick, has been inſtructed to make a repreſentation, couched in the ſtrongeſt terms, againſt the conduct of this government, with regard to the French troops which continue to be quartered in Holland. Your Lordſhip well knows, how long, and how anxiouſly, the Batavian government has been expecting to be delivered from this burthen.

No. IV. *Extract of a diſpatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkeſbury; dated Paris, Dec.* 13, 1802.

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip will learn, by my former diſpatch of this date, the ſtep which is to be taken by the Dutch ambaſſador, for procuring the evacuation of the Batavian territory by the French troops.

I cannot flatter myſelf that any direct interference on my part, would, under the preſent circumſtances, aſſiſt in promoting this important object; and I know that the Dutch ambaſſador entirely coincides with me in this opinion. I have, however, invariably, held a language on this ſubject, conformable to the general inſtructions which I received on my departure from London.

I have the honour to be, &c.

WHITWORTH.

The Right Hon. Lord Hawkeſbury, &c.

No. V. *Extract of a diſpatch from Mr. Liſton to Lord Hawkeſbury; dated the Hague,* 11 *Jan.* 1803.

The negotiations between the Secretary of State and M. de Semonville, reſpecting the continuance of French troops in the ſouthern garriſons of this republic, have been carried on with uncommon activity for the laſt few days; and this morning M. de Sparre, ſon-in-law to Madame de Semonville, ſet out for Paris, carrying with him the ambaſſador's report of the reſult of their conferences.

The Dutch government, though they appear to be devoted to the idea of the independence of their native country, have adopted the opinion, that it is, upon the whole, wiſer to yield to the wiſh of Bonaparte, to continue for a limited time ſmall garriſons in ſome of the frontier towns, than by an obſtinate reſiſtance to draw on this Republic the fate of Switzerland.

Theſe were not the only meaſures which gave real apprehenſions to the Britiſh cabinet that France had no intention of preſerving the peace; they were fully convinced that even during the time of negotiating the Peace of Amiens the treatment of the Britiſh ambaſſador-plenipotentiary was unworthy the character of a great nation to give, and improper in the repreſentative to take; but the popular cry for peace, ſubdued every other preſent conſideration; and the moderation of Britain ſubmitted to treatment at that time, which it would have made a merit at another to reſent and chaſtiſe *.

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* A deſcription of the manner in which the Engliſh and other ambaſſadors had their audiences, with the ceremonial of their humiliating introduction, at the court of the Chief Conſul is curious:

"Many abſurdities, which betrayed but too clearly the novice at the helm, occurred very frequently both in and out of the Thuilleries, and muſt have been forcibly ſtriking to the lady of the Engliſh ambaſſador, who, with her firſt huſband the duke of Dorſet, formerly ambaſſador at the French court, had frequented the moſt confidential circles of the unfortunate queen. Many claims and pretenſions of the new court alſo offended the proud Engliſhman more than any other ambaſſador. To him, as to all the others, the audience of condolence in full mourning for the death of General Leclerc was announced, and he was obliged to viſit, in rotation, the whole Conſular family!

In all ſuch Conſular audiences, he was forced, with all the other ambaſſadors, to put up with waiting hours together in ſmall *entreſol* rooms. (Low rooms between two ſtories, ſometimes called lumber-rooms.) A hundred circumſtances, which only extreme inexperience or inattention could occaſion (unleſs, indeed, wanton arrogance had a ſhare in them,) often made this waiting very irkſome, if not even dangerous to him. Thus, on the 3d of April, the common great parade which uſually precedes the audience of the foreign ambaſſadors, was made a kind of ſpecial review of all the troops then in Paris. Even the conſcripts, who were not yet clothed, were obliged to appear in their linen frocks. All the ſoldiers appeared with their knapſacks, and their field-equipage, as if ready to march. All the chief entrances to the Thuilleries were ſhut; and Bonaparte, who on other occaſions rode through the ranks on horſeback, now went through them on foot; examined many of the ſoldiers' knapſacks; had ſhoes which he found too bad thrown aſide: ordered a ſoldier of the regulars to pull off his coat; and then tore it in two, as a warning to the contractors; enquired of the ſoldiers into many little particulars, uttered reproofs

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The various works carried on in the dock-yards and arſenals, under the denomination of bateaux plats, chaloups, cannoniers, and peniches, were now carried on with redoubled activity, and every engine which Bonaparte could deviſe for the hoſtile attack upon the Britiſh was ſet to work; at Bourdeaux one hundred and eighty veſſels of various kinds for the boaſted expedition were ſet upon the ſtocks; and as one was finiſhed and launched, it was replaced by another.

They were diſpatched to Havre in dozens, as they were got ready, in order to proceed from thence to the general rendezvous at Boulogne. At one time building was ſuſpended, both at Bourdeaux and Bayonne,—becauſe there was no money to pay the workmen. The work was, however, afterwards reſumed.

There is no doubt but that the original plan was, to collect two thouſand gun-boats, flat-bottomed-boats, and pinnaces, of different ſizes, capable of tranſporting two hundred thouſand men, in the port of Boulogne. Theſe have been conſtructing in various parts of the republic; but, from want of hands, want of money, and the difficulty of eluding the vigilance of our cruizers, not above ſeven or eight hundred have yet arrived at the general rendezvous. Their paſſage, it is thought, would be rendered ſtill more difficult, if theſe cruizers conſiſted almoſt ſolely of flat-bottomed gun-boats, capable of approaching the ſhore, but having the ſupport of larger veſſels at hand. This indeed is partly the principal of the plan which has been adopted for that ſervice; but, in the execution, it does not ſeem to have been carried to a ſufficient extent.

Strangers to the facility with which the French people deceive themſelves, will readily expect that the dock-yards of the rivers Seine were ſomething grand and impoſing beyond example. When I left Paris, there were about fifty flat bottomed boats, as they called them, on the ſtocks. In their conſtruction there did not ſeem, to the eye of the landſman, any remarkable peculiarity. Their bottoms indeed were ſomewhat more flat than ordinary; but not ſo much as to merit the appellation they had obtained. The largeſt of them were from eighty to a hundred tons burden; but if the accounts reſpecting the ſize of the gun-boats lately taken by two of our frigates, be true, much larger veſſels muſt have been built in other parts of the republic.

There are ſome peculiarities in their conſtruction. Part of the gun-boats, for inſtance, have two keels, ſo that upon being run aſhore they will ſit upright. The piniches, or pinnaces, are to be impelled not only with oars but by ſmall wheels, the combined force of which is, according to the French accounts, to give them a wonderful velocity. Theſe, together with many other ſurpriſing combinations, which are excellent upon paper, would, I ſuſpect, be ſadly diſcompoſed by contact with a Britiſh ſquadron *.

CHAP. VI.

The Subject continued.—Political Relation of the European Nations to France.—The diſtreſſed State of Holland—Italy—Germany.—Remark on the King of Pruſſia's Engagements of Neutrality.—Compared with the Mandates from the Executive Directory at Paris.—Moderate Conduct of the King of Great Britain, as Elector of Hanover.—His Proclamation.—Affliting Picture of the Limitation of Europe.

IT was not Great Britain alone that felt the weight of the Firſt Conſul's indignant impetuoſity, other powers were alike the objects of his tyranny and rapacity.

Holland, the tributary Holland, was required by the French government to provide ſubſiſtence for 50,000 troops, and to furniſh twelve ſail of the line to aſſiſt in the war againſt Britain. This demand, conſidering the exhauſted ſtate of her finances, was enormous.

reproofs and threats to ſeveral commanding officers; aſked the conſcripts, as they got nothing elſe, if their ſoup was made good, &c. &c. In this manner he probably hoped to convince the ſoldiers (who for ſome time have thought themſelves neglected, and are diſſatisfied with him) that he really takes an intereſt in their welfare, and at the ſame time to ſhew the Engliſh ambaſſador that he was prepared to march, if terms more conformable to his wiſhes ſhould not ſoon be offered than thoſe which the ambaſſador had latterly propoſed!

The uſual parade laſts generally an hour, or at moſt an hour and a half; whereas this review laſted five hours. As the ambaſſadors had received no notice of this, they attended, at the time when the parade is generally over, with thoſe foreigners whom they had to introduce, and found the gates of the Thuilleries ſhut. After they had waited a long time in the outer ſquare, before the railing of what is properly the ſquare of the Thuilleries, in which the review took place, they were informed they might drive to a ſide-door, which ſhould be open for them. This was done, they alighted and went in all their ſtate through a part of the garden to reach the palace. But here again they found the inner doors cloſed, and were forced to remain a long time in the midſt of a throng of the loweſt of the people, who had been permitted to pour in through the grand entry, at the oppoſite ſide. For the Engliſh ambaſſador this was a peculiarly painful ſituation; as the people conſidered the unuſual ſpecial review as a preparation for war with England. He had, however, to ſupport the troubleſome curioſity of the people more than all the reſt; his lofty noble figure, his richly embroidered dreſs, with his ribbon and ſtar, always attracting freſh crouds around him. After long waiting and knocking, the inner gate was at length opened to the ambaſſadors, and they found in the little *entrefol* rooms, for the firſt time, a deſirable aſylum. But there they had ſtill to ſtay ſeveral hours till the duſk of the evening, before they were admitted to the Conſul!

* *Maclean's Excurſion in France*, &c. p. 236.

General Victor's aid-de-camp demanded that Helvoet and another port ſhould be delivered up to the French troops, and that forty pieces of artillery ſhould be mounted on the walls of thoſe ports; upon a refuſal of the municipality to co-operate in expediting theſe objects, it was ordered, in addition, that the French were to compel obedience by force of arms.

Incenſed alſo at the wiſh of Holland to preſerve a neutrality in the event of a war, and the general diſpoſition for renewing the antient ties with England, the Chief Conſul, in the ebullition of his reſentment, made an inſtant demand upon the diſtreſſed Batavian Republic, of 40,000,000 guilders, intimating at the ſame time, that he was determined upon making a very material political change in the government of the Republic. The French troops at this time in Holland, &c. were to be augmented to 80,000 men, and their head-quarters were tranſferred from Breda to Nimeguen. Horrid picture of the tyrannic impoſitions practiſed upon a fallen, a ſubjugated country!

To ſhew, to what a pitch of arrogant inſolence theſe marauders of public property were now arrived, the French commiſſary at Breda had lately exacted a contribution of 2000l. from the magiſtracy of that place, and upon their inability immediately to comply with the demand, the commiſſary inſtantly quartered his troops upon the inhabitants. This was not tranſacted in the regions of an enemy at war with the French republic, but within the dominions of thoſe who, in a moment of criminal intoxication, forgetting the ſolemn ties of treaties, the loyalty belonging to a mild government, and every other tie dear to the commercial relation of two great national intereſts, forſook their antient princes, their alliances, and their regards for the true rights of human nature, and affiliated themſelves with ſuch as every hiſtorical fact has denounced as radical enemies; aſſociating themſelves in the cloſeſt ties of relationſhip with the diſturbers of peace, the inſlavers of principle, and the projectors of unjuſt conqueſt and aggrandizement; the depraved Hollanders did this at the expence of honour and the ſolid, firm baſis of freedom, which had been nouriſhed by the blood of the patriotic houſe of Orange, and for which their forefathers had ſacrificed their beſt intereſts when oppoſed to the ſanguinary tyranny of Spain, and its deteſted engine the infamous duke of Alva! Who then can pity their feeling the reward of ſuch iniquity; and yet humanity revolts at the idea of their moſt abject ſlavery contemptibly inſulted by the tinſelled fallacious pageant impoſed upon them by the name of —tree of liberty!—happily for Great Britain, ſhe refuſed the gilded toy; and in return, enjoys without abatement, a freedom of mind, of principle, and of government—a magnanimous liberty, which time has ſubſtantiated, and which the moſt daring efforts of tyrannic fury will ineffectually ſtrive to villify or depreciate.

To proceed. The ſtates of Italy felt alſo the effect of rigid dependance on French conſular authority. Arrangements were made for taking poſſeſſion of Genoa, Leghorn, and all the Neapolitan harbours. Upwards of 100,000 troops were marched into Italy, and ordered to form two camps in Piedmont and Lombardy; whilſt a given force was to be furniſhed to France, by the king of Etruria.

In Germany, the emperor was inſulted in the groſſeſt manner, and it too lamentably evinced the ſtate of the Roman empire, when compelled to the ſituation of being dictated to in the manner Bonaparte harangued the imperial ambaſſador.

"The impotency of Auſtria," ſays this diſpoſer and ſpoiler of empires and kingdoms, "being known to all Europe, a reluctance on the part of his Majeſty to confirm a meaſure which he could not avert, only rendered his weakneſs more manifeſt, and his folly the more ridiculous; but he ſhould beware how he trifled with the French nation, leſt, in exacting the penalty of the offence, the ſovereignty of Auſtria ſhould be annihilated."

Under ſuch humiliating circumſtances, his Imperial Majeſty had no choice; and it was therefore well for him, that he *could*, as it were, *obtain leave*, from the directory and their maſter, to obſerve the ſtricteſt neutrality in the event of a renewal of the war.

The monarch of Pruſſia with his accuſtomed caution declared his intention to preſerve the ſtricteſt neutrality; and thought it proper to contradict an aſſertion in moſt of the foreign journals, "that he meditated the occupation of Hanover, and ſhutting up the rivers Elbe and Weſer, againſt Engliſh commerce;" declaring at the ſame time that he would preſerve the free navigation of thoſe rivers, and *maintain* the *independence* and *neutrality* of Hanover.

According with all theſe wonderful profeſſions of neutrality and amity let us take a view of the thundering proſcriptions iſſued by the legiſlative body at Paris, and we ſhall ſoon be convinced how far the influence and promiſes of the emperor of Germany, the king of Pruſſia, the Italian ſtates, or other continental potentates were attended to by the French government:—

In the ſitting of the tribunate of the 9th Praireal (23d. May) M. Darau, in the name of a ſpecial committee made a report on the official papers on the negociation with England.

After reciting all the ſuppoſed aggreſſions of the Britiſh government in breach of the Treaty of Amiens, he breaks out into the following apoſtrophe, of what the intentions of the French were, againſt the Britiſh poſſeſſions:

"To

" To the peace, ſo full of danger, let us oppoſe the ſuppoſition of a ſtate of war. The articles which commerce brings us from India and America will arrive with difficulty, and their prices will riſe; but if thoſe articles which are called articles of luxury ſhall become more ſcarce, thoſe of the firſt neceſſity, particularly bread, will double its price in England. Our commerce may be intercepted, but that of our enemies will have fewer channels. *We may preſerve or reſume poſitions which may facilitate attack or defence. The powers of the continent who have ſigned or guaranteed the Treaty of Amiens will doubtleſs not approve of the infraction.* They cannot blame the pretenſions of France ſince they demand nothing; they cannot ſee without inquietude the ſyſtem of dominion of an uſurping power. *The continent will at laſt, we dare believe, avoid kindling a general war, to favour the ambition of England.* What will be the attitude of the two belligerent powers? The one will ſend her veſſels to hover over our coaſts, without daring to land. In this reſpect, your ſecurity is perfect. They do not conceive the poſſibility of an enterprize. If at this moment when I am ſpeaking, you ſhould be informed that the Engliſh had effected a landing on our ſhores, which of you would not wiſh that they ſhould penetrate into the continent to be more certain of their deſtruction?

" Compare the impreſſion which would be made at the news of the arrival of a French army in England, the paſſage to which is doubtleſs more difficult; but the effect of which would be more trouble. We have the power of conquering the ſtates which the king of England poſſeſſes on the continent, and if we ſet foot on his iſland, the Engliſh power is overthrown. She can only ſlightly wound us, we may pierce her to the heart.

" An army of 40,000 men, well diſciplined, is ready to ruſh on the territory of a rival nation, and that government which has ſuch a ſmall number of land forces, will be obliged to ſend a great part of its population to the coaſts to oppoſe our landing. The preſſing already excites murmurs. The militia will complete the diſcontent. The ſtay of a large army on their coaſts, will be neceſſarily very expenſive to our enemies, whilſt it will not occaſion any increaſe of expenditure on our part. Finally it is poſſible, France may finiſh this war in a day, and it is impoſſible to ſay for how many years France may be obliged to demand peace."

As a confirmation of the hoſtile and depredatory meaſures which the French meditated, the following extract from the Moniteur is very illuſtrative:

BANKS OF THE MEIN.

29th Floreal, (*19th May.*)

" Every thing has *ſuddenly* aſſumed a warlike aſpect on the Lower Rhine. They ſpeak of a conſiderable body of an army, that is to aſſemble there and hold itſelf in readineſs to paſs the Rhine at the firſt ſignal, in order to ſhut the Engliſh from the mouths of the Elbe and the Weſer *to take poſſeſſion of the Electorate of Hanover*, and to keep it as a pledge till peace. This body of the army, which is to be united in the department of Roer, by prolonging its right beyond Bonn towards Coblentz, will form the right wing of an army which from the North Sea will extend to the ſaid point, and will be commanded in chief by general Mortier. Its left wing will aſſemble in that part of the Batavian Republic, which formerly compoſed the provinces of Weſt Friezland, Grœningue, and Overyſſel. The centre will concentrate itſelf in the environs of Arnheim and Nimeguen, and this laſt city will be the head quarters of the general in chief, while the commandants of the right and left wing will eſtabliſh theirs in the cities of Cologne and Grœningue. Already ſeveral bodies of troops are in motion towards ſeveral points, and particularly in our countries, to form that army of which the left wing will occupy the dutchies of Bremen, Verdon, and Lunebourg, as well as the mouth of the Weſer and the Elbe; the centre, the Hanoverian poſſeſſions in Weſtphalia, particularly the principality of Oſnaburgh, and the right wing, the country of Hanover, properly ſo called."

It is added, that all theſe occupations will take place with the conſent of ſeveral courts of the firſt rank.

The Pruſſian monarch ſhould then conſider of what worth were his profeſſions of neutrality, &c. oppoſed to the overwhelming ſpoliation of all right and poſſeſſion, by the Vandalian government of France; by whom probably he might only be deſigned as a mere vehicle to keep the other German powers in awe and prevent the introduction of Ruſſian auxiliaries, ſhould the head of the German empire, in defence of his diſtreſſed domains, meditate an alliance with the cabinet of St. Peterſburgh; he ſhould have remembered that though he was in no dread of his hereditary enemy—that though he might have 200,000 of the beſt diſciplined troops in Europe at his diſpoſal—he might, like other ſtates which impede the Firſt Conſul's ambition, be ſwallowed up in a ſingle campaign whenever the views of the latter ſhould think ſuch a proceeding neceſſary.

On the part of the Britiſh cabinet, that nothing ſhould be wanting to evince the moderate and even conciliatory motives by which they wiſhed to be guided; it was recommended to the government of Hanover, that the peace of the Germanic empire might not be injured by any co-operation in the preſent conteſt, that an inſtrument to that purpoſe ſhould be ſet forth. In conſequence of this the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, publiſhed the following

PROCLAMA-

PROCLAMATION.

"*GEORGE III. &c.*

"Whatever the event of the differences now exiſting between our Crown and the French Government may be, we ſhall in our capacity as Elector and Member of the German Empire, obſerve the ſtricteſt neutrality, and might therefore juſtly and confidently expect, that whatever termination the preſent negociation may have, our German ſtates and faithful ſubjects will not be affected by any conſequences, which may enſue.

"Conſidering, however, the obvious movements of the troops in Holland, the poſſibility muſt occur to us, that in caſe the mentioned differences ſhould, againſt our wiſhes, not be amicably ſettled, our German ſtates and ſubjects may be expoſed to a danger, which, if realized, would have the moſt unfortunate conſequences for the whole country in general, and every individual in particular. We, for this reaſon, hold it to be our moſt ſacred duty to adopt ſuch means, as will, under the bleſſing of God, prove moſt efficacious to protect our faithful German ſubjects, whom Divine Providence has committed to our care. We apply, therefore, to all the loyal ſubjects of our German ſtates, with that confidence to which the love and affection we bear our people, and their uninterrupted loyalty and attachment intitle us to make, in caſe of ſuch danger, all thoſe efforts and ſacrifices to which the duties they owe to us, their loving Sovereign, their attachment to their native country, their family connections, and every thing dear to them, already bind them. And we do it with the more confidence, as our dearly beloved ſon, the Duke of Cambridge, actuated by the tender affection he bears our faithful German ſtates and ſubjects, is willing to ſhare every danger that may befall them, and perſonally to aſſiſt in every thing that may promote their ſafety and ſecurity. To be prepared for every event that may happen, it is for the preſent abſolutely neceſſary to know immediately, the exact number of our German ſubjects, who, if neceſſity calls, can take up arms for the defence of their country. It is to effect this, that we command all the Magiſtrates of our German ſtates, to loſe no time in giving in complete liſts of ſuch of our German ſubjects as are fit for military ſervice, excepting thoſe only who ſerve us and their country in other capacities; and to make them ſolemnly promiſe to come forth when called upon, and give all the aſſiſtance in their power for the defence of their country, whenever, and for as long as may be thought neceſſary.

"The known loyalty and patriotiſm of our beloved ſubjects, leave us no room to ſuppoſe, that any one of them will be ſo loſt, as to tranſgreſs ſo ſolemn an obligation, or to withdraw himſelf by a cowardly and treacherous flight from giving his aſſiſtance to the defence of his country.—Should, however, againſt our better expectations, ſuch be found, who, in time of danger, would deſert their country and refuſe their aid, ſuch wretches ſhall, the caſe being lawfully proved, without hope of pardon, be deprived of all they may poſſeſs in our German dominions, and be cut off from all inheritance therein. But we have a better opinion of all our German ſubjects, and are firmly perſuaded, that when neceſſity calls, they will unanimouſly and zealouſly aſſiſt, to the utmoſt in their power in the defence and for the ſalvation of their Native Country.

"*Hanover, May* 16, 1803."

To complete the humiliation of the other German ſtates, their princes were compelled by *forced loans* of their treaſure, or in other words ſuffering themſelves to be plundered, to furniſh ſupplies whenever the avarice or neceſſities of the Firſt Conſul ſhould demand ſuch contributions; they were compelled to buy their peace at the expence of their property, and to prevent, if poſſible, a continental war, ſacrifice all to a flagitious plundering ſyſtem unknown to Europe ſince the period of feudal barbarity.

The whole continent of Europe was reduced to ſuch a degraded ſtate, that ſhould Germany appear refractory the army of Holland were ſoon at hand to puniſh—ſhould the Dutch remonſtrate, complaint would be uſeleſs whilſt French troops occupied their territory—the approach of another army to the Pyrennees was ſufficiently dreadful to Spain and Portugal, as a monitor to do all they were required—whilſt Italy and Switzerland incapable of reſiſtance were obliged to ſubmit to any mandate impoſed upon them.

From this lamentable deſcription it was plainly to be inferred that England was not to combat France *ſingle-handed*, but to wage a financial war with every power in Europe that ſtood within the graſp of the Firſt Conſul.

CHAP. VII.

Mutual Accuſations of France and England againſt each other conſidered.—State of Great Britain, with Reſpect to Agriculture, Internal Improvement and Commerce, compared with that of France.—State of the Britiſh Army and Navy.

WHEN two hoſtile nations accuſe each other of deſigns inconſiſtent with their mutual peace, and with the welfare of Europe, it becomes highly neceſſary and is partly the duty of the hiſtorian to enquire how far their ſtatements are juſt, and draw the beſt concluſion in his power.

The French nation have endeavoured to ſtigmatize the Britiſh government "as exerciſing mari-

time deſpotiſm, and for carrying inſolent ſuperiority over other nations to ſuch a pitch of arrogance, that it was impoſſible for them to ſubmit to the conditions propoſed, without an evident diſgrace to their national character—that Great Britain wiſhes to embroil the ſurrounding ſtates for the ſake of profiting by the commerce which may accrue to her by ſuch hoſtility, to accompliſh which, in time of war, the ſuperiority of her fleets enable her to engroſs the whole commerce of Europe."

The Engliſh have charged France "with an inſatiable ambition; a wiſh to obtain the dominion of Europe; and a peculiar rancour againſt this country which makes her deſirous for its deſtruction."

We think little need be ſaid concerning the inordinate deſire of the Engliſh. With reſpect to what is denominated "maritime deſpotiſm," or, as we diſtinguiſh it, "the privilege of the Britiſh flag," it has never proved of any diſadvantage to others, nor has it been of any vaſt advantage to the claimants. And ſuppoſing that England enjoys the privilege in the utmoſt degree, there can be no occaſion to make ſuch an enjoyment a ſubject for going into an inconſiderate war; nor is it probable that the known moderation of the Britiſh government would be ſo far committed as to reſort to ſo raſh a proceeding, without enormous inſult had firſt provoked a juſt retaliation to bring the aggreſſors to a due ſenſe of the national inſult purpoſely given. This has ever been the conduct of the Britiſh; and ſuffices for a deciſive anſwer to the firſt accuſation.

The ſecond accuſation, That Great Britain or any other country would wiſh for war, merely to augment its commerce, is ſo futile, ſo deſtitute of reaſon and common ſenſe, that could it be imagined as advanced with ſincerity, it would only be a convincing proof of the extreme ignorance reſpecting commercial concerns, and the various cauſes of national wealth, which prevails among the greater number of writers in France. That a nation might go to war and have reaſon to go to war to obtain a new advantage for its commerce, or to recover an old, as the removal of prohibitions of importance, is very poſſible:—"But," as a modern writer very properly remarks, "that a nation ſhould go to war for the effects of commerce wrought by the operation of war, ſhould think of increaſing the produce of its induſtry, by withdrawing the beſt of its hands from exerciſing, and great part of its capital from maintaining that induſtry, would be the moſt extraordinary and extravagant policy. Again war is injurious to Great Britain in two ways: 1ſt. It deſtroys a portion of the national capital. 2dly. It turns another portion of that capital out of a channel more advantageous into one leſs advantageous to the country. It turns into the carrying trade an extraordinary portion of the capital, which it withdraws from the agricultural and manufacturing ſyſtems of her own country merely to promote and ſuſtain thoſe of another! Surely then enough is brought forward to prove that it cannot be the intereſt of a commercial country, eſpecially England, to commence hoſtility, merely for the ſake of war!

France will find much difficulty to make a defence from the charge of inordinate ambition—ſhe cannot ſo readily exonerate herſelf from the charge of "ſenſeleſs animoſity againſt this country." Let the conduct of the French government, in all its forms, be our advocate in ſubſtantiating our other aſſertions.

But if, after all, if even the laſt war was unable to ſtop the progreſs of proſperity in this country; if it be out of the power of France to compel us to ſuch exertions and ſuch ſacrifices as were then made, what can ſhe expect by recommencing hoſtilities againſt us? She may fight with us for ever—but the proſperity of Great Britain will proceed, though conſiderably ſlower than it might otherwiſe, under the enjoyment of the bleſſings of peace.

This muſt direct our attention to the internal ſtate of our own country.

We regard the *agricultural* proſperity as the firſt article of our good fortune; but as we have no actual ſurvey we can only appeal to general facts reſpecting its improvement. If then we regard the ſtate of farming, we ſhall have to remark that fewer bankruptcies happen among farmers than among any claſs of Britiſh ſubjects; and as their proportion is at leaſt equal to thoſe who employ their capital in any other way in the kingdom; a concluſion is naturally drawn that this ſource of riches is not diminiſhed; but on the contrary, inſtead of a diminution, increaſe of rents has taken place, land has riſen, and agriculture conſiderably improved.

Commerce either ſupplies domeſtic conſumption, or furniſhes the materials of exportation to foreign countries. To ſupply theſe forms a great part of the induſtry of the people in large and populous ſtates like Great Britain; but as the far greater part of the buſineſs of the nation is deſtined to ſupply domeſtic conſumption; the ſurplus only is ſent abroad, and this bears a very ſmall proportion to the whole *.

During the months of January, March, and April in this year †, no leſs than 1093 veſſels in the coaſting

* The annual average value of Britiſh manufactures exported during four years, viz.

From 1789 to 1792 inclusive, amounted to	£. 27,130,000
Ditto, from 1795 to 1798 inclusive	30,648,000
Value in 1799	38,942,000
Ditto in 1800	39,471,000
Ditto in 1801	£. 41,770,354
Ditto in 1802	48,500,683

To which being added the profits of a year of peace a ſimilar proſperity in the domeſtic trade of the country will be diſcoverable.

† A. D. 1803.

trade, and 160 ships in the foreign trade, cleared out from the port of Newcastle. The exports in them were, beside coals and cinders, sugar, oil, earthenware, glass, lead, lead-shot, lead-ore, colours, copperas, litharge, &c.

265,660 pieces, containing 8,686,046 yards of broad cloths; and 137,016 pieces, containing 5,023,754 yards of narrow cloths, were milled in the West Riding of Yorkshire. There is, by this account, an increase in the narrow cloths of 190,220 yards above the manufacture of the year preceding.

The many improvements carried on in various parts of the kingdom were also proofs of the opulence and public spirit which subsisted in a very high degree; thus, in the vicinity of Durham considerable improvements were made by the enclosure of the extensive commons on the north and west sides of the city.

In Yorkshire a society of gentlemen, farmers, &c. was established at New Malton, for the purpose of promoting experimental husbandry, in all its branches, whilst the late considerable improvements in those very extensive districts, called the Yorkshire Wolds, from the numerous inclosures, exceeded those of any other tract of the country, both as to space and time, in an immense proportion.

Oxfordshire furnished an example in the article of improvement by an account of money received and disbursed by the commissioners appointed for improving and completing the navigation of the rivers Thames and Isis, for the year 1802, by which it was found that the receipts were,

	£.	s.	d.
For tolls at the pound-locks	7611	4	10
——— at towing paths	70	6	8
——— for passage-boats or ferries	131	18	0
Dividends on stock	60	0	0
Total	7873	9	6

DISBURSED.

For interest to creditors	3070	0	0
Salaries to pound-keepers, receivers, surveyors, and clerks	1226	7	5
Rents of towing-paths	134	0	0
Purchases of land	40	0	0
Surveys	15	7	8
Ballasting	392	5	4
Repairs	2515	2	9
New works	1250	18	5
Sundries, printing, stamps, &c.	152	4	7
Total	8796	6	2

To these were added the humane endeavours of the counties of Kent and Derby, the first for the relief of 3442 objects of compassion in the Kent and Canterbury Hospital, the latter for appropriating 5000*l.* left by the late Isaac Hawkins, Esq. towards an infirmary at Derby; the large and populous city of Norwich also set on foot subscriptions for erecting a general dispensary for the benefit of the indigent poor!—These are acts which do credit to a country! and to the honour of the British name be it recorded, that no nation can equal it in charitable institutions or active benevolence.—These are subjects worthy of record!

We cannot close this chapter better, than by stating, in the most authentic way in our power, the state of British commerce, and as far as we are able, draw a comparison by inserting a few facts relating to the commerce of France:

An Account of the comparative Increase in the Value of all Imports into, and all Exports from, Great Britain, in the Years 1785, 1801, *and till the 5th January,* 1803; *distinguishing the Value of Imports from the East Indies and China, from the Value of all other Imports: and distinguishing the Value of British Produce and Manufactures exported, from the Value of Foreign Articles exported; together with the Difference between the Official Value and the Declared Value of British Produce and Manufactures exported in the Year ending 5th January,* 1803.

OFFICIAL VALUE OF IMPORTS FROM

Years.	East Indies and China. £.	s.	d.	All other Parts. £.	s.	d.
1785	2,703,940	14	1	13,575,478	7	5
1801	5,424,441	16	4	27,371,115	5	3
1802				25,615,041	7	3

OFFICIAL VALUE OF

Years.	British Produce and Manufactures exported. £.	s.	d.	Foreign Merchandize exported. £.	s.	d.
1785	11,081,810	16	5	5,035,357	17	10
1802	27,012,108	3	10	19,146,948	1	10

WILLIAM IRVING,
Inspector General of Imports and Exports.

Similar Account of the Value of all Imports into Great Britain in the Years 1785, 1802, *and till January 5th,* 1803; *exclusive of Corn and other Grain, and exclusive of Importations from the East Indies and China: together with the Difference between the Official Value and the Declared Value of British Produce and Manufactures exported.*

Yrs.	Imports, Exclusive of Corn and other Grain, and exclusive of Importations from the East Indies and China. Official Value. £.	s.	d.	British Produce and Manufactures exported. Official Value. £.	s.	d.	Real or decl. Val. £.	s.	d.
1785	12,939,536	16	10	11,081,810	16	5			
1802	24,436,481	14	11	27,012,108	3	10	48,500,683	0	0

WILLIAM IRVING.

An

An Account of the Number of Veſſels, with the Amount of their Tonnage, which have been Built and Regiſtered in the ſeveral Ports of the Britiſh Empire, between the 5th of January 1802, and the 5th January 1803; as far as the ſame can be prepared.

SHIPS—1,202. TONS—125,942.

Copies of the certificates of regiſtry granted at many of the ports in the plantations, and Scotland, being unreceived, the veſſels that may have been built at ſuch ports are not included in the preceding account.

An Account of the Number and Tonnage of Veſſels built and regiſtered in Great-Britain, in the three Years ending the 5th January 1793; in the three Years ending 5th January 1802; and in the laſt Year; diſtinguiſhing each Year.

	Veſſels.	Tons.
In the Year 1790	577	57,137
—— 1802	967	104,789
Medium. 3 Years ending 5th Jan. 1791-2-3	618	60,949
—— 3 Years ending 5th Jan. 1800-1-2	817	103,071
Year 1803	976	104,789

March 8, 1803.

J. DALLEY,
Aſſiſtant-Regiſter-General of Shipping.

An Account of the Number of Veſſels, and the Amount of their Tonnage, and the Number of Men and Boys usually employed in navigating the ſame, which belonged to the ſeveral Ports of the Britiſh Empire on the 30th September, 1802; diſtinguiſhing Great-Britain, Ireland, and the Britiſh Plantations in America and the Weſt Indies; as far as the ſame can be prepared.

	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
England	13,401	1,617,527	113,670
Jerſey	69	5,024	379
Guernſey	94	8,987	652
Man	275	6,278	1,520
Plantations	2,869	202,582	15,536
Scotland	2,349	183,931	15,434
Ireland	1,003	54,232	5,078
Total	20,060	2,078,561	152,269

The returns from many of the ports in the plantations being unreceived, the amount of the ſhipping at ſuch ports has been taken from the corrected accounts of the preceding year, and the ſame mode has been purſued with reſpect to Ireland, no account having been delivered to this office.

T. E. WILLOUGHBY,
For J. DALLY,
Aſſiſt. Regiſter-General of Shipping.

March 25, 1803.

An Account of the Number of Veſſels, and the Amount of their Tonnage, together with the Number of Men and Boys employed in navigating the ſame, which were employed, either in the Tranſport Service, or as Armed Ships, between the 5th of January 1801, and the 5th of January 1803; diſtinguiſhing each Year.

Years.	No. of Ships.	Tonnage	No. Men.	of Boys.
Between the 5th of Jan. 1801, and the 5th of Jan. 1802.	215	61,996	3099	619
Between the 5th of Jan. 1802, and the 5th of Jan. 1803.	117	36,199	1809	361

N. B.—Five armed tranſports were employed under this board; but, belonging to his Majeſty, are not included in the above account.

An Account of the Amount of Bounties paid in England and Scotland, out of the Revenues of Cuſtoms and Exciſe, between the 5th January 1802, and the 5th January 1803; being Payments in the Nature of Anticipations of Exchequer Iſſues.

CUSTOMS.

	£.	s.	d.
Bounties on corn, cotton, and linen manufactures; on the Britiſh and Southern whale fiſhery; and on the Newfoundland and white herring fiſhery, for *England*	892,348	0	2½
Ditto ditto ditto for *Scotland*	99,544	1	0¼
Slave bounty; and bounty for encouragement of volunteer ſeamen.			
	991,892	1	2¼

EXCISE.

Bounties on beer exported.	4	4	0
Bounties on Britiſh ſpirits	8,057	5	2½
Bounties on fiſh, and ſalted proviſions exported.	22,017	10	0¾
Ditto ditto, for *Scotland*.	1,423	7	5
Buſs and barrel bounties, certified on the exciſe, for deficiency of money in the hands of the Receiver-General of cuſtoms, for *Scotland*.	40,543	5	4
Paid per treaſury warrant to Mr. A. Munro, in behalf of Dr. James Jeffray, for enquiries into diſtilleries and ſalt works, for *Scotland*	1,338	10	4
	1,059,276	4	0½

Whitehall Treaſury Chambers,
25th March, 1803.

N. VANSITTART.

An Account of Penſions and Parliamentary Grants, for the Year ended 5th January 1803.

GENERAL POST OFFICE.

	£.	s.	d.
To his grace the duke of Marlborough	5,000	0	0
To his grace the duke of Grafton	4,700	0	0
To the heirs of the late duke of Schomberg	4,000	0	0
	13,700	0	0

Examined per THOS CHURCH,
Dep. Accompt. Gen.

Feb. 8, 1803.

An

An Account of Sums paid by Receivers-General of the Land Tax to the Militia, and for Deſerters Warrants, and for Bounties on Hemp and Flax, in the Year ending the 5th Jan. 1803.

	£.	s.	d.
Militia	110,181	5	1¾
Deſerters Warrants	775	0	0
Hemp and Flax	0	0	0
	110,956	5	1¾

An Account, ſhewing the Amount of the Monies received from his Majeſty's Exchequer for Naval Services, between the 5th January 1802, and 5th January 1803; diſtinguiſhing the Services to which the ſame have been applied.

HEADS OF SERVICE.—NAVY.

	£.	s.	d.
For ſalaries to the Admiralty, Navy, and Navy Pay Offices	54,000	0	0
Wages to officers and ſeamen	2,308,000	0	0
Bounty to Volunteers, Flag Pay, &c.	46,000	0	0
Half-pay to ſea officers and chaplains	181,501	17	6
Penſions to ſea officers, their widows, &c.	57,490	15	7
Wages to his Majeſty's dock and rope yards	721,835	0	0
Building ſhips, purchaſe of ſtores of every deſcription, repairing ſhips, purchaſe of ſhips taken from the enemy, head money, &c. paid in bills at ninety days date	3,984,229	8	0½
Pilotage	23,000	0	0
Bills of exchange, impreſts, contingencies, &c.	547,715	11	6
Exchequer fees	9,000	0	0
Marines on ſhore	219,000	0	0
Diſcount and commiſſion on exchequer bills	13,196	9	4
	8,164,969	1	11½

VICTUALING.

For proviſions, and all ſorts of victualling ſtores, paid for in bills at ninety days date	1,417,245	9	0
Proviſions, &c. paid for in ready money	5,000	0	0
Bills of exchange and impreſts	662,770	0	0
Neceſſary money and contingencies	41,000	0	0
Wages to officers, workmen, &c. at the ports	83,593	17	4
Widows penſions	15,342	16	2½
	2,224,952	2	6½

SICK AND WOUNDED.

For medicines, bedding, &c. for ſick ſeamen	240,000	0	0
Ditto, for ſick priſoners	25,000	0	0
	265,000	0	0

TRANSPORTS.

For freight of tranſports, and for ſtores, ſubſiſtence, &c. for priſoners of war in health, paid for in bills at ninety days date	917,101	16	10
Bills of exchange	67,000	0	0
Subſiſtence, cloathing, &c. of priſoners of war in health, paid in ready money	42,000	0	0
Payment of the Swiſs and Condé corps	23,377	6	1
	1,049,479	2	11
Total	11,704,400	7	5

Navy Office, Feb. 10, 1803.

THE PUBLIC EXPENDITURE.

An Account, ſhewing how the Public Monies remaining in the Receipt of the Exchequer on the 5th Day of January, 1802, together with the Monies paid into the ſame during the Year ending the 5th Day of January 1803, and the Monies paid out of the net Produce of the Revenues of the ſaid Year in Anticipation of the Exchequer, Navy, and Tranſport Bills iſſued, and not redeemed, during the ſaid Year, have been actually applied; diſtinguiſhing the total Amount of the Sums applied to the following Heads of Service:—

I. For intereſt, &c. on the permanent funded debt of Great Britain, including annuities for lives and terms of years	18,941,440	0	6¼
For charges of management thereon	246,178	4	8¼
For intereſt, &c. on loans raiſed for the ſervice of Ireland	661,054	3	4
For charges of management thereon	11,092	13	6
For intereſt, &c. on imperial loans	455,079	0	0
For charges of management thereon	5,834	16	3½
There was alſo applied towards the reduction of the national debt	1,000,000	0	0
The uſual annual grant	200,000	0	0
Expired annuities 54,880 14 6 25,000 0 0	79,880	14	6

Annuities

Annuities for lives expired or unclaimed for three years	48,121	15	7
Annuity of 1*l.* per cent. for reduction of permanent debt, created since 5th Jan. 1793	2,682,276	12	3¼
II. The intereſt on exchequer bills	1,105,935	19	6
III. The civil liſt	898,000	0	0
The other charges on the conſolidated fund, *viz.*			
Courts of Juſtice	47,629	16	0
Mint	13,848	1	8
Allowances to the royal family, penſions, &c.	209,862	10	10¼
Salaries and allowances	87,920	1	2
Bounties	2,956	13	8
V. The civil government of Scotland	78,548	13	1
VI. The other payments in anticipation of the exchequer receipt, *viz.*			
Bounties for fiſheries, manufactures, corn, &c.	1,059,276	4	0½
Penſions on the hereditary revenue	27,700	0	0
Militia and deſerters warrants, &c.	110,956	5	1¼
VII. The navy, *viz.*—Salaries to the admiralty, navy, and navy pay offices	54,000	0	0
For wages, bounty, flag pay, half pay, and penſions	2,592,992	13	1
For dock yards, building of ſhips, ſtores, pilotage, contingencies, &c.	5,298,976	8	10¼
For marine ſervice on ſhore	219,000	0	0
The victualling department	2,224,952	2	6½
The ſick and wounded ditto	265,000	0	0
The tranſport ditto, for tranſports	917,101	16	10
For priſoners of war in health	42,000	0	0
Miſcellaneous ſervices	90,377	6	1
VIII. The ordnance	1,500,733	9	7¼
IX. The army.—Ordinary ſervices, *viz.* for regulars, fencibles, militia, invalids, and volunteer corps	5,933,928	19	10
Barracks	429,461	0	0
Staff officers, and officers of garriſons	116,596	19	3
Half pay	195,800	0	0
Widows' penſions	22,000	0	0
Chelſea hoſpital	162,937	13	8
Exchequer fees	46,037	3	11
Pay of public offices	44,438	8	5
Extraordinary ſervices	2,635,064	5	0

X. Loans, remittances, and advances to other countries:			
Ireland	2,000,000	0	0
XI. Miſcellaneous ſervices:			
At home	3,370,439	9	11
Abroad	123,878	1	1¼
Total	56,259,301	4	0¼
Deduct loan for Ireland	2,000,000	0	0
	*54,259,301	4	0¼

N. VANSITTART.

Treaſury-Chambers, March 25.

An Account of the Charges upon the conſolidated Fund, in the Year 1803; *excluſive of the Intereſt of the Public Debt, and of the Payments upon Exchequer Bills; diſtinguiſhing the ſame under the ſeveral Heads of Civil Liſt, Courts of Juſtice, &c. Mint, other Salaries, Allowances, and Bounties.*

CIVIL LIST.

	L.	*s.*	*d.*
For the ſupport of his Majeſty's houſehold	898,000	0	0

COURTS OF JUSTICE.

The judges of England and Wales, in augmentation of their ſalaries	18,201	19	9
The ſheriffs of England and Wales	4,000	0	0
Clerk of the hanaper in the court of chancery	3,000	0	0
William Baldwin, Eſq. receiver of the ſeven public offices, eſtabliſhed purſuant to act 32 Geo. III. to pay the ſalaries of clerks, &c. of the ſaid offices	14,383	1	0
Patrick Colquhoun, Eſq. receiver of the Thames police office, for like ſervices	7,771	11	4½
Aaron Graham, Eſq. inſpector of the temporary places of confinement of felons previous to tranſportation, per act 42d Geo. III. cap. 28.	273	3	10½
	47,629	16	0

MINT.

Maſter of the mint, in England	10,350	0	0
Ditto, Scotland	1,200	0	0
James Morriſon, Eſq. receiver of fees and emoluments in the office of maſter of the mint in the tower of London, by act 39 Geo. III.	2,298	1	8
	13,848	1	8

* This includes the ſum of 400,913*l.* 14*s.* 3½*d.* for intereſt paid on Imperial loans.

PENSIONS.

The prince of Wales	65,000	0	0
The duke of York	14,000	0	0
The ducheſs of York	4,000	0	0
The duke of Clarence	12,000	0	0
The duke of Kent	12,000	0	0
The duke of Cumberland	12,000	0	0
The duke of Suſſex	12,000	0	0
The duke of Cambridge	12,000	0	0
The duke of Glouceſter	8,000	0	0
Ditto	9,000	0	0
Earl of Chatham	4,000	0	0
Lord Rodney	2,000	0	0
Lord Heathfield	1,500	0	0
Lady Dorcheſter	1,000	0	0
Repreſentatives of Arthur Onſlow, Eſq.	3,000	0	0
John Penn, of Stoke Pogis, Eſq.	3,000	0	0
Richard Penn, of Queen Ann ſtreet, Weſt, Eſq.	1,000	0	0
John, Earl St. Vincent	2,000	0	0
Adam, Lord Viſcount Duncan (dead)	2,000	0	0
Horatio, Baron Nelſon	2,000	0	0
Duke of Richmond	12,666	13	4
Earl of Roſslyn	4,000	0	0
Sir James Marriott (dead)	2,000	0	0
Sir Wm. Henry Aſhhurſt, Knt.	2,000	0	0
Sir Richard Perryn, Knt.	1,500	0	0
Sir John Skynner, Knt.	500	0	0
Sir Sydney Smith, Knt.	1,000	0	0
Baroneſs Abercromby	2,000	0	0
Lord Hutchinſon	2,695	17	6¼
	209,862	10	10¼

SALARIES AND ALLOWANCES.

The Right Honourable Charles Abbott, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, to complete his annuity of 6,000l.	599	0	2
Marquis of Bute, late one of the auditors of the impreſt	7,000	0	0
Philip Deare, Eſq. deputy do.	300	0	0
Edward Roberts, Eſq. chief clerk to the clerk of the Pells on 650l. per annum, formerly paid by the auditor of the receipt of exchequer for ſalaries to the officers of the exchequer bill office, but now payable to him by act 23 Geo. III.	650	0	0
John Thomas Batt, Eſq. one of the commiſſioners for auditing the public accounts	1,000	0	0
Reginald Pole Carew, Eſq. another	475	5	5
Sir C. W. R. Boughton, Bart. another	1,000	0	0
	11,024	5	8

Brought over	11,024	5	8
Sir John Dick, another	373	14	2
John Martin Leake, Eſq. another	500	0	0
John Erſkine, Eſq. another	126	5	9¼
Hon. Bartholomew Bouverie, another	435	11	4
Salaries to clerks, and contingencies in the office of the ſaid commiſſioners	6,000	0	0
George Atwood, Eſq. inſpector of Tontine certificates, to defray certain expences attending the execution of an act 30 Geo. III.	750	0	0
Officers of the pay-maſters of the Exchequer bill office, for their trouble in reſpect of exchequer bills funded, purſuant to act 42 Geo. III. Cap. 8.	400	0	0
Chief caſhier of the governor and company of the bank of England, to pay fees of various natures, at the treaſury, exchequer, &c. in relation to his account of the ſeveral bank annuities	1,507	4	0
Chief caſhier of the South ſea company, to reimburſe fees and charges in paſſing his accounts	303	2	0
Thomas Marſham, Eſq. ſecretary to the commiſſioners for iſſuing exchequer bills, purſuant to act 35 Geo. III. for defraying neceſſary expences	1,500	0	0
Richard Clarke, Eſq. chamberlain of the city of London, in part of the further ſum of 50,000l. authoriſed by act 42 Geo. III. Cap. 49. to be iſſued for the purpoſes therein mentioned	35,000	0	0
James Wyatt, Eſq. to defray the expence of erecting a lazarette on Chetney Hill, in the County of Kent, per Act 39 and 40 Geo. III. Cap. 80	30,000	0	0
	87,920	2	11¼

BOUNTIES.

For the encouragement of the growth of hemp and flax in England and Scotland	2,956	13	8

Exchequer, March 9, 1803.

GENERAL STATEMENT.

Civil Liſt	898,000	0	0
Courts of Juſtice	47,692	16	0
Mint	13,848	1	8
Penſions	209,862	10	10¼
Salaries and allowances	87,920	1	2¼
Bounties	2,956	13	8
Total	1,260,217	13	4¼

Account

Account of the Permanent Taxes of Great Britain in 1802 and 1803.

	5th Jan. 1802.			In the years ended 5th Jan. 1803.		
Total of cuſtoms, exciſe, ſtamps, and incidents prior to the year 1793	10,826,862	8	5¼	11,385,309	15	7¼
Add proportionate part of ſugar now annually granted	1,678,154	3	0	2,055,803	10	6¼
Additional duty on malt, ditto -	325,598	0	0	842,830	6	2¼
Duty on tobacco, ditto - -	391,068	0	0	442,922	0	0
	13,221,682	11	5¼	14,726,165	16	3¼
Total of Duties pro Anno 1793 -	280,517	4	11	310,412	9	2
Ditto, 1794 -	742,985	16	11¼	796,688	18	4
Add proportionate part of ſugar now annually granted	362,841	10	10¾	444,498	1	2¼
Total of Duties pro Anno 1795	1,476,190	9	6¼	1,473,577	2	11¼
Ditto, 1796 -	1,277,220	15	11	1,376,892	9	7¼
Ditto, 1797 -	2,557,444	16	2	2,761,616	15	8¼
Add proportionate part of ſugar now annually granted	343,165	19	0¼	416,716	18	8¼
Total of Duties pro Anno 1798	593,354	4	8	688,757	10	6¼
Ditto 1799 -	165,578	18	0¼	154,786	1	5¼
Ditto 1800 -	461,806	13	4	697,451	18	0¼
Ditto 1801 -	929,681	2	0	1,730,753	19	10
Ditto 1802 -	0	0	0	1,957,340	12	10¼
	22,408,970	2	11¼	27,531,353	18	9¼

JAMES FISHER.

Exchequer, the 25th of March, 1803.

As a counterpart to the above ſtatement on the part of England, we inſert the following report, preſented to the tribunate of France on the 26th April, as it is of conſiderable importance to the commercial world:—

On the order of the day for the report on the *projet de loi* reſpecting the cuſtoms, Vanhultem ſaid, "The law of the 29th Floreal, year 10, authoriſes the government proviſionally to raiſe or diminiſh the cuſtoms, to eſtabliſh or aboliſh emporia, to prohibit or permit the importation or exportation of all *mercantile commodities*, on condition that ſuch modifications ſhall be ſubmitted in the form of a *projet de loi* to the legiſlative body at its next enſuing ſeſſion.

"The government, in acquittal of that obligation, this day preſents to you a *projet de loi* upon the cuſtoms, in regard as well to the modifications already made upon the former ſcheme of duties, as to the new cuſtoms, ſuggeſted by a conſideration of the welfare of our commerce and national induſtry, and of what is for the good of the Republic.

"Cuſtoms are eſtabliſhed to protect, and not to trammel commerce. They are intended to operate with the effect of a premium for the encouragement of our manufactures and national induſtry. They ſerve in the hands of government as a rudder, as a counterpoiſe, by which the balance of trade may be, at any time inclined in our favour, or at leaſt preſerved from turning againſt us.

"Such were the principles adopted by the Conſtituent aſſembly, the views of which comprehended almoſt every grand and ſolid principle in political œconomy. According as theſe principles ſhall be more or leſs happily applied, our trade and national induſtry will be more or leſs ſucceſsfully promoted.

"It is the deſire of the governor, by reſtoring and augmenting our manufactures, to accompliſh the two ends, of procuring ſubſiſtence to millions of Frenchmen who are not proprietors, and to reſtore the balance of trade, which, ever ſince the diſaſter of our American colonies, has been ſo much againſt us.

"The plan now preſented to you, introduces no new ſcheme of duties. Its ſchedule of duties is the ſame which was decreed by the conſtituent aſſembly, on the 31ſt of January, the 1ſt and the 2nd of March 1791, ſanctioned, with ſome modifications, on the 15th of March of the ſame year, farther modified and ſanctioned on the 1ſt of Auguſt 1792, the 19th of May 1793, and the 9th Floreal, year 7.

"The firſt title in this plan relates to imports.

"Fire-arms, and other weapons of war, lately exempted from import-duties, are, by the preſent plan, to become ſubject to them. The duty on thoſe which are called white arms, is fixed at 100 francs for every five myriagrams; and it is to be for fire-arms 36 francs. Tranſparent plates of horn, horn for combs, ſoaps, ſal ammoniac, and white cottons, if flowered or embroidered, are, at the ſame time, ſubjected to an increaſe of duty.—It is in conſideration of the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, that theſe augmentations and new impoſitions are introduced.

"The importation of pit-coal is permitted, for the benefit of our manufactures. But to protect the intereſts of the proprietors of the coal mines within France, it is ſubject to certain duties upon its inland conveyance, which duties are proportioned to the diſtances of the maritime departments from the places in which coal mines are wrought.

"For the encouragement of the cotton manufactures, cotton wool from the Levant is charged with a duty of a franc for every five myriagrams; unbleached cotton cloths, with a duty of eight francs per myriagram; bleached cotton cloths, with a duty of ten francs per myriagram.

"To encourage the fiſheries of France, government has thought fit to impoſe a duty of 20 francs per every five myriagrams on the importation of foreign

reign cured fiſh. On the importation of ſtock-fiſh, however, the duty is augmented, becauſe this can be prepared only in the North, and is much uſed in the departments lately united to France.

" II. Exportation.—Pitch, reſins, new cordage, wrought copper, Corſican wines, ſewing ſilk, and flints, as they are very abundantly produced in the territory of France, are ſubjected only to very moderate duties upon exportation. The exportation of all raw ſilks, but thoſe of Piedmont, is prohibited. As the culture of the mulberry-tree, and the rearing of ſilk-worms, are the principal ſource of the wealth of Piedmont, and the manufactures of Lyons are not ſufficient to conſume all the raw ſilk, produced in that country; it would, therefore, be unreaſonable to refuſe to the Piedmonteſe the liberty of exporting their raw ſilk. On the ſame fundamental principle, the exportation of wood and ſome other dying ſtuffs is prohibited. And the importation of melaſſes and of refined ſugars, the produce of foreign colonies, is laid under prohibition. On the exportation of ſugars refined in France, a bounty will be granted equal to the duty on the importation of the raw material.

" III. Of Emporia or Ports.—There are, by this plan, to be two ſpecies; *one*, at which only productions of the French Colonies are to be admitted; *another*, at which all foreign goods, not under a general prohibition, may be imported. At theſe ports, the imports may be warehouſed, without payment of the duties, till they ſhall be brought into ſale. The towns which this land propoſes to declare ports, are, Marſeilles, Cette, Bayonne, Bourdeaux, Rochelle, Nantz, L'Orient, St. Malo, Cherbourg, Rouen, Havre, Honfleur, Dunkirk, Oſtend, Bruges, and Antwerp."

No. I.

TRIBUNATE.

SITTING OF THE FIRST GERMINAL (22D MARCH) PRESIDENCY OF CARRY.

Fabre *(de l'Aude.)*—" Citizen Tribunes—You have long deſired that the annual plan of the law relative to the expences ſhould not be divided and tranſmitted to the legiſlative body at diſtant periods; you cannot in fact judge of the merit of a ſyſtem of finances propoſed to be adopted, unleſs the whole is ſubmitted to you: and that whole cannot reſult from diſconnected plans relative to ſome parts of the receipts, or the opening of one or many proviſional credits, or the determination of expences already made, ſtill leſs when you are called upon to ſanction it by your authority. But, in the midſt of a war, and at the termination of the diſorder in which the government found the general adminiſtration and the finances, it was impoſſible (as the miniſter of finance rightly obſerves in the account he has juſt rendered of his adminiſtration in the 10th year, page 11) to propoſe a budget, founded on any baſis in the leaſt degree applicable either to the receipts or the expences. At preſent (continues this miniſter) it will be proper to return to the execution of the conſtitutional law, which directs that the receipts and expences of each year ſhall be regulated by the legiſlative body. Thus the ſacred and unalienable rights which a free people have always enjoyed, of regulating the public expences, and of conſenting to the public contributions, is ſolemnly avowed, and cannot be ſuppoſed that it is unſanctioned by the chief of the government—by him who adopts with tranſport every liberal idea, and who makes it his principal glory to govern a free and generous people.

Independent of the obligation impoſed on the government by the 45th article of the Conſtitution, to direct *the receipts and the expences of the State conformable to the annual law which determines the amount of both*, the 47th article requires the detailed accounts of the expence of each miniſter, ſigned and certified by him, ſhould be made public.

The one which the miniſter of finances has laid before you of the 10th year, has been already diſtributed among you. We are of opinion there never exiſted any thing more clear, preciſe, or ſatisfactory; every thing bears the ſtamp of order and of regularity, and particularly of the good faith and loyalty which diſtinguiſhes that miniſter.

The account of the public treaſure has alſo been diſtributed among you; and you muſt have been ſenſible, on reading it, how much zeal and conſtancy is required to reduce to ſimple reſults, an account ſo complicated in its nature, and to free it from every abuſe.

In giving the greateſt publicity to theſe two accounts, the government has ſent to the legiſlative body the plan of a law on the finances, under eight diſtinct titles.

The firſt title is relative to the credits open for the expences of the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th year; the 2nd relates to the expences of the 9th year; the 3rd, to the annulling a credit, become uſeleſs, for the 10th year; and the 4th relates to the expences of the eleventh year; referring to this title, it is ſtated that the law of the 20th Floreal, 10th year, had opened to the government, on the produce of the contributions of the 11th year, a credit of 300 millions of francs, for the expences of the firſt month of the laſt year; and the government now propoſes to you to open another credit of 289,500,000 francs to pay thoſe ſame expences: theſe two credits united will amount to the ſum total of 589,500,000 francs; the repartition of it is made in the plan of the law among the different miniſters, and a more detailed ſtatement of the expences of each of them, drawn up by order of the Firſt Conſul, has been ſent to your ſection of finances, to facilitate the examination of the nature of the demands of each. We at firſt demanded how it happened, that a ſum of 589,500,000 francs was neceſſary to provide for the expences of the 11th year, when the ſum of

526,477,041 francs, for the 9th year, and 500,000,000 for the 10th year, were deemed ſufficient to cover the whole of the expences? but every difficulty has diſappeared by an examination of the plan of the law, the detailed ſtatements, and the account rendered by the miniſter of finances.

The expences have been greater during the 11th year than during the 9th.

1ſt. The fixed expences of the Adminiſtrations, and the judicial order of all the departments of the public at preſent paid out of the public treaſury, may be eſtimated at - - - - Francs 18,777,151

2d. The difference which it has been neceſſary to pay to the miniſters of the interior, on account of the repair of roads, canals, and various other ſervices, amounts to - - - - - - 14,000,000

3d. The miniſter of marine in the 9th year had 91 millions; in the 11th year it was found neceſſary to repair in part the enormous loſſes we had ſuſtained in the courſe of the revolution; it was neceſſary to reſtore our Colonies, and reduce the rebels of St. Domingo; theſe different cauſes have rendered it neceſſary for the government to demand for the miniſter of marine a credit of 126 millions—difference - - - - - - 35,000,000

4th. In the 9th year the war department had a fund of 288 millions, and part of our troops ſubſiſted out of the French territory, and were no charge on the public treaſury. In the 11th year the credit of the miniſter was augmented to 5 millions compared with the 9th year, and the public treaſury ſupported nearly the ſame expence on account of the danger which would have attended our diſarming; we may reckon about 35 millions for the expence of our troops in Piedmont, Batavia, the Ciſalpine, and other foreign ſtates; thus the expence of the war miniſter, in the 11th year, inſtead of coſting 5 millions more, preſents a diminution of - - - - 30,000,000

per contra - - 97,177,151

5th. In the 9th year the public debt, compriſing the penſions, amounted to 77 millions; in the 11th year it amounted to 84,223,482 francs—difference - 7,023,482

In the 9th year the miniſtry of foreign relations coſt but 6 millions, the peace having re-eſtabliſhed all our antient relations; this expence was raiſed, for the 11th year, to 7 millions—difference - 1,000,000

105,800,633

Among the articles of expence relating to each miniſter, we have remarked ſix millions for the expence of the repreſentation at Paris of the Firſt Conſul, the expence and maintenance of the palace of the Thuilleries, St. Cloud, and their dependencies, and for his journies.

We find immediately after a ſecond charge of 1,200,000 francs, for the expences of the Second and Third Conſuls, at the rate of 600,000 francs each, with this obſervation, that the above expences are fixed permanently during the life of the Firſt Conſul, conformably to the Senatus Conſulte of 16th Thermidor, 10th year. In fact, the 53d article imports, that the "law fixes for the life of the Firſt Conſul the ſtate of the expences of the government."

You will doubtleſs remark with us, Citizen Tribunes, how very moderate this eſtabliſhment is, and that it bears too little proportion to the civil liſt of the antient government, which amounted to more than 25 millions, and that the nation is ſenſibly intereſted in ſurrounding its firſt magiſtrate with that eclat which belongs to ſo elevated a rank, ſince the honour and the glory with which he is inveſted reflect upon it, and concur in making it reſpected abroad.

I will not ſpeak on the ſignal ſervices which the Firſt Conſul has rendered to his country. Hiſtory will aſſign to him the rank he ought to occupy in the eſtimation of poſterity, among the great men who have rendered their age illuſtrious. National gratitude has already raiſed in the hearts of the people a temple more glorious than all the monuments which could conſecrate it.

The tribunate will alſo feel the neceſſity of equally ſurrounding with a certain degree of eclat the dignity of the ſecond and third Conſuls, who ſhare with the Firſt Conſul the honourable burden of the government; the expence fixed for each of them, at 600,000 francs, appears to us rather below than on a level with the ſplendour which ought neceſſarily to attach to the ſecond and third perſons of the ſtate. We will terminate the title relative to the general expences of the eleventh year, by obſerving that the expences of the negociations are only ſtated in the plan of the law, at 9 millions for this year, inſtead of 32 millions, which they coſt in the 9th year, and of 13,677,749 francs in the tenth year.

Your ſection therefore thinks that you ought to approve all the articles of expence in the eleventh year, and grant to the government a credit of 289,500,000 francs, making with that of 300,000,000 francs, open by the law of the 20th Floreal, tenth year, the total ſum of 589,500,000 francs, which will be ſufficient to defray the expences of the eleventh year.

The fifth title relates to a ſupplementary credit granted by the ſecond ſection of the eighth article

of the law of the 21ſt Floreal, 10th year. The ſixth title relates to the contributions of the twelfth year: the direct contributions demanded for the 12th year amount to 341,780,651 francs. The eighth article relates to the proviſional credit for the 12th year. The government demand that a credit be opened of 400 millions, on account of the expences of the different departments of adminiſtration, during the 12th year, and to be authoriſed to take that ſum on the produce of the contributions decreed, and on the other public revenues of the ſame year.

Your ſection of finance has thought that this authority cannot be refuſed, however conſiderable he credit demanded may appear, particularly under the circumſtances in which it ſees a foreign power, bound by a ſolemn treaty, affecting fears as to its duration.

The government will direct the receipts and the diſburſements of the firſt months, of the 12th year, conformably to the plan of the law ſubmitted to your examination, unleſs extraordinary circumſtances ſhould compel it to make an alteration relative to the credit of the miniſters, but in that caſe it will ſubmit them in the next ſeſſions to the approbation of the legiſlative body.

The annual law is compoſed of the ſtatement of receipts, and the expences; the receipts of the 12th year are inconteſtibly compriſed in the plan with which we are occupied. The expences of the different miniſters will alſo be found there under detailed ſtatements; though applicable only to the 11th year, they will be the ſame next year, unleſs unforeſeen and extraordinary circumſtances ſhould occur. Why, therefore, need we inſiſt upon the government now preſenting us with an eſtimate of the expences of the 12th year? Could it give us an eſtimate more approximating to the actual expenditure than the ſtatement of the 11th year, which we have before our eyes, and conformably to which it will proviſionally direct the expences of the next year, until the period when it ſhall tranſmit to the legiſlative body, a ſtatement of the receipts and expences of that ſame year, exempt from every kind of incertitude, ſince it will be founded on the receipts and diſburſements of the firſt months.

Till that epoch, the government will direct the receipts and expences of the 12th year, not arbitrarily and according to its will, but conformably to the law, which will have decreed the contributions of the 12th year, with regard to what concerns the receipts, and conformably to the repartition between the miniſters, made for the 11th year, by that ſame law, with references to what concerns the expences of the 1ſt months of the 12th year.

Your ſection is further of opinion, that there never has been ſubmitted to your examination a plan of a law on the finances, ſo complete as this is, or which was more adapted to inſpire confidence, and aſſure public credit; it therefore recommends it to your adoption.

Coſtaz was heard; he pronounced an opinion favourable to the plan. The diſcuſſion was cloſed. The tribunate deliberated on the plan. The adoption of it was voted by a majority of 58 againſt 1. The ſitting roſe.

No. II.

FRENCH FINANCE.

BUDGET FOR THE YEAR II.

RECEIPTS.

		Livres.
Surplus of the revenues for the year 10.		2,000,000
Land-tax for 108 departments	220,000,000	
Tax on perſonal property and ſumptuary	32,200,000	
Additional centimes for the expences of adminiſtration and judicial proceedings in the departments	15,783,000	301,483,000
Doors and windows	16,000,000	
Patents	17,500,000	
For the management of the domains, comprehending the net revenue of the national foreſts		190,000,000
Cuſtoms		40,000,000
The Poſt-office		11,000,000
National lottery		12,000,000
Salt duties		3,500,000
Securities for the officers of juſtices of peace		4,000,000
Miſcellaneous receipts		4,777,000
		568,760,000
External receipt		20,000,000
Total receipt		588,760,000

EXPENDITURE.

PUBLIC DEBT.

Perpetual debt:		
To the creditors of the State	39,570,918	
To the Caiſſe d'Amortiſſement	1,272,055	
	40,842,973	
Debt for life	19,986,674	
		60,829,647

SIX NEW DEPARTMENTS.

Perpetual debt	2,677,277	
Annuities	516,528	
	3.193,805	
		64,023,452

GENERAL

GENERAL EXPENDITURE OF THE SERVICE.

Administration of Juſtice		23,318,730
of foreign relations		7,000,000
Of the interior:		
Ordinary ſervice	17,000,000	
Extraordinary ſervice	22,500,000	
Remainder of ſubſiſtences bought in the year 10, and which will be paid off in the year 11	7,610,000	
		47,110,000
Of the finances:		
Ordinary ſervice	29,047,788	
To reimburſe part of the ſecurities to the Caiſſe d'Amortiſſement	5,000,000	
Intereſt of ſecurities	2,000,000	
Penſions	20,000,000	
		56,047,788
Of the public treaſury		6,000,000
For the war department	153,000,000	
For the management of ditto	90,000,000	
		243,000,000
The Marine:		
Ordinary ſervice:	70,000,000	
Extraordinary ſervice	56,000,000	
		126,000,000
		508,476,518
Incurred by negotiations		9,000,000
In reſerve		8,000,000
Total		525,476,518

Having thus far ſhewn the relative commercial and financial concerns of the two countries we think it highly juſtifiable to mention the ſtate of the GRAND NATIONAL FORCE, the protection of commerce, the avenger of inſult, and the bulwark of the Britiſh empire; and, when we conſider the magnitude of our navy and army; with the acknowledged proweſs of Britiſh ſailors and ſoldiers, we are led to admire the policy of the government, where the ſubjects are free citizens, and where the military and naval eſtabliſhments are conſolidated, without recourſe to conſcriptions or mercenary meaſures:—

THE BRITISH NAVY.

Statement of the Diſtribution of the Britiſh Naval Forces, to May 1, 1803.

	Line	*50's*	*Fri*	*Slp.*	*Tot.*
In port and fitting	24	5	38	50	117
Guard-ſhips	0	0	0	0	0
In the Engliſh and Iriſh Channels	14	1	12	19	46
On the Downs and North Sea Stations	1	2	13	17	33
At the Weſt India Iſlands, and on the paſſage	2	0	6	11	19
On the Jamaica ſtation	9	0	5	8	22
American and Newfoundland ſtations	0	1	2	4	7
C. of G. Hope, Eaſt Indies, and on the paſſage	4	5	8	10	27
Coaſt of Africa	0	0	1	1	2
Portugal and Gibraltar	1	0	3	2	6
Mediterranean and on paſſage	10	2	16	7	35
Hoſpital and priſon ſhips	2	0	0	0	2
Total in Commiſſion	67	16	104	12	316
Receiving ſhips	7	0	7	1	15
Serviceable and repairing for ſervice	13	0	8	2	23
In ordinary	85	9	86	64	244
Buildings	24	0	12	9	45
Total	196	25	217	205	643

State of the Ordinary at each Port.

	Line	*50's*	*Fri.*	*Slp.*	*Tot.*
Portſmouth	31	2	23	13	69
Plymouth	35	1	20	21	77
Chatham	35	6	21	4	66
Sheerneſs	1	0	6	7	14
River Thames	3	0	29	16	48
Total	105	9	99	61	274

THE BRITISH ARMY.

General Diſtribution of the Britiſh Army, to May 1, 1803.

	Regulars. *Cav.*	*Inf.*	*Militia.*	*Tot. Bat.*	*Inv. Comp.*
England and Wales	20	28	76	124	0
North Britain	1	4	15	20	0
Ireland	8	23	0	31	2
Jerſey, Guernſey, &c.	0	6	0	6	0
Gibraltar	0	7	0	7	0
Egypt and Malta	0	8	0	8	0
Canada, Nova Scotia, &c.	0	4	0	4	0
Weſt Indies	0	24	0	24	0
C. of G. Hope, Goree, &c.	0	3	0	3	0
Eaſt Indies and on paſſage to	5	20	0	25	0
On paſſage to England or Ireland from ſundry places	1	6	0	7	0
Total, Ex. Artillery	35	133	91	159	0

The relative ſituation of England and France during peace and war being thus generally exhibited, from theſe facts a concluſion is drawn, that the accuſation of "a deſire for hoſtilities on our part," is fairly refuted by ſtating the ſuperior benefits reſulting to the Britiſh dominions during a pacific eſtabliſhment.

CHAP. VIII.

Deſcriptive Idea of the phyſical Power, Improvements, and political Connexions of the leading States of Europe, as they may be connected with thoſe of Great Britain.

AS the whole of the firſt book of the preſent hiſtory muſt neceſſarily be compoſed of what is uſually denominated introductory matter, which may anſwer alſo the purpoſes of reference; we are obliged to be diffuſe in our deſcription, ſo as to give the leading features of the ſubjects, whether commercial or agricultural, whether political, geographical, barbarous or improved, that we are about to deſcribe.

Conſiſtently with this proſpectus no ſubject can better engage our attention, after exhibiting the beautiful portrait of the ſtate of Britiſh finance, than to aſcertain the progreſs of improvement in Europe, during the eighteenth century, with the various cauſes of and the effects produced by, the revolutions of civilization. It is an intereſting gratification to trace the general conditions of mankind, the ſchemes of politicians, the ſtratagems of war, the fluctuations of commerce, and the progreſs of arts, ſciences, and literature. "Curioſity," ſays Dr. Johnſon, "is one of the moſt permanent and certain characteriſtics of vigorous intellect, in great and generous minds, it is the firſt paſſion and the laſt; and, perhaps, always predominates in proportion to the ſtrength of mental faculties."

Curioſity being then a paſſion inherent in the human mind, the uncultivated peaſant is as much concerned in the ſort of enquiry we now enter upon, as the man of the moſt improved underſtanding, and the moſt extenſive views; and the progreſſive importance attached to the gradation of the mud-walled cottage till its acquirements as a gilded palace, is an object as neceſſary for the information of every capacity, as the knowledge of the world is to exalt the imagination or to advance the mind.

In the preſent condition of Europe, the leading circumſtances are, that the ſmaller ſtates which compoſe this quarter of the world are completely ſunk into obſcurity, and are conſidered of no other importance than as they compoſe parts of the greater powers. Thus Holland, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, are to be deemed only as dependant upon the movements of France, the German princes under thoſe of Auſtria or Pruſſia; whilſt Denmark and Sweden only appear as the ſatellites of Ruſſia. Our attention will therefore be chiefly directed to Ruſſia, Auſtria, Pruſſia, France, and England, as their condition, intentions, and operations determine the preſent and future ſtate of Europe.

To commence with Ruſſia. The civilization of this vaſt tract of region muſt be eſteemed one of thoſe grand events, which have ſo materially altered the economy of Europe during the laſt century. In the year 1700, it was but little better than an obſcure and barbarous dominion, and hardly deſerving account in the arrangement of the other powers; but a Peter, a Catharine, and a few princes of uncommon ſpirit, and by chance endued with paſſions happily directed, have called her forth with prodigious impetuoſity; introduced the arts of civilized Europe; promoted induſtry; encouraged the diſſemination of knowledge; new modelled the adminiſtration of the ſtate; created commerce; and forwarded the taſte for the enjoyments and purſuits of the more cultivated countries.

The prodigious improvement induced by ſuch means was ſoon realized; the people were excited to a ſpirit of activity and induſtry; the nobility, inſtead of exerciſing their antient feudal tyranny over their vaſſals in their diſtant caſtles, reſorted to the capital, partook of the ſplendour and luxuries of their fellow ſubjects, and enjoyed themſelves in a rational manner from the rents obtained by the diligence of their tenants, who ſupplied them with willing ſources of riches hitherto unknown. The riches, thus accumulated in the country, afforded reſources ſufficient for government, to maintain as a militia, a much larger proportion of its numerous ſubjects, than formerly in its impoveriſhed ſtate; and thus the influence of Ruſſia burſt into reſpectability and conſequence.

Before the French revolution this empire, under the auſpices of Catharine II. had arrived at ſuch power in the ſcale of dominion, as to be entitled to the rank of a leading ſtate; but during, and ſince the diſorganization of Europe, by means of that revolution, ſhe has ſurmounted every other power, and may now be conſidered in the firſt claſs of imperial domains.

Wiſely adopting the arts of peace, whilſt the ſurrounding nations were harraſſing and conſuming each other by deſtructive war, Ruſſia kept aloof, and maintained all her reſources untouched; thus her civilization, which had before proceeded rapidly, was advanced, and with acceleratad pace gave her continually an increaſed command of immenſe phyſical ſtrength. Whilſt commerce was interrupted in other countries, in Ruſſia it maintained its due conſideration and proſperity; and many commodities which the hoſtilities of the contending nations

tions had ſhut out, here found a welcome reception, the market was made eaſy, and every ſpecies of induſtry was greatly encouraged.

That a nation ſhould thus, in the courſe of only twelve years of warfare, by cultivating a peaceable policy, without foreign conqueſts, without having thrown off a foreign yoke, or altered the conſtitution of the ſtate, have nearly doubled her political importance, is a fact to which it will be difficult to find a parallel; it appears one of the moſt remarkable circumſtances on the page of hiſtory.

The partition of Poland, formed another conſtituent of the greatneſs of Ruſſia; for by means of the territory thus gained to the empire, her commerce is acceſſible and is introduced to every part of Europe: beſides her influence over Denmark and Sweden being conſtantly increaſed and confirmed, ſhe maintains a ſuperiority of power of the greateſt conſequence in maintaining a balance neceſſary for the peace and well-being of the continent.

The riſe and progreſs of PRUSSIA forms another extraordinary event which has powerfully affected the condition of Europe. From being feeble electors of Brandenburgh, and grand maſters of the Teutonic order, and holding the ſmall diſtrict of Pruſſia Proper in fief of the crown of Poland, the ſovereigns of Pruſſia have riſen, in the courſe of the eighteenth century, a balance to the moſt powerful potentates of Europe, and holding the deſtiny of kings and ſtates in their hands.

Some late proceedings have contributed to place the power of this ſtate on a firm foundation, and rear it to a majeſtic height. The partition of Poland, added, as well as to Ruſſia, an extenſive and important territory to the Pruſſian dominions; this, with Silefia, Pruſſia, and Brandenburgh, form a large and compacted ſtate, admirably ſituated both for political influence and commercial intercourſe.

We do not attempt to ſay whether from prudential motives, from neceſſity or choice, or from principles good or bad, that this power kept out of the war which has retarded the improvements and drained the reſources of her neighbours; it is certain however, that during the period of waſte and diſorder, ſhe has increaſed her ſtores; and many facts prove indubitably, that her ſtrength and reſources have been greatly augmented during the preceding twelve years. The influence of Pruſſia in the German empire is ſo great, as to enable her to divide with Auſtria the princes of the Germanic body; to lead them in her train, and to count them among her vaſſals. Of this the partizans of the houſe of Auſtria complain in the bitterеſtmanner, and aſſert, that the influence of Pruſſia enabled her to direct the formation of the plan of indemnities moſt unjuſtly, and dangerouſly, in her own favour.

But the condition of the AUSTRIAN power muſt be conſidered as one of the grand points on which the ſecurity or inſecurity of Europe muſt turn. It was from Auſtria, at no very diſtant period, that the ſubjugation of all Europe was dreaded; and ſo immenſe at that time was her preponderance, that if ſuch an event, in ſuch a ſtate of ſociety as that of modern Europe, be poſſible to happen, then were the fears of it not unreaſonable. Even after the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria were reduced to a moderate proportion with the other great powers of Europe, it was to check the ambition and power of that houſe, that for a long time moſt of the balancing treaties and alliances were formed. This ſtate has been improving along with the reſt of Europe. But ſhe has not improved ſo faſt; and the conſequence is, that ſhe has been obliged to give place in point of importance to ſome others. The government of this country is not more abſolute than that of Ruſſia, of Pruſſia, or perhaps of ancient France. But it has been much worſe adminiſtered. Its very ſtrength has been the main cauſe of this; as a great proprietor of land has leſs motive to improve it than a ſmall one.

The government of Auſtria, being powerful enough both to maintain the moſt complete ſubjection among the people, and to cope with the mightieſt ſtates of Europe, naturally enough thought no further trouble neceſſary than to maintain the ancient eſtabliſhment of things. The rigours too of the Roman Catholic religion, maintained in Vienna, in force only inferior to Spain and Portugal, have greatly obſtructed the progreſs both of knowledge and of induſtry in that country. A liſt of the books annually prohibited in it even now, is a curious and melancholy monument. Ignorance, accordingly, is more profound and groſs among the people of all ranks in this than it is perhaps in any other civilized part of Europe, not even excepting Spain and Portugal. The nobles receive an education purely military, and are not ſo much as tinctured with literature. There is hardly an Auſtrian name to be found in the annals of modern literature. Some of the attempts at reformation of Joſeph II. were ſalutary and noble. Such was the abolition in Bohemia and Hungary of the feudal ſyſtem, which bound theſe provinces with iron chains, in ſloth, ignorance, and poverty. His deſign, however, to eſtabliſh a uniform code of laws for all the provinces of his empire was abandoned after his death, as too troubleſome to be put in execution. The riſe of Ruſſia and Pruſſia has greatly curbed the external influence of Auſtria. The latter power has deprived her of half her authority in the empire. The weakneſs of Turkey has left her more ſecure on the eaſtern ſide, but ſhe has taken little or no advantage of it to extend her dominion.

Relieved from an exhauſting and diſaſtrous war to her neighbours, Auſtria does not ſeem to have equally ſuffered; the compenſations ſhe has ſince received more than balancing her loſs. The Netherlands had

been long a burthen and expence to her. The Italian ſtates, though nearer and leſs expenſive, were yet overwhelmed with poverty. The duchy of Milan, equal in value to three-fourths of the whole, only afforded 300,000*l.* of revenue; and the expence of the different eſtabliſhments could amount to very little leſs. In fact, the acquiſition of Venice alone is worth more than all the territories ſhe has loſt; and when it is added that what ſhe obtained in the partition of Poland, of which the city of Cracow alone contains 24,000 inhabitants, ſhe ſurely cannot be ſaid to ſuffer in territory. The real, the great loſs which Auſtria has ſuſtained by the late tedious and deſtructive conteſt, is the ruin of her reſources, and the interruption given to her partial induſtry. That by this ſhe is grievouſly weakened is unqueſtionable, but in what degree is impoſſible as yet to determine. One thing however is certain, that ſhe made no greater exertions in that conteſt than France or Great Britain; and by conſequence a greater drain of the ſources of power cannot have been made from her; but being leſs fertile in theſe ſources, ſhe feels the diminution more ſeverely.

Such are the traits which mark the preſent condition and phyſical power of the leading ſtates of Europe, excluſively of Great Britain and France, which demand a more copious diſcuſſion in the courſe of this hiſtory: the preceding ſtatement is only therefore to be conſidered relatively as affording an elucidation in the probable connexion of the various powers with this country.

CHAP. IX.

Privilege of Ambaſſadors—Their Perſons ſacred and inviolable—Who have a Right to be Ambaſſadors—Why they are received—Why their Perſons are inviolable.

IN the progreſs of this hiſtory we ſhall have occaſion very often to ſpeak of the violent treatment of ambaſſadors; and that we may not take up the reader's time by a repetition of deductions, we, in this place, think it neceſſary to aſcertain, in the words of M. Burlamaqui*, formerly counſellor of ſtate, &c. in Geneva, the various rights due to the repreſentatives of ſovereigns, and how far they ought to be protected.

"Nothing is more common than the maxim, which eſtabliſhes that the perſons of ambaſſadors are ſacred and inviolable, and that they are under the protection of the law of nations. We cannot doubt but that it is of the utmoſt importance to mankind in general, and to nations in particular, not only to put an end to wars and diſputes, but alſo to eſtabliſh and maintain commerce and friendſhip between each other. Now as ambaſſadors are neceſſary to procure theſe advantages, it follows that God, who certainly commands every thing that contributes to the preſervation and happineſs of human ſociety, cannot but forbid, by the law of nature, the doing any injury to theſe perſons; but on the contrary, that he orders we ſhould grant them all the ſecurity and privileges, which the deſign and nature of their employment requires.

"Before we enter into the application of the privileges which the law of nations grants to ambaſſadors, we muſt firſt obſerve with Grotius, that they belong only to ambaſſadors ſent by ſovereign powers to each other. For as to deputies ſent by cities or provinces to their own ſovereigns, it is not by the law of nations that we muſt judge of their privileges, but by the civil law of the country. In a word, the privileges of ambaſſadors regard only foreigners; that is to ſay, ſuch as have no dependance on us.

"Nothing then hinders an inferior ally from having a right to ſend ambaſſadors to a ſuperior ally; for in the caſe of an unequal alliance, the inferior does not ceaſe to be independent.

"It is a queſtion, whether a king, vanquiſhed in war, and ſtript of his kingdom, has a right of ſending ambaſſadors? But indeed, this queſtion is uſeleſs, with reſpect to the conqueror, who will not even ſo much as think whether he ought to receive ambaſſadors from a perſon whom he has deprived of his kingdom. As for other powers, if the conqueror has entered into the war for ſome reaſons manifeſtly unjuſt, they ought ſtill to acknowledge him for the true king, who really is ſo, as long as they can do it without ſome great inconveniency; conſequently they cannot refuſe to receive his ambaſſadors.

"But in civil wars the caſe is extraordinary; for then neceſſity ſometimes makes way for this right, ſo as to receive ambaſſadors on both ſides. The ſame nation, in that caſe, is for a time accounted two diſtinct bodies of people. But pirates and robbers, that do not conſtitute a ſettled government, can have no right of nations belonging to them, nor conſequently that of ſending ambaſſadors, unleſs they have obtained it by a treaty, which has ſometimes happened.

"The antients did not diſtinguiſh different ſorts of perſons ſent by one power to another; the Romans called them all *legati* or *oratores*. At preſent there are various titles given to theſe public miniſters, but the employment is at bottom the ſame; and all the diſtinctions that are made, are founded rather on the greater or leſſer ſplendor with which they ſupport their dignity, and on the greatneſs or ſmallneſs of their ſalary, than on any other reaſon relating to their character.

"The moſt common diſtinction of ambaſſadors, at preſent, is into *extraordinary* and *ordinary*. This difference

* Principles of Politic Law, p. 360.

difference was entirely unknown to the antients. All the ambaſſadors they ſent were extraordinary, that is to ſay, charged with only one particular negotiation; whereas the ordinary ambaſſadors are thoſe who reſide in the courts of allied nations, to manage all kinds of buſineſs, and even to obſerve what paſſes there.

"The change of the ſituation of things in Europe, ſince the deſtruction of the Roman empire, the different ſovereignties and republics that have been erected, together with the increaſe of trade, have rendered theſe ordinary ambaſſadors neceſſary, and introduced the uſe of them. Hence ſeveral hiſtorians juſtly obſerve, that the Turks, who keep no miniſters in foreign countries, act very impoliticly in this particular; for as they receive their news only by Jewiſh or Armenian merchants, they do not generally hear of things till very late, or their informations are bad, which often makes them take falſe meaſures, becauſe they have had falſe advices.

"Grotius obſerves, that there are two principal maxims of the law of nations, concerning ambaſſadors. The firſt, *that we ought to admit them*; the ſecond, *that we ſhould offer no violence to them, and that their perſons are ſacred and inviolable.*

"With regard to the firſt of theſe maxims, we muſt obſerve that the obligation of admitting ambaſſadors, is founded in general on the principles of ſociety and humanity: for as all nations form a kind of ſociety among themſelves, and conſequently ought to aſſiſt each other by a mutual commerce of good offices, the uſe of ambaſſadors becomes neceſſary between them for that very reaſon. It is therefore a rule of the law of nations, that we ought to admit ambaſſadors, and to reject none without a juſt cauſe.

"But though we are obliged to admit ambaſſadors, it is only a bare duty of humanity, which produces but an imperfect, and not a ſtrict obligation. So that a ſimple refuſal cannot be regarded as an injuſtice, properly ſpeaking, ſufficient to lay a juſt foundation for a war. Beſides the obligation to admit ambaſſadors, regards as well thoſe ſent to us by an enemy, as thoſe who come from an allied power. It is the duty of princes, who are at war, to ſeek the means of re-eſtabliſhing a juſt and reaſonable peace; and they cannot obtain it, unleſs they are diſpoſed to liſten to the propoſals which may be made on each ſide; which cannot be ſo well negotiated, as by employing ambaſſadors or miniſters. The ſame duty of humanity alſo obliges neutral, or indifferent princes, to afford a paſſage through their territories to ambaſſadors ſent by other powers.

"I mentioned that we ought not, without a juſt cauſe, to refuſe admittance to an ambaſſador; for it is poſſible that we may have very good reaſons to reject him: for example, if his maſter has already impoſed upon us under pretext of an embaſſy, and we have juſt reaſon to ſuſpect the like fraud; if the prince, by whom the ambaſſador is ſent, has been guilty of treachery, or of ſome other heinous crime againſt us; or, in fine, if we are ſure that, under pretext of ſome negotiations, the ambaſſador is ſent only in the character of a ſpy, to pry into our affairs, and to ſow the ſeeds of ſedition.

"Thus, in the retreat of the ten thouſand of which Xenophon has left us the hiſtory, the generals reſolved, that as long as they were in the enemy's country they would receive no heralds; and what moved them to this reſolution, was their having found that the perſons who had been ſent among them, under pretence of embaſſies, came really to ſpy, and to corrupt the ſoldiers.

"It may alſo be a juſt reaſon for refuſing admittance to an ambaſſador, or envoy from an allied power, when by admitting him we are likely to give diſtruſt to ſome other power, with whom it is proper we ſhould have a good underſtanding. Laſtly, the perſon or character of the ambaſſador himſelf may furniſh juſt reaſons for our not admitting him. This is ſufficient concerning the maxim relating to the admittance of ambaſſadors.

"As for the other rule of the law of nations, which directs that no violence be offered to ambaſſadors, and that their perſons ought to be looked upon as ſacred and inviolable, it is a little more difficult to decide the ſeveral queſtions relating to it.

"1ſt. When we ſay that the law of nations forbids any violence to ambaſſadors, either by words or actions, we do not by this give any particular privilege to ambaſſadors; for this is no more than what every man has a right to do by the law of nature, a right that his life, his honour, and his property, ſhould be perfectly ſecure.

"2d. But when we add, that the perſons of ambaſſadors are ſacred and inviolable by the law of nations, we attribute ſome prerogatives and privileges to them, which are not due to private perſons, &c.

"3d. When we ſay that the perſon of an ambaſſador is ſacred, this ſignifies no more than that we inflict a ſeverer puniſhment on thoſe who have offered violence to an ambaſſador, than on thoſe who have done ſome injury or inſult to private perſons; and that the character, which renders ambaſſadors ſacred, is the reaſon of our inflicting ſo different a puniſhment for the ſame kind of offence.

"4th. Laſtly, the reaſon why we call the perſons of ambaſſadors ſacred, is becauſe they are not ſubject to the civil or criminal juriſdiction of the ſovereign to whom they are ſent, either with reſpect to their perſons, retinue, or effects; ſo that we cannot act againſt them, according to the ordinary ways of juſtice; and it is in this that their privileges principally conſiſt.

"The foundation of theſe privileges, which the law of nations grants to ambaſſadors, is, that as an ambaſſador repreſents the perſon of his maſter, he ought of courſe to enjoy all the privileges and rights which his

his master himself, as a sovereign would have, were he to come into the states of another prince to transact his own affairs, to negotiate, for instance, or conclude a treaty, or an alliance, to regulate some branch of commerce, and other things of a similar nature, &c. Now, for whatever reason a sovereign goes from his own into a foreign country, surely we cannot imagine that he loses his character and independence, and that he becomes subject to the prince in whose territories he is: on the contrary, he ought to be thought to continue as he was before, equal and independent of the civil or criminal jurisdiction of the prince, into whose territories he goes; and the latter receives him on that footing as he would choose to be received himself, if he went into the other's dominions. We must grant the ambassador the same prerogative and immunities, in consequence of his representative character.

"The very end and design of embassies render these privileges of ambassadors necessary; for it is certain, that if an ambassador can treat with the prince, to whom he is sent, with a full independence, he will be much better qualified to perform his duty, and serve his master effectually, than if he was subject to the jurisdiction of the prince with whom he is to negotiate, or if he and his retinue could be consigned over to justice, and his goods arrested and seized, &c. It is not, therefore, without reason, that all nations have, in favour of ambassadors, made an exception to the general custom, by which it is established, that people who reside in a foreign prince's dominions, shall be subject to that prince's laws.

"These principles being supposed, I say

"1st. That there is no difficulty with respect to ambassadors, who come to a power with whom their master is at peace, and who have injured no man. The most common and most evident maxims of the law of nature, require they should be perfectly secure. So that if we affront or insult such an ambassador, in any manner whatsoever, we give his master just reason for declaring war. Of this king David furnishes us with an example in 2 Sam. ch. x.

"2d. As to ambassadors who come from an enemy, and who have done no harm before they are admitted, their safety depends entirely on the laws of humanity; for an enemy, as such, has a right to annoy his enemy. Thus, so long as there is no particular agreement upon this rticle, we are obliged to spare the ambassador of an enemy, only in virtue of the sentiments of humanity, which we ought always to retain, and which oblige us to have a regard for every thing which tends to the preservation of peace.

"3d. But when we have promised to admit, or have actually admitted the ambassador of an enemy, we have thereby manifestly engaged to procure him entire security, so long as he behave himself well. We must not even except heralds, who are sent to declare war, provided they do it in an inoffensive manner. So much for innocent ambassadors.

"4th. As to ambassadors, who have rendered themselves culpable, they have done the injury either of their own head, or by their master's order.

"If they have done it of their own head, they forfeit their right to security, and to the enjoyment of their privileges, when their crime is manifest and heinous: for no ambassador whatever can pretend to more privilege than his master would have in the same case; now such a crime would not be pardoned in the master.

"By *heinous crimes*, we here mean such as tend to disturb the state, or to destroy the lives of the subjects of the prince to whom the ambassador is sent, or to do them some considerable prejudice in their honour or fortunes.

"When the crime directly affects the state, or the head of it, whether the ambassador has actually used violence or not, that is to say, whether he has stirred up the subjects to sedition, or conspired himself against the government, or favoured the plot; or whether he has taken arms with the rebels or the enemy, or engaged his attendants so to do, &c. we may be revenged on him, even by killing him, not as a subject, but as an enemy; for his master himself would have no reason to expect better treatment. And the end of embassies, established for the general good of nations, does not require that we should grant to an ambassador, who first violates the most sacred rules of the law of nations, the privileges which that law allows to ambassadors. If such an ambassador makes his escape, his master is obliged to deliver him up when he is demanded.

"But if the crime, however heinous or manifest, affects only a private person, the ambassador is not for that alone to be reputed an enemy to the prince or state. Suppose his master had committed a crime of the same nature, we ought to demand satisfaction of him, and not take up arms against him till he had refused it; so the same reason of equity directs, that the prince, at whose court the ambassador has committed such a crime, should send him back to his master, desiring him either to deliver him up, or to punish him: for to keep him in prison till his master shall recall him, in order to punish him, or declare that he has abandoned him, would be to testify some distrust of the justice of his master, and by that means affront him in some measure, because the ambassador still represents him.

"5th. But if the crime is committed by the master's order, it would certainly be imprudence to send the ambassador back; since there is just reason to believe, that the prince who ordered the commission of the crime, will hardly surrender, or punish the criminal. We may, therefore, in this case, secure the person of the ambassador, till the master shall repair the injury done both by his ambassador and

himself. As for those who do not represent the person of the prince, such as common messengers, trumpeters, &c. we may kill them on the spot, if they come to insult a prince by order of their master.

"But nothing is more absurd than what some maintain, namely, that all the evil done by ambassadors, by order of their master, ought to be imputed intirely to the master. Were it so, ambassadors would have more privilege in the territories of another prince, than their master himself, should he appear there: and, on the other hand, the sovereign of the country would have less power in his own dominions, than a master of a family has in his own house.

"In a word, the security of ambassadors ought to be understood in such a manner, as to imply nothing contrary to the security of the powers to whom they are sent, and who neither would, nor could receive them upon other terms. Now it is plain, that ambassadors will be less bold in undertaking any thing against the sovereign, or members of a foreign state, if they are apprehensive, that in case of treason, or some other heinous crimes, the sovereign of the country can call them to an account for it, than if they had nothing to fear but correction from their master.

"6th. When the ambassador himself has committed no crime, it is not lawful to use him ill, or to kill him by the law of *retaliation* or *reprisals*; for as soon as we have admitted him under that character, we have renounced the right we had to any such revenge.

"In vain would it be to state the many instances of revenge taken after this manner, which are to be met with in history; for historians not only relate just and lawful actions, but also a great many things done contrary to justice in the heat of anger, by the influence of some irregular and tumultuous passion.

"7th. What has hitherto been said of the rights of ambassadors, ought to be applied to their domestics, and all their retinue. If any one of the ambassador's domestics has done an injury, we may desire his master to deliver him up. If he does not comply, he makes himself accessary to his crime, and in this case we have a right to proceed against him in the same manner as if he had committed the crime himself.

"An ambassador, however, cannot punish his own domestics; for as this is not conducive to the end of his employment, there is no reason to presume that his master has given it him.

"8th. With respect to the effects of ambassadors, we can neither seize them for payment, nor for security, in the way of justice; for this would suppose, that he was subject to the jurisdiction of the sovereign at whose court he resides. But if he refuses to pay his debts, we ought, after giving him notice, to apply to his master, and if his master refuses to do us justice, we may seize the effects of the ambassador.

"9. Lastly, as for the right of asylums and protections, it is by no means a consequence of the nature and end of embassies. However, if it is once granted to the ambassadors of a certain power, nothing authorises us to revoke it, unless the good of the state require it.

"Neither ought we, without good reasons, to refuse ambassadors the other sorts of rights and honours, which are established by the common consent of sovereigns; for this would be a kind of an affront to them."

The protection given to ambassadors in Great Britain is very extensive, their persons are not only inviolate, but their domestics cannot be sued in any civil process, nor arrested for debt; and it is only by acts of murder, that they are amenable to the laws, as was the case of Don Pantaleon de Saa, brother of the Portuguese ambassador, during the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell*.

Indeed in some instances foreign ministers have carried their right of privilege to unwarrantable lengths, and not only secured their own servants from arrest, but extended the indulgence so improperly as to grant protections to persons who had no immediate claim to such sanction. The law however interfered, no one can thus be benefited who is not actually in the service of the ambassador†.

That insults offered to persons invested with this authority have been deemed in the highest degree worthy of severe punishment, the following instance will evince:—

Mr. Pitt, minister from the king of Great Britain to the Sardinian court, was walking without any attendants in the streets of Turin, after ten o'clock at night, without lights. A law in that kingdom prohibited all persons from walking the streets after that hour,

* See Vol. II. p. 559.

† A memorial to the prince whose representative these persons are, delivered by the English minister, would, however, fully answer the purposes of a law-suit; considering that no prince would suffer himself to be dishonoured in a nation with which he wishes to be on good terms.—"By the civil law, the moveable goods of an ambassador, which are accounted an accession to his person, cannot be seized on, neither as a pledge, nor for payment of a debt, nor by order or execution of judgment; nor by the king or state's leave where he resides (as some conceive), for all exaction ought to be far from an ambassador, as well that which toucheth his necessaries, as his person, that he may have full security; if therefore he hath contracted any debt, he is to be called upon kindly, and, if he refuses, then letters of request, says Grotius, are to go to his master; so that at last that course may be taken with him, as with debtors in another territory: to some this may seem hard, yet kings, who cannot be compelled, want not creditors." See *Digges's Ambassador, Postlethwayte's Dict. of Commerce, and other authorities to this purpose.*

hour, in such a situation, on pain of being carried to the guard-chamber. Mr. Pitt, ignorantly, had violated this law, and was in consequence seized by the patrol, who not knowing him, took him into custody, and conveyed him to the main guard, where his name and character were no sooner known than he was discharged. The next day however Mr. Pitt complained of the affront offered to his person, and demanded satisfaction of the government. The king of Sardinia caused an immediate enquiry, sent an apology to Mr. Pitt, and ordered the offending party to be put under an arrest, and to undergo a punishment adequate to the offence; and it was only owing to the British ambassador's lenitythat the severest chastisement was not bestowed on the delinquent. This circumstance happened in October, 1763, and created much public agitation at the time.

The magnificence with which ambassadors have been constantly received has ever formed an essential part of diplomatic history.

We conclude this article by informing our readers of some curious statements respecting the expenditure of ambassadors in their official capacity.

"The following account of the several appointments of ambassadors from his Majesty to the court of Spain, was laid on the table of the House of Commons, during the session of parliament 1790.

LORD MOUNTSTUART (afterwards Marquis of Bute) appointed ambassador March 12, 1783, received no part of the emolument.

EARL of CHESTERFIELD, appointed ambassador Jan. 1, 1784,

£. 2,400 value of plate.
1,500 equipage.
100 per week ordinary allowances.
1,600 per annum extraordinaries.

Received ordinary and extraordinary allowances, from Jan. 1, 1804, to Mar. 13, 1786, 14,969*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*

LORD AUCKLAND, appointed July 5, 1787,

£. 1,500 equipage.
7,500 salary per annum.

Received salary from June 5, 1787, to Nov. 1789, amounting to 13,920*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. FITZHERBERT (afterwards Lord St. Helens) appointed Nov. 15, 1789,

£. 1,500 equipage.
7,500 salary per annum.

Amount to April 5, 1790, 2,712*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*"

The facts thus produced are convincing proofs of the consequence attached to the person, property, and eligibility of those dignified with diplomatic functions, and serve to shew with what honour they should be received and entertained during the period of their mission.

3

CHAP. X.

Political Disquisition respecting the Climate, Population, and general Economy of Ireland.—Retrospective History.—Causes of its various Revolutions.—Character of the People; and other Particulars connected with its Situation, local Advantages, &c.

A VISIBLE and necessary consequence of general civilization, is the diffusion of opulence, and its attendant luxury; and the acquisition of riches excites men to enjoy what they possess. But it is very just to remark at the same time that the species of luxury which is diffused throughout a whole nation, and exists among the middle and lower classes of people has no fatal tendency; on the contrary, it is the principal support of trade and manufactures, acting in its proper sphere, as the grand stimulus of national and individual industry.

Considering Ireland therefore as a part of the British empire, emerging from a state of restraint and inaction to which she ought never to have been reduced, we think it our duty in the most impartial manner to contemplate the moral and political system of the country, in as comprehensive a manner as our limits will permit; and whilst we glance at facts introductory to our general purpose, endeavour to solve the reason why the intellectual improvement of Ireland has been so slow in progression, and why the arts and sciences, literature, and other improvements have only so lately burst from the shackles of the most subversive ignorance and barbarity. It is a subject more proper for investigation in this place than in any other, considering, that, united with Great Britain, this portion will in future be more intimately concerned with the mother country, and the general dominion partake of the universal benefit of her commercial interest; thus the political circumstances of both countries being organized into one system, their history in future must be included under one general head; it was therefore thought advisable here to form a body of introductory discourse, relative to the climate, population, and other contingent requisites of a country with which we are so locally, so closely, and so importantly connected.

There is not perhaps in the world an island, except Great Britain, that possesses more natural advantages than Ireland. The climate, soil, and productions of the country, are such as render it wonderfully commodious to its inhabitants, by furnishing all the necessaries, and most of the conveniencies of life, besides a large surplus of valuable commodities. By the peculiar happiness of its situation, it not only enjoys an easy and settled trade with all the ports on the west coast of Great Britain, and its dependent islands, but has also the command of an universal correspondence with every part of the known

known world, and more eſpecially with America; a matter of great importance in times both of peace and war, and from which it is capable of contributing exceedingly to the ſupport of the Britiſh empire in that part of the globe.

Ireland is in poſſeſſion of ſo many benefits, and has the mode of increaſing and multiplying them ſo much in the power of its inhabitants, as with facility and certainty to improve the country in every reſpect to a higher degree poſſibly than any dominion of the like extent upon the continent; at the ſame time that they have ability to accumulate ſuch a ſtrength, with the aſſiſtance of the fleets and forces of Britain, as to ſtand in no dread of the envy of her moſt potent neighbours; a circumſtance ſufficient to excite and to ſupport the endeavours of her genuine patriots in their intentions not to ſpare either labour or expence in order to verify from facts, what all, who have conſidered this iſland with attention, have unanimouſly pronounced to be in its power, and which has been ſo clearly juſtified by every experiment that has been hitherto attempted.

The circumſtance, of all others, that puts this beyond doubt, is the happy diſtribution of water, which nature has ſo diſpoſed, as to render that element equally favourable for almoſt every valuable purpoſe. The bays and inlets of the ſea ſupply Ireland with numerous harbours for entertaining the moſt extenſive foreign commerce; while, on the other hand, the rivers and lakes are no leſs happily diſpoſed, for procuring to the inhabitants all the advantages which naturally ariſe from an eaſy communication between the ſeveral parts of the country, and by ſuch means procure the benefit of a flouriſhing inland trade.

In order to obtain ſuch advantages, it muſt be conſidered that induſtry and prudence are requiſite; but then there is ſuch a certainty of good effects in a ſurprizing degree, whenever proper pains and neceſſary efforts are exerted, that there remains not the leaſt ſuſpicion of their deſiſting to purſue the ſame methods by which ſuch fortunate changes have been wrought, till they have attained the higheſt degree of perfection, more eſpecially as every difficulty they have overcome, every profit they have acquired, every great deſign they have accompliſhed, have not only ſerved to convince them that improvements of all kinds are practicable, but alſo leſſened the number of obſtacles, and at the ſame time augmented the means of doing what is yet left to be done, with far leſs labour, than would have been neceſſary at the commencement *.

Ireland preſents, in a circuit of only 750 miles, no fewer than *forty-ſix* ſafe harbours, beſides twenty-ſix places where ſhips may take refuge in a ſtorm. Its coaſts may, for the greater part, be approached without danger in the moſt tempeſtuous weather. And its ſeas are navigable throughout the year.

Nor is Ireland leſs advantageouſly circumſtanced for domeſtic, than for foreign traffic. Its harbours lie within a few hours ſail of each other. It is every where interſected by noble rivers, already navigable in part, and, with few exceptions, capable of being rendered wholly ſo at an inconſiderable expence. Canals may be cut through it in almoſt all directions, without exhauſting, as in other countries, that ſupply of water which is requiſite for many other important purpoſes. Its ſurface is, in many places, peculiarly well adapted to rail-ways. It abounds in the choiceſt materials for the formation of ſmooth, hard, and durable roads. Its high-roads are actually good. Its bye-roads the fineſt perhaps in the world. In ſhort, it is impoſſible that any country can be better furniſhed with the means of facilitating the tranſportation of merchandize.

As for the two chief agents in carrying on manufactures in general, viz. water and fuel, the former, in copious and limpid ſtreams is every where to be found; and the latter, according to the opinions of ſeveral perſons converſant in collieries, may be drawn in ſufficient quantities from the bowels, where it happens to be deficient on the ſurface of the earth: in ſome places, and theſe contiguous to water-carriage, it may be extracted in the greateſt abundance.

The climate of Ireland has been found remarkably favourable to bleaching. Flint and clays of a ſuperior quality have been diſcovered in ſeveral parts of that country. And, by ſome of thoſe political writers whoſe opinions were generally embraced in the reign of William III. it was conſidered, in various reſpects, as ſomewhat more happily circumſtanced even than England for the Woollen Manufacture.

Thus then are we authorized to affirm, that Ireland diſplays a ſingularly fortunate combination of all the principal requiſites for external and internal trade; enjoying, at the ſame time, the means of carrying to perfection the linen, the cotton, the pottery and the woollen manufactures. Theſe, however, are not the only phyſical advantages of that country. In point of general fertility of ſoil it is ſurpaſſed by very few countries of Europe.

Sir William Petty, in his Political Anatomy, written in the year 1672, computed, that the lakes, rivers, highways, impaſſable bogs, rocks and ſhrubs of Ireland, took up about - - - 1,500,000 acres
The coarſe land commonly called unprofitable, though not altogether ſuch - - - - - 1,500,000 acres
And the good meadow, arable, and paſture - - - 7,500,000 acres
Making altogether 10,500,000 acres

Mr.

* Campbell's Political Survey of Great Britain, &c. Vol. I. p. 136.

Mr. Gregory King, about two years anterior to the commencement of the laſt century computed that the heaths, mountains, moors, barren land, rivers, lakes, roads, and waſte lands of England and Wales, took up about - - - 11,000,000 acres
The commons, woods, foreſts, and parks - - - - - - 6,000,000 acres
The houſes, gardens, church-yards, &c. - - - - - 1,000,000 acres
And the arable, paſture, and meadow - - - - - 21,000,000 acres

Making altogether 39,000,000 acres

But by ſubſequent ſurveys it appears, that, excluſive of Lough Neagh, Ireland contains upwards of eleven millions of Iriſh or near nineteen millions of Engliſh acres.

Hence it appears, that towards the cloſe of the ſeventeenth century, when England had made conſiderable progreſs in agricultural improvements, and when Ireland was but juſt emerging from a ſtate of nature, the former contained little more than twenty-five millions of acres of what might be denominated productive land out of thirty-nine millions; while the latter contained ſeven millions and a half, out of ten millions and a half: a proportion which leaves no room to doubt of the ſuperiority of Ireland over England.

It appeared alſo by the evidence of Mr. Evans, an engineer of great character, given before the Iriſh houſe of Commons in 1783, that the collieries in the county of Kilkenny and thoſe in the Queen's county would, if properly worked, produce yearly 300,000 tons of coal; which might be carried by the canal, and ſold at the diſtance of 40 miles, at 1s. 6d. a barrel, weighing four hundred; and alſo that at Lough Allen there were collieries equal to the ſupply of the whole iſland if properly worked.

Nearly one half of the profitable land cannot be ſurpaſſed in natural fertility. In ſome places the ſoil is abſolutely inexhauſtible. Not unfrequently, two excellent crops of potatoes, two of wheat, and one of oats, have been taken off in ſucceſſion without manure. The bullock-paſtures of Munſter and the ſheep-walks, particularly of Connaught, are luxuriant beyond deſcription. The remainder of the profitable land might, at an inconſiderable expence, be perpetually kept in the higheſt ſtate of fecundity; the interior part of the country being almoſt every where abundantly ſupplied with limeſtone, which, in this country, has been carried from ten to twenty miles; alſo with limeſtone-gravel*; and, in ſeveral places, with marl, rotten limeſtone, and other natural manures. The ſea ſhores furniſh, in vaſt quantities, different ſpecies of oar-weed, ſand and marine ſhells, which are found to be excellent manures for potatoes, wheat, barley, and oats. And, in almoſt every extenſive farm in Ireland there is a ſufficient command of water for the purpoſe of irrigation; which is peculiarly ſuitable to the general nature of the Iriſh ſoil.

The ſoil of Ireland alſo poſſeſſes a ſurpriſing natural principle of recovery: for after having been completely exhauſted, and apparently ſterilized by a ruinous ſucceſſion of grain-crops without manure, it will, if undiſturbed, in leſs than two years, ſpontaneouſly produce trefoil, vetches, white clover and other graſſes fit for ſheep; and the third year at fartheſt, tempt its ungrateful occupier to renew his depredations. The crops it yields, under the extremely defective mode of tillage that prevails, are however nearly equal in quantity to thoſe of England: they would exceed them one-fourth at leaſt were the Iriſh farmers to adopt the ſkilful mode of their Engliſh neighbours.

But there cannot be a more ſubſtantial proof of the general fertility of the ſoil of Ireland than the vaſt annual exportation of corn and proviſions from that country; the population whereof appears to be more denſe than that of any other country in Europe, except Holland. According to Mr. Irving's return to the Houſe of Lords, the exportation of corn and proviſions from Ireland *to England alone* on an average of three years to 1799† amounted to £.2,197,777.

Beſides its extremely fertile ſoil, Ireland has ſtill other natural ſources of wealth. Its fiſheries, its mines, and even its foſſils, if large capitals were ſkilfully employed thereon, might be rendered productive of incalculable riches. With reſpect to the firſt, it is unneceſſary to add to Mr. Young's words. "There is," ſays that gentleman, "ſcarce a part of Ireland but what is well ſituated for ſome fiſhery of conſequence; her coaſts and innumerable creeks and rivers' mouths are the reſorts of vaſt ſhoals of herrings, cod, hake, mackarel, &c. which might, with proper attention, be converted into funds of wealth. As to the ſecond, it may ſuffice to ſay, that, in different parts of Ireland, copper, lead, and ſilver

* "Limeſtone-gravel is a manure peculiar to Ireland, and is moſt excellent." *Young's Tour*, Vol. II. Part II. p. 68.

† In that period, however, there were three circumſtances which greatly conduced to diminiſh the uſual exportation of corn and proviſions, viz. a wanton deſtruction of cattle by the rebels and alſo by the king's troops, when living in free quarters; a bad harveſt; and a vaſt army, whereof near 50,000 were ſtrangers. In 1793, there were exported, as appears by the cuſtom-houſe books, 730,065 barrels of wheat and oats. Without deſcending, therefore, further into the detail of the buſineſs, it may, upon the whole, be ſafely affirmed that Ireland, under all its agricultural diſadvantages and deficiencies, is actually competent to export upwards of three millions worth of corn and proviſions; a fact which, if others were wanting, would alone be ſufficient to eſtabliſh the great ſuperiority of its ſoil over that of England, in general fertility; it having been found neceſſary, according to Sir John Sinclair, to import into the latter, the population of which is certainly leſs denſe than that of the former, upwards of twenty millions worth of corn in the laſt ten years. *Literary Journal*, Vol. I. p. 456.

mines

mines have been diſcovered, and in one diſtrict ſmall quantities of gold; that iron-ſtone and ore may be found, in many places, in great abundance; and that exterior appearances authoriſe a belief that various ſorts of valuable mines ſtill remain to be diſcloſed. With regard to the third, we ſhall only obſerve, that in addition to the uſeful clays and flint-ſtone before noticed, a great variety of beautiful marbles, alſo cryſtals, amethyſts equal to thoſe brought from Portugal, and various other valuable ſtones have been found in conſiderable quantities."

In ſhort, as the experienced and ſagacious Sir William Temple remarks, "the native fertility of the ſoil and ſeas, in ſo many rich commodities, with the advantage of ſo many excellent havens, and a ſituation ſo commodious for all ſorts of foreign trade, might render this kingdom (Ireland) the richeſt in the world."

Dr. Boate, in his Natural Hiſtory of Ireland, ſpeaking of the climate, obſerves, that the country is leſs ſubject to cold, than others in the ſame latitude, and even than many that lie farther ſouthward; that there are not above three or four froſts in a year, and theſe rarely of three days ſtanding; that a froſt of ten days does not happen in ſo many years; but that many years the country experiences no froſt. The only complaint is too much moiſture, more eſpecially in ſummer; a week ſeldom paſſing without ſhowers; but notwithſtanding this extraordinary humidity, the land is perfectly healthy. Sir William Petty, in his Political Economy, ſays, that ſnow will not continue on the ground; and that in general Ireland was fertile and pleaſant. In the ſevere winter of 1736, when the inland country was entirely locked up, within ſix miles of the Britiſh Channel the country was free and open, and the cattle grazed in the fields as uſual.

All writers agree, that thunder and lightning are very rare in Ireland; and that, in proportion as the bogs are drained, and the ſoil cultivated, the weather becomes better, and the ſummers more dry.

The good breed of ſheep, and the excellence of wool for moſt manufactures, is not to be diſputed, though by means of continual wars and diſturbances in the country for a long ſeries of years, they have been much neglected. The prohibition in 1666 of ſending over the wool to England was a great loſs to the ſiſter kingdom; and the inhabitants were obliged to repair that loſs, by working up the wool into frizes, and other kinds of ſimilar manufacture, which were brought to great perfection.

The Iriſh wool in general, but eſpecially in Limerick, Kilkenny, Kerry, Waterford, Cork, and other counties, is the fine long-combing ſort, than which there is little in England ſuperior. It is this that makes the Iriſh wool ſo acceptable abroad, where it is not the ſhort, but long wool that is ſo much in requeſt for making fine cloths; as that kind may be procured from Spain and Portugal, but the ſort above deſcribed, which being uncommon, is therefore valuable in other countries.

After the reſtrictions which took place in the ſeventeenth century, concerning wool, the Iriſh were compelled to eſtabliſh a new ſource of trade, this was the LINEN MANUFACTURE, the origin of which is to be dated from the ſtatute of William III. when all productions of hemp or flax were allowed to be exported from Ireland into Great Britain and Wales, duty free; this was extended to the plantations, and the Iriſh linen trade has been cheriſhed and aſſiſted in every ſucceeding reign; and wonderful to imagine! in leſs than forty years from its commencement, the produce of this new manufacture amounted in home conſumption and exports to 1,000,000*l.* per annum! This aroſe from the produce of no more than *thirty thouſand* acres, and afforded employment and a living to at leaſt *one hundred and ſeventy thouſand* perſons. An amazing proof of what induſtry will do, when duly encouraged, as well as properly directed *!

We next give a ſcale of the commerce of Ireland by a curſory ſurvey of the principal trading towns:

In Kinſale is a commodious and ſecure harbour and a dock-yard. In time of war it is exceedingly frequented by the Eaſt and Weſt India fleets, which harbour here in the greateſt ſafety; and in the town are accommodations for merchandiſe: though its contingency to Cork renders its commerce not very extenſive.

The wealth and grandeur of Cork ariſe from its capacious and commodious haven, where almoſt any number of ſhips may lie with eaſe and ſafety; twelve hundred veſſels have reſorted to that city in a year. Ships from England, bound to all parts of the Weſt Indies, take in at Cork a great part of their proviſions; and on the ſame account the haven is viſited by other nations. The exports to England and other parts are to a very large amount, and no leſs than one hundred thouſand black cattle are annually ſlaughtered. The merchants carry on a very extenſive trade to almoſt all parts of the world, and are very induſtrious and expert; ſo that the produce of the cuſtoms is very conſiderable, and for the ſecurity of the port a fort is erected to command the entrance of the haven.

Carrick is remarkable for a branch of the woollen manufactory called ratteens which is carried on to great perfection. If the ſurrounding country were to be tilled, new manufactories might be eſtabliſhed; the fiſhery improved, and this made a flouriſhing town.

Roſs is a very rich and thriving town, with a vaſt inland trade; and being a ſea-port exempt from the

* Dobbs's Eſſay on the Trade and Improvement of Ireland, Part I. p. 35.

jurisdiction of Waterford, veſſels of large burthen can come up to the very quay.

The haven of Waterford has been very juſtly celebrated as enjoying ſeveral ſingular advantages, no fewer than three navigable rivers, called in old Iriſh "The Three Siſters," falling into it.

The city of Limerick is elegant, rich, and populous,—let it however be a reflection on the good ſenſe of thoſe who ſuffered its woollen trade to be transferred to France, when it ought to have been encouraged at home.

Galway, the capital of the Weſt of Ireland is not inferior to the reſt in wealth; being well ſituated for commerce, not only to France and Spain, but to the Weſt Indies, on a large, ſafe, and delicate harbour, called Galway Bay, capable of containing a large fleet of ſhipping, and is, beſides, one of the nobleſt entrances in the world.

Londonderry is the centre of trade for the part of the country in which it is ſituated. Its port is commodious, and its trade flouriſhing. A ſhip from Londonderry bound to America, ſuppoſing it to ſet out exactly at the ſame time as another bound from London, will often arrive at her deſtination before the London ſhip is got clear of the ſoundings and arrive at Londonderry: becauſe a ſhip from the latter city is no ſooner out of the river, than ſhe is in the open ſea; and has but one courſe to the banks of Newfoundland, or any other part of North America.

Belfaſt is become one of the beſt towns and a port of the greateſt commerce in Ireland, in conſequence of her great traffic with Scotland; her happy ſituation for the American trade, and the prodigious progreſs of the linen manufacture in the neighbourhood. Theſe circumſtances have contributed to render Belfaſt a large, flouriſhing, and populous place.

Newry is a town of equal conſideration, which is further increaſed by means of its navigable canal for the purpoſes of inland trade.

It is needleſs to deſcribe the commercial benefits of Dublin. Its great misfortune, however, is the deficiency of its harbour; occaſioned by the bar at the mouth of the river Liffy; where there are ſuch heaps of ſand brought in by the currents, that it is difficult for loaded ſhips to come up to the port, except at ſpring tides.

After this ſhort view of the advantages peculiar to Ireland, we ſubmit a concluſion in this part of our eſſay, that it is for the intereſt of England to give ſuch encouragement to the trade of Ireland, as well as to Scotland, Wales, &c. which hath no tendency to depreciate her own; and when it is conſidered that the powers with which we are at war, are able to underſell us with the produce of our own plantations in time of peace, is it not better to encourage the importation of woollens, linens, &c. from Ireland, than ſuffer our enemies to make a profit againſt this country of the trade which is peculiarly their due; but neglected, ſo as to become a foreign monopoly, for want of conſulting the mutual intereſts of the Britiſh empire!

CHAP. XI.

Policy of a Country making Proviſion for its Inhabitants commended.—Means to accompliſh ſuch a deſirable Purpoſe.—Strictures on the Population of Ireland—on the Multiplication of People—by early Marriages—by nutritive Food—by Labour—by Privations.—The good Effects of theſe to the Iriſh during the Eighteenth Century—Recital of the various Cauſes of Depopulation—Wars—Emigrations—contraſted by the Bleſſings of Commerce, and the Increaſe of Manufactures—happy Conſequence to the Country.

IT has with truth been obſerved, that "a country making proviſion to increaſe in inhabitants, whoſe ſituation is good, and whoſe people have a genius adapted for trade, will never fail to be gainers in the balance, provided the labour and induſtry of that people be well managed and carefully conducted. The more, therefore, theſe matters are contemplated, the more readily will it confirm the opinion, that, next to Great Britain, Ireland is capable of being rendered one of the moſt powerful nations, as well as one of the richeſt ſpots of ground in Europe; for it is not extent of territory that makes a country powerful; but numbers of uſeful men well employed, convenient ports, and a ſoil producing all ſorts of commodities. The materials for all which are to be found in Ireland, and ſo improveable, that could but the inhabitants have encouragement to ſecond the gifts of nature with their accuſtomed induſtry, they would arrive at a ſtate of conſequence and conſideration equal to any of their neighbours.

But to accompliſh ſuch a deſirable purpoſe, it is neceſſary that the ſoil be internally fortified, not by armies, which debilitate, rather than ſtrengthen a country, but by potent, induſtrious natives, by thrift in the public concerns, by multiplying and ameliorating the condition of the people, by augmenting trade, and ultimately by promoting the intelligent and uſeful arts of peace. By ſuch a deſireable improvement, a wiſe government, not having deſigns to become arbitrary, may ſoon perceive how far the natural wealth of Ireland is able to ſecond the benevolent intention of forming and preſerving the Iriſh a great, a rich, and free people.

Thus much being premiſed, it follows to the ſimpleſt conviction, that the population of a country,

try, conſidered with reference to its effects, is certainly one of the moſt important ſubjects that can engage the attention of thoſe who are converſant on political affairs. The exiſting circumſtances of the Britiſh empire render that of Ireland peculiarly worthy of regard. Its preſent ſtate ſeems to be but imperfectly known; its paſt, and probable future increaſe, have never yet fallen under public diſcuſſion.

When it is affirmed, therefore, that there are, at this time, upwards of five millions of people in Ireland, that unleſs ſome powerful cauſe of depopulation occur, there will be more than ſeven millions in that country before the lapſe of twenty years, and that a ſubſequent diminution of increaſe is highly improbable: a conſiderable matter of ſurprize will be raiſed, when it is ſhewn that theſe poſitions reſt on ſatisfactory grounds.

In the year 1672, there were in Ireland 1,000,000 ſouls. Of this number it is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the population of that country fell ſomewhat ſhort in the year 1700, being very poſſible, that the increaſe from the former to the latter year, failed to compenſate for the great and various loſſes of people occaſioned by the peculiar circumſtances of the civil war, and the political vexations which intervened between thoſe two years, eſpecially as the general circumſtances of Ireland were, during that period, far from being ſo conducive to the multiplication of people as they have ſince proved. It appears alſo by Captain South's computation, the accuracy of which has not been impeached, that there were only 1,034,102 ſouls in Ireland, in the year 1695. Taking it then for granted, that the people of Ireland amounted at the commencement of the laſt century to about one million, no difficulty ariſes in affirming, that in general, they have experienced ſince the year 1700, an increaſe of one-fifth or thereabouts every eleven years: and that accordingly there were about

Inhabitants in Ireland.

In 1711 -	1,200,000	In 1766 -	2,985,984.
In 1722 -	1,440,000	In 1777 -	3,583,174.
In 1733 -	1,728,000	In 1788 -	4,299,808.
In 1744 -	2,073,600	-	and
In 1755 -	2,488,320	In 1799 -	5,159,769.

The increaſe of the people of Ireland, however, is not to be underſtood as uniform throughout the courſe of the laſt century, during ſome of the above periods, it having been conſiderably retarded by occaſional emigrations; and there are grounds for ſuſpecting that it has been much more rapid ſince 1777, than it was anterior to that date; neither is the foregoing table given as an accurate exhibition of the periodical numbers of people in Ireland, notwithſtanding its general coincidence with the different computations that have been made, but merely as a uſeful guide, which certainly will not lead us beyond the truth, in our reaſonings on the population of that country, ſo long as the political circumſtances thereof continue in their preſent poſture.

According to Mr. Buſhe, whoſe computation is now univerſally relied on, it appears that in 1788, there were 4,040,000 inhabitants in Ireland, but that gentleman's computation probably falling ſhort of the truth, as is likely to be the caſe with all computations of a ſimilar nature grounded on taxes, and as indeed he himſelf ſuſpected, we may take a medium between his ſtatement and that in the foregoing table *.

The difference in point of increaſe between the populations of England and Ireland, according to Sir William Petty, (who ſeems to rely on the accuracy of his computation), were 7,369,000 inhabitants in the former, in the year 1682 †; according to Mr. Gregory King (who as Davenant remarks, makes no poſitive aſſertion) there were about 5,500,000 in the year 1700. The moſt prevailing opinion about the time of the Revolution, ſeems to have been, that they fell ſomewhat ſhort of 7,000,000.

483,990	houſes of *one* hearth, at 6 in each - - -	2,903,940
67,663	houſes of *two* or more hearths, at 8 in each	541,304
15,025	houſes aſcertained, whether of one hearth or more, at 6½ in each - - - - - -	97,662
21,868	new houſes, at 4 in each - - - - - -	87,472
112,556	paupers houſes, at 5 in each - - - - -	562,780
701,102	houſes containing all kind of perſons - -	4,193,158

* Mr. Buſhe had obtained enumerations of dwellers, in each houſe, throughout many places excluſive of Dublin, amounting to 87,895 ſouls, in 14,108 houſes, or nearly 6¼ in each dwelling. But, Mr. Buſhe went a ſtep further towards certainty, by getting the numbers which dwelt in each kind of houſe: the houſes of paupers had 5¼ in each; in new houſes were 4¼; in houſes with two hearths * were 9; and in houſes with one hearth were 6¼ in each. Mr. Buſhe, however, conſidered theſe numbers as higher than the general average. And, from all theſe data, I have formed the following table of the population of Ireland, in 1791; ſhewing the number of each kind of perſons, in that moſt populous kingdom:

* The houſes in Ireland are liable to a tax for every hearth they contain; theſe are numerous or few, in proportion to the opulence or poverty of the inhabitants, of which the poorer claſs dwell in cottages, denominated cabins, that have only one fire-place for the uſe of the family. They have a method to elude the tax in the following manner: Upon notice being given, that the collectors are coming, the peaſants deſert their houſes, except one, to which they all reſort; and gathering round a large fire in this cabin, made at the general expence, pay, by contribution, for that only; when, however, the collector has retired, they return to their reſpective dwellings, and kindle their ſeparate fires, as uſual.

Chalmer's Eſtimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain, p. 198.

† Political Arithmetic, p. 104.

By

By the late enumeration, their number appears in 1802, to have been 9,343,480, inclufive of 469,181 foldiers and feamen of all defcriptions: of whom near one half were Scotch and Iriſh. Thus has about 1,000,000 of people in Ireland been increaſed in about one hundred years to upwards of five millions.

An ingenious and well-informed modern writer* has obſerved, that "The circumſtances which principally, if not excluſively, conduce to a rapid multiplication of people, are, a ſalubrious climate, plenty of food, early and frequent marriages†. Theſe combined, confeſſedly will, and obviouſly muſt, cauſe a duplication of people, even in a ſhorter time than twenty years, unleſs counteracted by plagues, famines, deſtructive earthquakes, or other phyſical calamities, wars, or emigrations. Now, if it ſhall be found, that Ireland has almoſt uniformly exhibited, throughout the courſe of the laſt century, a combination of all thoſe circumſtances which are acknowledged to be pre-eminently auſpicious to a rapid increaſe of people, and that the ordinary effects of ſuch circumſtances have, in that country, been but partially fruſtrated by wars and emigrations, it is to be hoped, that the reader will conſider himſelf at liberty to aſſent to the moderate manner of increaſe on which the author has inſiſted.

"That the climate of Ireland is in a high degree ſalubrious, has been already evinced, and is further proved by means of the following facts: viz. the exemption of the natives of that country from all the diſeaſes and perſonal deformities produced in other countries by intenſe heat, intenſe cold, impure water, vitiated air, or exceſſive moiſture; their being ſubject to no endemic malady whatſoever; their being long-lived; and endowed with ſtrength and agility.

"The plenty of *food* which the lower orders of the Iriſh appear to have enjoyed during the period ſpoken of, is to be aſcribed partly to the exceſs of their peculiar vegetable, in point of quantity, relatively to a given meaſure of land, beyond any other article of nurture generally cultivated in Europe, and partly to the eſtabliſhed cuſtoms of their country. Leſs than one-fourth part of that extent of land which is requiſite to furniſh a ſufficient ſupply of wheat, for the maintenance of a family of five perſons throughout the year, will yield more potatoes than a family equally numerous can conſume in the ſame ſpace of time. The ſmall farmers, the country artificers, and agricultural labourers, forming altogether a vaſt majority of the community, have hitherto ſubſiſted chiefly, the laſt claſs wholly, on potatoes‡ raiſed by themſelves, and theſe people have, generally ſpeaking, been in the habit of cultivating, not merely a ſufficiency for the ſubſiſtence of their families, but alſo for the ſupport of pigs and poultry, and likewiſe a conſiderable ſurplus for market. Thus a general redundancy of this ſimple, but wholeſome food, to the growth of which the climate of Ireland is well adapted, has almoſt always been ſecured.

"The extraordinary frequency of marriage amongſt the lower orders of the Iriſh people, has been owing chiefly to the following circumſtances. Firſt, in conſequence of an abundance of food, the maintenance of children in Ireland has hitherto been attended with little or no expence: a conſideration of no mean efficacy in promoting matrimony. Secondly, the ſmall farmers, the country artificers, and the agricultural labourers, have generally derived the moſt important advantages from their children, infinitely more than ſufficient to indemnify them for the trivial expence of their ſupport. The firſt uſually acquire the means of paying their rents, partly by tilling the lands of their more opulent neighbours, and partly by the cultivation of their own; of courſe, their ſolvency is juſtly meaſured by the number of working hands in their families. The ſecond either conſign to their children the digging, planting, and manuring of their potatoe-grounds, while themſelves are more profitably employed, or teach them their reſpective trades, and thus ultimately augment the general incomes of their families. The laſt are enabled by the labour of their children, reared almoſt without expenſe, to pay the rents of their cabins and gardens without difficulty, and frequently encouraged thereby to venture upon the buſineſs of a farm; four ſtout labourers in a family being eſteemed in Ireland equivalent to a moderate capital. Thirdly, the lower orders of the Iriſh people have always been accuſtomed to reconcile themſelves cheerfully to many privations; to diſpenſe with the greater part of thoſe articles of comfort which the ſame orders in England reckon among the *neceſſaries* of life, to conſider the acquiſition

* Eſſays on the Population of Ireland, &c. by a member of the laſt Iriſh parliament.

† The great Dr. Franklin was of the ſame opinion.

‡ The potatoe was firſt planted in the gardens about Youghall. This improvement is aſcribed to Sir Walter Raleigh with much probability, for this was part of the eſtate which he afterwards ſold to the earl of Cork. It ſeems, however, that no proper inſtructions were given to the perſon who cultivated it, ſince upon its coming up and growing pretty high, he attempted to eat the apple, which he took to be the fruit of the plant. But finding it unpleaſant, conſidered his pains as loſt, and utterly neglected it. At ſome diſtance of time, when his ſucceſſors came to turn up the earth, they found the roots ſpread a great diſtance, and increaſed to great quantities; and from hence the whole kingdom was gradually furniſhed. This vegetable is ſuppoſed to be the Solanum, a ſpecies of Nightſhade, by Dr. Hill, in his Hiſtory of Plants, who thinks it a native of Mexico. *Campbell's Political Survey of Great Britain*, vol. i. p. 246.

acquisition of a capital as totally unnecessary to marriage, to rely on their bodily labour alone for the maintenance and clothing of their families, and for the housing of them also, when they find it expedient to quit their paternal roofs. Fourthly, the scanty, fluctuating, and inadequate incomes of the clergy of the church of Rome, which includes within its pale nearly four-fifths of the commonalty of Ireland, having ever since the final overthrow of King James the Second, been derived solely from marriages, christenings, and confessions, it is to be presumed that a considerable number of them have, at all times, during the last century, been practically solicitous to promote matrimony, under the conjunct influence of secular and spiritual motives.

"Hence it appears that Ireland has, in the eighteenth century, been distinguished by a co-operation of all those causes which are universally allowed to be peculiarly productive of a rapid increase of people. Moreover marriage, the most efficacious of them all, has generally had in that country, a direct tendency to improve instead of deteriorating the conditions of the lower orders, besides being consonant to the interests of those whom they habitually revere, and who have always enjoyed an *unlimited influence* over them. Nor have the usual effects of these singularly favourable circumstances been defeated by any of those disastrous events which arrest the progress of population, except wars and emigrations. Since the commencement of the last century, neither plague nor famine has been experienced in Ireland; nor to any physical calamity whatsoever can be ascribed a diminution of the number of its inhabitants. Wars and emigrations, then, are the only causes which remain to be assigned why Ireland is not at this day peopled up to the full measure of its means of subsistence, from which assuredly it is yet very far; why it does not now exhibit a population nearly twice as dense as represented. The former do not appear to have occasioned any very serious losses of people: it is the latter that has been the grand obstacle to their increase. By the late rebellion, the only one in the last century, the population of Ireland sustained a loss of about 15,000 men. Of his majesty's Irish forces, there fell about 1,600. Of the rebels, there were slain in the field, according to the accounts received, somewhat less than 11,000. About 400 loyal persons were massacred or assassinated. And about 2,000 rebels were exiled or hanged. By the foreign wars in which Great Britain was engaged during the last century, the losses of Ireland were little short of one-fourth of the general losses of the empire. It is probable that the soldiers and seamen drawn from that country composed, on an average, about one-fourth of the native land and sea-forces in the pay of England. In the last three wars, they constituted at least one-third. All these losses, however, were evidently trivial to a country so very favourably circumstanced for a rapid increase of people.

"The various emigrations during the last century were very great. In the reign of George the First, it appears by archbishop Boulter's Letters, soldiers were, not clandestinely, but openly levied in Ireland for the service of the king of France. Shortly after this practice, which it was to the last degree impolitic to connive at, had been finally suppressed, the Irish began to emigrate, chiefly from the northern counties to America; and these emigrations appear to have been annually on the increase, and at length to have reached an alarming height, when they were checked by the rupture between Great Britain and her Colonies; there has been also during the last century, a great and continual efflux of people from Ireland to England, and to such other countries as presented to the Irish those various attractions of which their own, until very lately, was almost wholly destitute. Since the year 1788, however, or since the commerce of Ireland began to assume a respectable appearance, and its manufactures began to be multiplied and extended beyond their former limits, and its agriculture to be pursued with spirit and success*, these emigrations have been rapidly declining.

* On an average of seven years to 1777, there were exported from Ireland - - - 20,252,239 yards of linen.
On a similar average to 1798 - 41,670,659

Increase in the last period - 21,418,420

Since the year 1777, the cotton, the woollen, the glass, and other manufactures, have either been introduced or greatly extended.

The export of grain on an average of seven years to 1777, was to the amount of £. 64,871, but the import during the same period, was to the amount of - - - £. 83,270
On an average of three years to 1799 to *England alone* 289,000

Increase in the last period - - - 224,129

This last period, as was before noticed, was very unfavourable to the exportation of provisions. In the year 1793, there were exported 730,065 barrels of wheat and oats.

Since the year 1777, a vast number of porter-breweries have been established, chiefly in the south. Their consumption of barley has been prodigious. It has had the effect of doubling the price; and eventually affording the greatest encouragement to agriculture.

The general exports of pasturage on an average of seven years to 1777, were to the amount of - - £. 1,369,533
On an average of three years to 1799, to *England alone* - - - - - - - - 2,275,596

Increase in the last period - - - 906,063
Total exports to England on an average of seven years to 1773 - - - - - - - - 1,240,677
The same on a similar average to 1797 - - 3,909,946

Increase in the last period - - - 2,669,269

Not being possessed of authentic documents respecting the general exports of the seven years to 1777, the average is from 1773.

declining. Of late years, indeed, they ſeem to have totally ceaſed. And in conſequence it will be found, (in truth, it is abundantly manifeſt) that the increaſe of people from that year to the preſent, has been infinitely greater than during any former period of equal extent; and *that Ireland does actually preſent to our view, in a ſtate of unfruſtrated agency, every phyſical, moral, and political cauſe, that can contribute to a ſpeedy republication of people.*"

CHAP. XII.

The Error of national Prejudice conſidered.—Characteriſtics of the ſeveral Claſſes of Iriſh Subjects deſcribed.—Their various Perfections and vicious Habits.—Generally, however, eſteemed a generous oppreſſed People.—State of the Roman Catholics.—Concluſion.—Conciliatory Expectations from the Union.

HAVING in the two firſt chapters of this Eſſay, attempted to give a clear idea of the climate, population, and commercial intereſts of Ireland; the ſubject naturally induces us to conſider the character and diſpoſitions of the inhabitants; and as a concluſion, to ſubmit a few hints applicable to the relative ſituations of Great Britain and Ireland with a regard to the general welfare of both.

Various circumſtances have conduced to occaſion in Ireland a much greater departure from uniformity of character in the people than is obſervable in England. In the former univerſal or perſuaſive habits, principles, and qualities, are certainly more numerous.

If it be conſidered, that the opinions moſt prevalent in Great Britain, reſpecting the general character of the Iriſh, have been derived either from the accounts of travellers, who appear to have laboured under ſtrong national prejudices and political biaſes, from the accounts of factious Iriſhmen intereſted in aſperſing and miſrepreſenting their countrymen, the unfavourable and erroneous opinions which have been hitherto entertained will not be wondered at; more eſpecially, when reference is had to thoſe Engliſhmen who went over with prejudice and contempt; but returned the encomiaſts of a country which had been vilified and unjuſtly deteſted.

Generally ſpeaking, the lower Iriſh poſſeſs a degree of ſubtlety rarely to be met with among people of other countries. They are courtly, penetrating, but diſſimulative. It is truly aſtoniſhing to ſee how readily they will diſcover the true characters and ruling paſſions of thoſe they have to deal with, and what an unembarraſſed air they will manifeſt, when aſſuming and ſuſtaining whatever character or appearance emergent circumſtances may require. They are to an extraordinary degree inquiſitive and communicative, their memories are ſurpriſingly retentive, they are fond of wit, and ſet ſo high a value upon learning, that the pooreſt labourers will often appropriate a part of their ſcanty earnings to the education of their children. The more abſtruſe parts of arithmetic, and alſo menſuration and navigation, are taught in the pooreſt unendowed ſchools in Ireland. The art of writing is often carried almoſt to its utmoſt perfection amongſt the people even of this claſs: and their attainments in orthography and perſpicuity of ſtyle have frequently excited the amazement of ſtrangers. That they poſſeſs the quality of courage is generally admitted. On ordinary occaſions, they appear to exhibit neither more or leſs of this quality than others, under certain circumſtances. But when about to ſuffer in a favourite cauſe, or with a perſuaſion of its juſtifiableneſs, they generally diſplay the inconceivable fortitude and compoſure ſeldom ſurpaſſed perhaps by any hero or philoſopher of antiquity; and when commanded by thoſe who have long enjoyed their confidence, reſpect and affection, they manifeſt the moſt undaunted courage.

They have, however, been juſtly reproached for a cruel diſpoſition; and however inexcuſable ſuch an inclination certainly is, a modern writer who has been upon the ſpot, and has ſtudied the genius of the people, aſſigns as an apology, an extravagant enthuſiaſtic, maddening zeal, for the complete ſucceſs of ſome favourite cauſe. Their exceſſive hoſpitality, their native good humour, their boundleſs charity, their uniform readineſs to oblige and aſſiſt, their general benevolence, their ſingular ſociability, and their uncommon propenſity to commiſeration, which often at the riſk of their lives, and frequently, it muſt be owned, to the detriment of ſociety, they will gratify in behalf of the perſecuted, whether innocent or in fault, all of which are confeſſedly more or leſs incompatible with a ſanguinary diſpoſition, may be offered as ſo many corroborations of the juſtneſs of this remark *."

Sloth conſtitutes another accuſation againſt the Iriſh. Let them, however, have opportunities to

This improvement of the ſtate of Ireland, it is well known, has taken place chiefly ſince the year 1785, as indeed may be inferred from the increaſe of houſes.

In 1777, the number of houſes returned, was	448,426
In 1785	474,322
In 1788	621,484

Mr. Buſhe was decidedly of opinion that the number of houſes in 1788 did much exceed 650,000.

* "The natives of Ireland," ſays Petty, "have been accuſed of treachery, falſeneſs, and knavery, none of which, I conceive, to be natural to them."

exerciſe

exercise their abilities, and it will soon be discovered, that they possess a spirit of enterprize and industry which no difficulties can abate, no obstacles check, nor any disappointments extinguish.

Perfidy may in some cases be a cause of complaint against them; but generally speaking, the fidelity of the Irish is proverbial; and that fidelity is not to be shaken even by a prospect of death. This excludes perfidy from being a decided characteristic.

They are, for the most part, lawless, dishoneſt, and destitute of a sense of equity *. They are almost uniformly quarrelsome when drunk; but neither irritable nor phlegmatic when sober. They are very bigotted, though not more superstitious than other nations. They are restless and licentious: but destitute of a true spirit of liberty, except in some of the northern counties: rebellious; but with the same exception, regardless about the nature of their government.

Ingratitude has been upon good grounds urged against them; this vice, mean as it is, certainly, in this particular, springs specifically different from the ordinary sources of the ungrateful temper. In the exercise of generosity, they never look forward to a return; and when they experience favours, they habitually persuade themselves into a belief of similar disinterestedness. Extremely improvident and precipitate, they are regardless of consequences, whether immediate or remote; they are very versatile, and easily accommodate themselves to their condition in life; a degree of confidence is manifested by them in situations where others would betray the utmost diffidence; for nothing can abash, confound, or overawe them. The characteristics of the lower classes of the Irish community having thus been impartially stated, it seems that the balance against them is to be traced, not to their natural minds, but to a number of accidental circumstances; and were the favourable changes of which they are certainly susceptible to be thrown into the scale, and a just appreciation made for their good qualities, it will be admitted, that it is perfectly practicable by patient culture, a prudent conjunction of coercion and conciliation, and an uniformly impartial administration of distributive justice, by infusing amongst them a spirit of rational liberty, teaching them to practise the virtues of freemen, instead of compelling them to practise the vice of slaves, promoting habits of industry amongst them, affording a safe scope for the exercise of their active qualities, and by involving their interests in the welfare of the empire; they will be rendered by these means, as useful citizens, and as valuable subjects, as any on the face of the globe †.

The middle class of Irish has been in a progressive state of moral amelioration for several years,

* The people of the greater part of the province of Ulster are not meant to be included in the whole of this censure.

† A noble instance of the great effect which kind treatment has upon the hearts of the Irish peasantry, is well appropriated here: "In surveying the unwearied scene of unbending oppression and sanguinary resistance, our imagination is terrified, our sympathy exhausted; yet there is one little trait in the history of these times, which like the green Oasis in the mighty desert, affords refreshment to the heart, and proves that in mercy there is wisdom. It is the conduct of Dr. Stevenson, Dean of Kilfenora, to his parishioners.

"This gentleman possesses the living of Callan, one of the largest in Ireland. When the rebellion broke out, he had but just come to reside; and he found all the peasantry in his neighbourhood, as well as every other peasant in Ireland, deeply engaged in insurrection. By every kindness in his power, by persuasion, but most powerfully by *civility* to the meanest labourer, he gradually inspired them with confidence and esteem; he convinced them of the small hope and great peril of their enterprize; he assured them not only of just, but of respectful usage; finally, he gained the friendship of their priest. In one day, six hundred rebels came to his house and surrendered their arms. Had these deluded people gone in the same manner to any other gentleman, they would have been strictly examined respecting their treasonable practices; would have been loaded with taunts and reproaches for the past, and threats for the future; and would have found so little temptation to return to their old habits of life, that, in a few days, half of them would have again joined the rebels.

"Instead of this conduct, Dr. Stevenson assembled the party on his lawn, spread tables for the whole six hundred, entertained them with the true magnificence of Irish hospitality, conversed with them on indifferent subjects, and made the administering the oath of allegiance a kind of fete, rather than an emblem of victorious oppression. What has been the consequence? Ever since that day, (though the rebellion continued long after, and many insurrections have succeeded) not one of these reclaimed rebels has been even suspected of disloyalty; and by the continuance of the same humane and enlightened conduct, there is not a man in Ireland sleeps half so securely in his bed as the Dean of Kilfenora; there is not a parish in Ireland that can be called well affected, when compared with Callan.

"Though a clergyman, a Protestant, and an Englishman, the Dean has received that tribute of the poor man's gratitude which is grateful even to the proud and wealthy. On his return from a visit to England, to Callan, the day was kept as a festival throughout the whole country; crowds thronged the roads, and greeted him with huzzas; while all the mountains around blazed with bonfires. It seems strange, that many Irish gentlemen try with equal earnestness to cultivate the affections of the peasantry, yet meet not with the same success. The Dean of Kilfenora is the only instance of complete success. The reason is this: that he is, in the best sense of the word, a gentleman; that is, he treats his inferiors, whatever their station, with civility and affability. This is the real secret of conciliating the Irish peasantry; it is not money or protection that will win their hearts, but the respectful kindness which removes from their minds the painful sense of degradation.

"An Irish squire, let his intentions be ever so good, destroys the effect of obligations, by his manner of conferring them. But it is in vain to tell the Irish squires to reform their manners towards the peasantry; manners are not to be moulded by wishes, they must be formed by circumstances. Make the gentry, in some measure, dependent on the peasantry; give to the peasantry more political importance, and their insolence will cease." *Inquiry into the Causes of Popular Discontents in Ireland*, p. 70.

and preſents at the preſent moment, vaſt numbers of individuals, whoſe talents, learning, principles, and unaſſuming, peaceable demeanor, render them valuable members of ſociety, and ornaments to their country. Duelling, formerly ſo prevalent in this claſs, has almoſt totally ceaſed, and drunkenneſs is no longer a common vice. On the contrary, frugality has ſuperſeded extravagance; agriculture and commerce are now favourable purſuits; and finally, politeneſs and urbanity are every day equally practiſed and admired. From this claſs alſo, government, when properly diſpoſed, may always eaſily draw a conſiderable number of the moſt ſtrenuous ſupporters.

The higheſt claſs of the Iriſh community is diſtinguiſhable for hoſpitality, gaiety, affability, and liberality: it poſſeſſes politeneſs without pride; exhibits generoſity without affectation; diſpenſes charity without oſtentation; diſplays courage without boaſting; aſſumes aſſurance without effrontery; and diſcovers learning without pedantry *, ſo highly indeed are pride, gravity, parſimony, oſtentation, and punctilioufneſs, diſreliſhed by this claſs of the Iriſh, and alſo by the Iriſh at large, that he whoſe character is tinctured with them, will always find Ireland in point of ſociety a moſt ineligible place of reſidence. But as an alloy to theſe high and brilliant qualities, an almoſt total want of public ſpirit and diſintereſtedneſs, a high degree of venality, ſupineneſs and partiality in the exerciſe of public functions, eſpecially thoſe of the magiſtracy; and an unbecoming and imprudent propenſity to intolerance on the ſcore of religion, accompanied with want of due veneration for the religion they profeſs, too much expoſe faults in this claſs, to which many are diſpoſed to aſcribe ſeveral of the bad qualities diſcoverable in the characters of the loweſt orders.

Throughout the whole Iriſh community, however, hoſpitality, urbanity, aſſurance, and vivacity, are predominant; courage and ſagacity very common; and a high degree of intellectual vigour, by no means rare. That ſuch a general character ſhould be tarniſhed by religious animoſity, political corruption, delinquency, and injuſtice, cannot be ſufficiently deplored.

The endurance of oppreſſion and contumely, has always a very unfavourable effect on the human mind, when puſhed to a great extent; for inſtead of calling forth the generous ſpirit of reſiſtance, it extinguiſhes the feelings, deſtroys the ſentiments of dignity and honour, and unhappily qualifies the ſlave to the ſlavery.

Thus the Roman Catholics of Ireland were made ſlaves; and ſlavery made them humble, abject and cowardly. Mr. Plowden, an hiſtorian of their own religious perſuaſion, has proved, that they bore five centuries of indignity and ſuffering, with perfect loyalty. This certainly is ſingular praiſe; but it proves that their minds are degraded: the Roman Catholics, ſo far from being of a rebellious ſpirit, did not even think themſelves of ſufficient importance to remonſtrate againſt their grievances, till they found Proteſtant leaders on whom they could lean for conſequence. Had not Mr. Grattan eſpouſed the cauſe of the Roman Catholics, and had he not been ſeconded by the moſt enlightened of the Proteſtants, they would have ſtill remained ſunk in their own inſignificance, and abaſhed at the ſenſe of their common degradation. How abſurd to mention the body of the Catholics as the cauſe of the late rebellions; they had not the ſpirit to conduct ſuch courageous villainy. The Catholics of property were not ſorry to ſee the die caſt; but they ſlunk from the reſponſibility. Almoſt all the leaders of the rebellion were Proteſtants. It will not be irrelevant to add, that a Roman Catholic in Ireland, is not much better treated than a Jew at Rome.

To conclude upon a general principle, it cannot be denied, that there are few countries, which, in every period of its hiſtory, and under all the variations of its opinions, have ſo uniformly met with ungenerous treatment as Ireland. That an atonement will be made for former injuries; and that the union of the two countries ſo happily accompliſhed, will diffuſe civil and extend religious liberty; and that multiplying the furrows of the plough, of the ſhuttle, and the reel; that commercial circulation may be invigorated, and that merit may be impartially recompenſed, muſt be the heart-felt deſire of every ſubject of the united kingdom.

* Every unprejudiced traveller, ſays Mr. Young, who viſits Ireland, will be as much pleaſed with the cheerfulneſs, as obliged by the hoſpitality of the inhabitants, and will find them a brave, polite, liberal, learned, and ingenious people. *Tour*, vol. ii. p. 114.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

The Hiſtory reſumed.—Proceedings in Parliament.—Petition from the Manufacturers againſt the Importation of Indian Silks.—Motion for a Cenſure on the Miniſtry.

AFTER having departed from our original intention, by breaking the thread of the Hiſtory, to introduce ſuch matter, as, though apparently irrelevant, will very eſſentially illuſtrate the future ſubjects of diſcuſſion,—the narrative is reſumed.

The month of June commenced with many important debates in both houſes of parliament; indeed the convulſed ſtate of the country, from the unexpected rupture which had taken place, and from the temper with which the mandates of the French cabinet were received, indicated no very favourable ſymptoms of good underſtanding, through every claſs of the inſulted inhabitants of Great Britain: however, that objects of internal national conſequence might not be neglected:

In the Houſe of Commons, on the firſt of this month, Sir John William Anderſon, one of the members for the city of London, preſented a bill *for improving the port of London; to authorize money to be advanced out of the conſolidated fund, for improving and rendering more extenſive the navigation of the river Thames; and for erecting new quays for the encouragement of commerce.*

Previouſly to reading the *cuſtom duty conſolidation* bill, the Lord Mayor, member for London, (Mr. Price), preſented a petition from the ſilk manufacturers, praying to be heard by counſel at the bar of the Houſe, againſt that part of the conſolidation duty act which regarded the importation of Bandana handkerchiefs. On which Sir William Curtis roſe, and drew the attention of the Houſe to the ſituation of the working ſilk weavers of Spitalfields, a moſt valuable and induſtrious body of men: and preſented a petition on their behalf, which ſet forth, "that there were no leſs than about 5,000 manufacturers, (who, with their families, at an average, employed about 10,000 looms) all of whom were likely to be materially injured by the importation of ſuch articles, and that they could prove, to the ſatisfaction of the Houſe, they paid a more conſiderable duty on handkerchiefs of their own manufacture, than what the intended bill could poſſibly produce to the revenue." This produced an obſervation from Mr. Wilbraham Bootle, who obſerved, that a great majority of the manufacturers in the kingdom, were kept perfectly ignorant of the nature of this bill, otherwiſe a great number of other petitions would have been preſented. He himſelf had ſeveral obſervations to make, more particularly as the bill reſpected the intereſts of the Britiſh potteries, many of which had been brought to conſiderable perfection, under the operation of a protecting duty on foreign china, which was far exceeded in excellence and beauty in many of the Britiſh manufactories of Derbyſhire and other counties. This manufacture of Britiſh porcelaine, was ſtill in a progreſſive ſtate of improvement, becauſe men of very conſiderable capital had been induced to embark in it, under the faith of a protecting duty againſt foreign china: he ſtated that this excellent infant manufacture would ſuffer under the decreaſe propoſed by the bill, if the protecting duty on foreign china, from 109*l.* to 150*l. per cent.* which would operate as a moſt injurious diſcouragement to thoſe Britiſh manufacturers, who had veſted their large capitals, their talents, and their induſtry, in bringing this fabric to ſuch ſingular perfection.

But in anſwer, the Chancellor of the Exchequer obſerved, that ſuch objections could only be brought forward in a committee on the bill, the only matter for preſent conſideration being, the propriety or impropriety of conſolidating the duty.

The next ſubject of debate was on a motion by Lord Folkſtone, for accounts of all repreſentations by the French government, and of all ſteps taken by his Majeſty's miniſters towards carrying into effect the ſecond article of the treaty of Amiens.

In oppoſition to this, Lord Hawkeſbury obſerved, that the article having been a ſubject of contention, his Majeſty thought it right to follow the precedent of former treaties; but the French government had laid in a claim, of a nature which could not be fairly reſiſted, namely, that the French government, in their treaties with other powers, had no ſuch ſtipulation, and therefore it was juſt there ſhould be ſet off ſuch ſums as were due for the maintenance of priſoners actually in the ſervice, and under the command of his Majeſty's government; this did not apply to the troops of Auſtria, Ruſſia, or Bavaria, which his Majeſty had thought proper to ſubſidize, but to the Heſſians only. His Lordſhip added, that this allowance on the part of his Majeſty, made ſuch a difference on the face of the account,

count, that it was impoſſible to aſcertain on which ſide the balance was—the important point was the ſaving the principle itſelf.

General Gaſcoyne ſaid, he underſtood, from what the ſecretary of ſtate had mentioned, that there was no money due by this country in conſequence of that article of the treaty. It would therefore be proper for the Houſe to be informed, what was the ſetting off by the French government in the account for no leſs than 18,000 priſoners. It was the only article which appeared to promiſe advantage to this country, in that execrable treaty, if there was a balance againſt us. He underſtood, however, that it was only inſerted as a matter of form, merely becauſe it had made a part of former treaties. The general put ſome other queſtions to miniſters, which they did not think neceſſary to anſwer. On the queſtion being put, Lord Folkſtone's motion was carried.

The Houſe next reſolved itſelf into a committee on the *conſolidation of the tax duties*, in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer noticed, that ſo many inconveniencies had ariſen from the diſcordant deciſions of magiſtrates and the judges on the ſubject of the aſſeſſed taxes in particular, that the people of the country were at a loſs to diſcover in what manner they were liable to the duties. The opinions of the judges, however, having been declared, it was propoſed that their opinions ſhould conſtitute a part of the law of the land. To prevent evaſions to which the window tax was in many inſtances liable, it would be propoſed, that thoſe exceeding certain dimenſions ſhould be charged as double windows. Inſtead of the whole duty on gardeners and game-keepers, thoſe who may be only occaſionally employed in thoſe capacities, were in future to be taxed at no more than five ſhillings each. The tax upon race horſes was at this time extremely diſproportionate, they paying leſs than ſaddle horſes. The former were now charged no more than two guineas a year each, and it was propoſed that they ſhould in future be charged two guineas over and above the tax upon ſaddle-horſes, which they ſhould alſo be ſubject to. In the aſſeſſed duties, as they ſtood, the tax was confined to the number of horſes employed; and as it was known, that ſeveral families uſed the ſame horſes for coaches, chaiſes, ſociables, &c. the ſame duty ſhould attach to every vehicle of that deſcription. There were, he ſaid, other ſubordinate points, but thoſe he mentioned were the moſt eſſential.

Mr. Shaw Lefevre expreſſed his approbation of the meaſure propoſed, but ſubmitted, that there were ſeveral grievances as yet unredreſſed: for inſtance, when a man employed in agriculture was called upon to dreſs or comb down the horſe of his employer, the magiſtrates thought themſelves obliged by the act of parliament to inflict the duty in the ſame manner as they would do were the perſon a regular domeſtic ſervant or a groom. There was alſo a great diſproportion in the periods at which the annual tax may commence. A man, for inſtance, if he had a dog for two or three days after the expiration of the former year, was compelled to pay the duty for the whole year, though he ſhould part with it immediately: to avoid diſcontents, therefore, he ſhould recommend that a perſon ſo parting with, or loſing his dog, might only be obliged to pay the aſſeſſment for a quarter.

Sir R. Buxton alſo declared his perfect concurrence in the meaſure, in which he thought the miniſter entitled to great praiſe; but there were ſeveral objects ſtill unredreſſed. Thus, a poor man's horſe, when employed only for the purpoſes of trade, and gardeners alſo, whom men of very moderate fortunes in the country were under the neceſſity of employing, though they might not be required by ſome of the opulent perſons whoſe uſual reſidence was in cities, ought to be exempted from any tax.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer finally remarked, that, without giving in upon too great evaſions, it would be a matter of much difficulty to make a diſtinction between perſons of different deſcriptions who might have horſes, but that it was provided by the bill, that thoſe in real poverty and diſtreſs, ſhould be quite exempted from the horſe and window tax; and that thoſe who only retained day ſervants for a few weeks, ſhould not be ſubjected to the duty for a whole year. He then moved a reſolution, that the preſent duties on coaches and horſes for ſale, ſhould ceaſe and determine, in order to be replaced by others, which was agreed to, and the report of the committee ordered to be received, and as this bill affected England only, he ſhould propoſe a ſeparate bill for extending its proviſions alſo to Scotland, which was ordered.

The motion of Earl Fitzwilliam, next day, in the Houſe of Lords, on the conduct of the miniſtry, attracted general attention. His Lordſhip had given notice to this purpoſe on the preceding Thurſday, May 26, and now delivered his opinion relative to the proofs of inſolence, aggreſſion, and encroachment diſplayed by the French government ſince the concluſion of the treaty, and the reſponſibility which miniſters had incurred in not having at a much earlier period laid the evidence of this hoſtile ſpirit before both houſes of parliament.

In bringing forward the motions which he meant to ſubmit to their lordſhips' conſideration, his Lordſhip begged it to be underſtood, that he was actuated by no motives of perſonal hoſtility to miniſters. For many of them individually he felt the greateſt reſpect, and no man was more ready to do juſtice to the reſpectability of their private character; no conſiderations, however, of this nature, ſhould induce him to deſert a duty which he felt that he owed

owed to their Lordſhips and the country. It was on public views that he brought forward the buſineſs, and on public grounds he ſhould only aſk for their Lordſhips' ſupport. Having ſtated this in explanation of his object, his Lordſhip went on to take up the conſideration of the general ſubject, and in the courſe of his obſervations adverted to all the acts of aggreſſion and aggrandizement on the part of the French government, from the time of ſigning the preliminaries of peace, and the correſponding conduct of miniſters.

On adverting to the part of the French government, his lordſhip ſaid, there had been many acts of inſolence, of violence, and aggreſſion, every one of which ought to have been the ground of ſerious remonſtrance, as being diametrically oppoſite to the principles of the treaty which miniſters had avowed at the time when the treaty was concluded. When the French government had agreed on preliminary articles of peace, his lordſhip begged the Houſe to conſider what was the line of conduct which it had purſued? Was this a conduct of a conciliatory nature? Was it of a nature which could at all induce a hope that peace might be preſerved in the true ſpirit of peace? A very contrary ſpirit had on every occaſion been evinced. Inſtead of a diſpoſition to adopt that policy which might be conſidered as ſhewing ſome degree of reſpect for the rights of independent ſtates, or that moderation which beſpoke no wiſh for an extenſion of French power, acts had been committed which were totally inconſiſtent with a deſire for the preſervation of peace, and which could only originate from a fixed determination to purſue aggrandizement, whatever might be the conſequence; his lordſhip then referred to the extraordinary ſtep taken by Bonaparte, of procuring the preſidentſhip of the Italian republic. This, he contended, was neither more nor leſs than a direct annexation of the whole territory of which that republic was compoſed, to the already overgrown dominions of France. It was not a meaſure by which the connection between Italy and France might be rendered more intimate, but one by which the intereſts, the objects, and the ſtrength of the two countries were identified. Was a meaſure of this magnitude taking place during the interval between the ſignature of the preliminaries and a definitive treaty, a matter of light importance? Was it one to which, with reference to ſuch a definitive treaty, no attention ought to have been given by miniſters? But miniſters had made no remonſtrances, and it was from the knowledge that they had on this, as well as many other acts of violence and aggreſſion on the part of the French government, that he had felt it his duty to bring the matter under diſcuſſion. That this very extraordinary meaſure took place in February 1802, and it was with the knowledge of this deciſive proof of the diſpoſition of the French government that the definitive treaty had been concluded. What then had been the ſpirit of encroachment diſplayed by the French government after the treaty was concluded? Was it of a deſcription which could juſtify the expectation that permanent peace might be maintained? It was, on the contrary, diſtinguiſhed by every evidence of aggreſſion and hoſtility. A very few months elapſed after the concluſion of the treaty, when by a convention, of the grounds of which miniſters had not given parliament and the country the ſmalleſt information, Parma and Placentia was ceded to France. It was in June that this new acquiſition of territory was obtained, and ſtill no remonſtrance was reſorted to by miniſters. The French government, profiting by this ſpirit of forbearance, and actuated by a thirſt of power which acknowledged no bounds, reſolved that no opportunity of aggrandizement ſhould be overlooked. In September, Piedmont was declared to be an integral part of the French republic; and thus, whatever hope might have been previouſly entertained of the reſtoration of the liberty of Italy, it was now deſtroyed. It was henceforth left at the mercy of France, for who was ignorant that in every great conteſt Piedmont had always been conſidered as the key of Italy? All theſe repeated and unequivocal manifeſtations of a ſpirit inconſiſtent with the maintenance of peace had been given, and not a remonſtrance had been heard from miniſters. They appeared to allow the cauſes of jealouſy to accumulate. They ſuffered the proofs of the hoſtile mind to augment, and ſtill they took no effectual meaſures to provide againſt the conſequence. The firſt ſtep taken, which at all indicated a determination to reſiſt this ambitious ſpirit, was iſſuing orders for retaining poſſeſſion of the Cape of Good Hope. On what circumſtances, however, he begged their Lordſhips to conſider, were theſe orders diſpatched? Was it on receiving intelligence of the determination of Bonaparte to interfere in the affairs of Switzerland?—It was of importance to obſerve how the conduct of miniſters on this ſubject ought to be conſidered. When they determined to interfere, they ought to have known what effect their interference was likely to produce. For if from the circumſtances of the continent, at the time the remonſtrances were made, it appeared, that they could be productive of no beneficial conſequences, the remonſtrances were in themſelves highly inexpedient. Now, how did the caſe ſtand after being fairly conſidered? On the third of October, Mr. Merry ſent a diſpatch to miniſters, informing them of the exertions made by a Swiſs deputy to procure the interference of ſome of the miniſters of the great powers of Europe, in behalf of his perſecuted country. In this diſpatch it was ſtated that the application had been ineffectual. Moſt of the miniſters were

were not only not diſpoſed to liſten to his application, but they were afraid of admitting him within their threſhold, *from a dread of giving offence to the firſt conſul.* With the knowledge of all this, miniſters did interfere when they muſt have known that interference could not be beneficial. They had paſſed over the faireſt opportunities of dignified and effectual remonſtrance; and had made a ſhew of remonſtrances when it could not with the ſmalleſt dignity be employed. But the caſes to which he had alluded, were not all which, though forming juſt ground of complaint, had not been taken up with ſufficient ſpirit by miniſters. His lordſhip then alluded to the manner in which Britiſh ſubjects had been abuſed, and Britiſh property confiſcated, which did not appear to him to have been made the ground of ſufficient remonſtrance. Our claims to reparation and redreſs had not been urged with that ſpirit and that energy which the extreme importance of the ſubject required. His lordſhip next proceeded to the direct point at which miniſters had choſen to make their final ſtand, and had thought proper to aſſume a determination no longer to ſubmit to the inſolence and the aggreſſions of the French government. After all the inſtances of aggreſſion which had occurred, after all the proofs which had been given, of a diſpoſition altogether inconſiſtent with the independence and the ſafety of other ſtates; after the moſt unequivocal demonſtrations of a mind incurably hoſtile to this country, miniſters had inſtructed Lord Whitworth to expreſs to the French government, their readineſs to give up Malta agreeably to the conditions of the treaty. Having given ſuch inſtructions, attention was naturally directed to the circumſtances which produced the ſubſequent determination of miniſters to retain Malta, as a means of additional ſecurity againſt the future views of the French government. Lord Hawkeſbury, in conſequence of the report of Sebaſtiani, diſcloſing the views of the French government, addreſſes a note to our ambaſſador, ſtating, that miniſters expected that additional ſecurity, to which theſe views gave them a fair claim. Till the middle of February, the ambitious deſigns of the French government were not reſiſted by miniſters, and at length they took their ſtand at a point which, compared with various other cauſes of offence, was very ſecondary in real importance. From all theſe conſiderations, he conceived himſelf fully warranted in drawing the inference which he meant to found on his firſt propoſition, that miniſters, in full poſſeſſion of ſufficient proofs of the hoſtile mind of the French government, of its uninterrupted inſults and aggreſſions from the time that the treaty of peace had been ſigned to the day when his Majeſty's meſſage of the 8th of March was delivered, *were highly cenſurable* in not declaring what was the real ſituation of the country. At the time that they were ſufficiently ſenſible of the exiſtence of this ſpirit, they continued to hold out to parliament and to the country the hope of the continuance of peace. At the very moment when there could remain no reaſonable expectation of the maintenance of peace, the public was deceived with the expectation that there *was a proſpect, not of ſhort, precarious, but of ſolid and permanent repoſe, from all the miſeries attendant on war.* Parliament and the public had at all times a clear and undoubted right to know, from the ſervants of the crown, what was the real ſituation of the country. This information miniſters had moſt aſſiduouſly concealed, and while they ſheltered themſelves behind reſponſibility, the country was brought into a ſituation more critical and more dangerous than had ever been paralleled in the records of our hiſtory. Conſidering the ſtate of darkneſs relative to the moſt intereſting matters in which miniſters had ſo long left their lordſhips, it was, he contended, highly neceſſary to inſtitute an inquiry, with the view of vindicating their honour againſt a ſuppoſition of being indifferent to the great duties which they were called on to perform. It was ſolely from this conſideration of public duty that he had been induced to bring forward the propoſitions with which he meant to conclude. The ſituation in which the country was placed had become unqueſtionably highly arduous and critical, and to meet the danger to which it was expoſed it was neceſſary that the public ſhould have an aſſurance of the capacity of the miniſters of the crown for directing the reſources and the energies of the people. It was proper at a time when all ranks would be called on to contribute great ſacrifices for the public ſervice, that they ſhould have confidence in the talents and the knowledge of thoſe by whom theſe ſacrifices were to be applied for the ſervice of the empire. It was neceſſary too, when engaging in a conteſt in which the opinion or the mediation of other powers might be required, that the character of the government of the country ſhould be ſuch as to command reſpect. When he looked at the whole of the negotiations, when he conſidered the manner in which all the hoſtile and inſolent acts of the French government had been viewed by them, he could not admit that his Majeſty's preſent ſervants were qualified to ſecure confidence with the country at home, or inſpire reſpect among governments abroad. The noble Earl concluded with moving ſeveral reſolutions, of which the two following are the moſt important:

1ſt. Reſolved, "That it appears to this Houſe, from the declaration iſſued by his Majeſty on the 18th inſtant, and laid before this Houſe by his Majeſty's command, that the conduct of the French republic towards this country during the whole period which has elapſed ſince the concluſion of the definitive treaty of peace, is conſidered by his Majeſty's

jeſty's miniſters as having exhibited "*one continued ſeries of aggreſſion, violence, and inſult*;" and as neceſſarily creating a "*thorough conviction*," of a ſyſtem deliberately "*adopted by France, for the purpoſe of degrading, vilifying, and inſulting his Majeſty and his government.*"

2d. Reſolved, "That his Majeſty's miniſters having throughout the whole period from the Definitive Treaty of Peace to the breaking out of the preſent war, neither communicated to parliament any knowledge of the ſenſe which they now appear to have entertained reſpecting the conduct and ſyſtem of France, nor any regular information of the particulars on which the ſame was founded, or the ſteps taken by his Majeſty's government thereupon, have thereby withheld from this Houſe the neceſſary materials for the due and full diſcharge of its conſtitutional functions; and that by encouraging throughout the country an unfounded ſecurity and confidence in the permanence of peace; they have embarraſſed and perplexed our commerce; have deceived the expectations, and unneceſſarily haraſſed the ſpirit of the people; and have materially increaſed and aggravated the difficulties of our actual ſituation." His Lordſhip alſo moved a third reſolution for a vote of cenſure on miniſters for their conduct.

On the queſtion being put on the firſt reſolution from the woolſack,

Lord Limerick vindicated the whole conduct of miniſters. His Lordſhip profeſſed his inability to enter into the diſtinction which on a former evening had been ſtudiouſly attempted to be eſtabliſhed betwixt the conduct of miniſters and the juſtice of the war into which the ambition of France had forced us to enter for the ſupport of all that is moſt eſtimable in ſociety. He then took up the queſtion before the Houſe in a clear ſtile of argument. Concerning the reſponſibility under which miniſters had attempted to ſhelter their conduct, much had been ſaid, and it was made the ſubject of complaint that miniſters had not at a much earlier period put the Houſe in poſſeſſion of information relative to the ambitious and inſolent views of the French government. With regard to the objections ſtarted againſt the conduct of miniſters, from the time of the ſignature of the Preliminaries to the period when the Treaty was concluded, they had formerly been ſo fully conſidered and ſo ſatisfactorily anſwered, that, to dwell on them at preſent, would be equally inexpedient and unneceſſary. The conduct of miniſters reſpecting Switzerland had been condemned; to him it appeared at once proper and ſpirited. The miniſters of all the great continental powers had been addreſſed with the view of obtaining their mediation with the firſt conſul, to avert the evils with which Switzerland was threatened, and which afterwards it ſo fully experienced. To theſe applications no ſort of attention had been given, except by the miniſters of this country. Was a diſpoſition to liſten to the remonſtrances of a brave and injured people, a ground of cenſure? Was it a ſubject of fair complaint, that a hope was held out of a determination to give every degree of ſupport which was likely to be effectual in a conteſt for uſages and for privileges, endeared by every conſideration that is moſt cheriſhed by the heart of man? But this general principle of the interference of miniſters reſpecting Switzerland appeared to be condemned. Degraded as the powers of the continent had ſhewn themſelves to be, miniſters had no choice left but to make a ſeparate remonſtrance to the French government. Such a remonſtrance, their lordſhips were aware, had been preſented, and if it failed of effect, neither the honour or general character of the country were at all compromiſed. Under ſuch circumſtances, what had miniſters done? They ſent a confidential agent to Switzerland, not to foment a ſpirit of rebellion; not to delude them with falſe hopes and expectations of ſucceſs; but to aſcertain the real diſpoſitions of the people; to find out what was their ability for effectual reſiſtance, and to ſee what proſpect there was that with ſuch aſſiſtance as might have been given, by this country, there was any probability that this reſiſtance would promote the end ſo eagerly coveted. On inquiry it was aſcertained, that with all their deteſtation of French perſecution, with all their enthuſiaſtic devotion to the liberties and the manners of their fathers, ſucceſsful reſiſtance was impoſſible, and therefore miniſters found further interference unneceſſary. He appealed to their lordſhips, whether in this conduct there was any thing unworthy of the miniſters of a great country. He contended, that in the whole conduct of miniſters, as far as interference in the affairs of Switzerland was concerned, they had acted ſo as to entitle them to fair and honourable ſupport. Miniſters had been loudly accuſed for not having ſooner declared their opinion that war had become neceſſary. The circumſtances under which the peace had been concluded were to be conſidered before ſuch an objection could be fairly ſtarted. He hoped it would not be contended that miniſters were not deſirous of the continuance of peace; for on this they reſted their pretenſions to popularity, and it was not likely they would do any thing to deſtroy the good opinion which had been created in their favour, by raſhly plunging the country in hoſtilities. He deſired noble lords to look at the conduct of miniſters, and then judge of their ſincerity for the continuance of peace. Malta was the grand point in diſpute, and to remove the grounds of difference, no efforts had been omitted. They had aſſiduouſly endeavoured to procure the aſſent of the guaranteeing powers; they had given every facility for the election of a grand-maſter; they had purſued

this object in the way moſt calculated to evince their determination to act in the true ſpirit of peace. They found ſoon after the concluſion of the Treaty, that the French government, inſtead of diſcovering a ſpirit of conciliation, evinced a diſpoſition rancorous and hoſtile. They received a propoſal inſolent and outrageous in the higheſt degree! a propoſition to curtail or to ſuppreſs the moſt valuable privilege and the firmeſt ſupport of the Britiſh conſtitution—the freedom of full and fair diſcuſſion! To ſuch a propoſal, miniſters of courſe refuſed *in the moſt explicit terms* to accede; but even here their language was characteriſed by mildneſs and moderation. To a moſt deteſtable and cruel demand, for deteſtable and cruel he muſt call any demand, to drive from our land the repreſentatives of a family once eminent for wealth and power, but now eminent only in misfortune, the anſwer of miniſters *was at once firm and dignified.* While they refuſed to liſten to a propoſal ſo baſe and ſo unworthy as that of refuſing the rights of hoſpitality to men, who from their loyalty to their ſovereign had relinquiſhed all the accommodations of life in their native land, they ſacrificed their juſt indignation, which might have juſtified them in conſidering ſuch demands as a juſtification of the renewal of hoſtilities, to their anxious and uniform deſire of peace. Our miniſters were called upon to baniſh the remains of an ancient nobility and the wreck of a venerable prieſthood—at the ſame time, that men exiled from their country as traitors—men who are anxious to ſpread among their countrymen the flame of civil war, and to plunge the dagger into the hearts of their brethren, were cheriſhed, protected, and honoured at the conſular court. It had been objected to miniſters, that their orders and counter orders reſpecting the Cape, betrayed want of firmneſs and conſiſtency of character. Miniſters had reaſon to believe that a plan was in contemplation by which Holland was to be incorporated with France. Under ſuch an expectation, it was clear that the Cape would neceſſarily fall into the hands of France, the moment it was ſurrendered. It was on this principle that the order for retaining the Cape was founded, and it was not till an explanation on the ſubject was obtained, that a ſecond order for its evacuation was diſpatched. Miniſters, after this explanation had been obtained, had no pretence for refuſing to comply with the terms of the treaty. His lordſhip condemned Sebaſtiani's report in very energetic terms. It appeared to him to expreſs ſuch clear evidence of the inſidious deſigns of the firſt conſul, both with reſpect to Egypt and the Ionian iſlands, that if miniſters had not laid hold of it in eſtabliſhing a juſt claim to further ſecurity on the part of this country, they would have forfeited all claims to public confidence. The article in the Hamburgh paper, which had excited ſo much attention, and called forth ſuch juſt indignation, was one of the foulеſt and moſt malignant libels that ever was publiſhed againſt the government of an independent country, and reflected diſcredit on the character of M. Rheinard, by whoſe influence it was inſerted. This man was no tyro in politics, no pupil in the ſtudy of diplomatic addreſs. He was bred up in the ſchool of the moſt outrageous times of the Revolution, and had received various proofs of the confidence of his conſular maſter; the act of inſertion was therefore to all intents and purpoſes, an act agreeable to the firſt conſul. Under all theſe conſiderations, miniſters had called for additional ſecurity, and what had been the conduct of the French government? Had any offer of ſecurity been obtained? On the contrary, had not that arch-maſter in intrigue, Talleyrand, declared that the queſtion betwixt the two countries lay within a very narrow compaſs? It was ſimply Malta, or war. Retain Malta, and war will be conſidered to be declared. His lordſhip declared that he had reflected much on the cauſes of the hatred of Bonaparte to this country. He was convinced that he had diſcovered the true cauſe of a ſpirit of rancorous hoſtility. It was the proſpect of the liberty, the equal laws, extending alike to the rich and the poor, the wiſe and free inſtitutions of this country, that Bonaparte regarded with deteſtation. This reminded him of the expreſſions of a Roman general undertaking an expedition againſt Ireland, recorded by one of the beſt of the Roman hiſtorians. It was not for its barren heaths, or againſt its naked and barbarous inhabitants, that he wiſhed to contend. It was to deſtroy the image at all times hateful to tyrants, the image of the freedom which they enjoyed. So it was with the firſt conſul of France. He wiſhed to remove from the eyes of his debaſed and degraded ſubjects, the image of Great Britain, free and happy; and hence his eternal hoſtility to a people, all whoſe inſtitutions only placed his own tyranny in the ſtronger colours. His lordſhip then declared his approbation of the conduct of miniſters.

Earl Groſvenor conceived that the previous queſtion ought to be moved. The accuſation againſt miniſters contained in the reſolutions was of the moſt weighty nature, and he believed that the noble lords would pauſe before they conſented to entertain the motion. Noble Lords could not but be aware that if the motion was carried, it would be followed up by an impeachment againſt miniſters. Before blame was, however, attached ſo ſtrongly to them, and ſuch weighty accuſations were produced, it was but fair to look to the ſituation of affairs, when miniſters were called on to take on themſelves the conduct of government. It would be recollected that the Northern Confederacy then exiſted, and that they had ſucceeded in concluding a convention, which their lordſhips had highly applauded. It would be recollected that miniſters had formed a Treaty of Peace, which had alſo been highly approved

proved by both houſes of parliament. His lordſhip concluded by obſerving, that no diſadvantage had ariſen from the experiment, and it was now clear beyond the poſſibility of doubt that war was rendered unavoidable by the wild and ungovernable ſpirit of hoſtility and ambition manifeſted by the French government; and hinted that till Bonaparte was diſplaced, no permanent repoſe could exiſt in Europe.

Lord Darnley ſaid, that as it appeared to him, the firſt cauſe which they had already judged and decided, was one in which the king, parliament, and people of Great Britain were the plaintiffs, and the government of France the defendants; in this inſtance, the king, parliament, and people of Great Britain were equally the plaintiffs; but the government of Great Britain were the defendants, and he thought, the plaintiff's caſe was in both inſtances almoſt equally ſtrong. If they had purſued a contrary line of conduct, if they had at once given Bonaparte to underſtand that in the low, and almoſt humiliating terms of peace to which they had conſented, they had gone the utmoſt length of conceſſion, and that they were determined to make their ſtand againſt any further extenſion of the power of France, in all probability he would have given way, when he found them really in earneſt, and prepared, if neceſſary, to renew the war. On the other hand, if he had not yielded, and had forced us again to have recourſe to arms, we ſhould have taken them up under every advantage, which we have now given up, by diſarming our forces and relinquiſhing our conqueſts. Inſtead of this, during the interval which elapſed between the ſignature of the preliminaries, and the concluſion of peace, great and material acceſſions of power and dominion were added to the French republic, to counterbalance which we not only obtained nothing, but after a long and injurious delay, ſigned at Amiens, a peace in every reſpect worſe than we were entitled to by the preliminaries —even if a change had taken place in the relative ſituation of the two countries during the progreſs of the negotiation—what has happened ſince, as proved by the papers on the table, was the neceſſary conſequence of that ſyſtem of conceſſion and humiliation thus early adopted, ſince it is the invariable conſequence of ſubmiſſion, under inſult and oppreſſion, to provoke a repetition of them, and at length to be driven to reſiſtance under every diſadvantage, as was the caſe in the preſent inſtance. He begged to advert to one of the papers on the table, on which, in his mind, ſufficient ſtreſs had not been laid—he meant the detention and confiſcation of the veſſels. It had been treated, as he had underſtood, as a matter of light importance, and on which much ground of complaint could not ariſe, becauſe forſooth, France had a right to enforce her own laws, and we had now to complain of the execution of the laws of another country within her own ports. But he would aſk thoſe who enforced theſe arguments, whether, if the caſes were reverſed, if ſuch a law exiſted in this country, and had been enforced with ſo much injuſtice and ſo much hoſtility, they would not be the firſt to cry out, and to juſtify France if ſhe had declared war in conſequence of ſuch outrages, ſuch violations of the honour of the nation in the perſons of it, ſubjects as theſe appear to have been. And let it be remembered that thoſe perſons who are ſuppoſed moſt decidedly adverſe to war on all occaſions, have ſtated the point of national honour to be almoſt the only legitimate ground of warfare. What could be more flagrant than the cauſe of the veſſel which was forced into a port of France by ſtreſs of weather, or of that which was confiſcated, becauſe the captain had a few knives and plates for his own uſe of Engliſh manufacture! Were not theſe acts of injuſtice and hoſtility, and yet as far as we know, no notice was taken of them, except in the preſenting a few whining remonſtrances at Paris, which were treated with ſilent contempt. In the caſe of Switzerland, a remonſtrance of the ſame ſort had been preſented, and with the ſame effect, and here he muſt repeat what he had ſtated on former occaſions, that ſuch remonſtrances were puerile, and far beneath the dignity of a great and powerful nation. We ought certainly either to have remonſtrated with effect, that is, have gone to war, if our remonſtrance had been rejected, or not remonſtrated at all.

He forbore to dwell on the contradictory orders reſpecting the ſurrender of the Cape, and proceeded to that of Malta, which was of the greateſt conſequence in itſelf, and becauſe it had immediately led to the preſent war; and here, again, he muſt refer back to the negotiations at Amiens, where the unintelligible and abſurd tenth article of the treaty left it open to certain diſpute, and neceſſarily produced the conſequences which have followed. If, during theſe negotiations that line of dignified firmneſs to which he had alluded had been adopted, inſtead of that of weakneſs and conceſſion which had been preferred, he muſt repeat, that in all probability, Malta would have been ours, and peace eſtabliſhed on a ſecure and honourable baſis, or if we had been obliged to take up arms again, we ſhould have done ſo with many advantages which we had ſince relinquiſhed. On his part, Lord Darnley ſaid, he moſt firmly believed that if we had ſhewn ourſelves, and Bonaparte had believed us, to be in earneſt, he would at that time have preferred the loſs of Malta to that of St. Domingo or his fleet. But he early ſaw our blind fondneſs for peace, and fear of war, and he has taken full advantage of it, till at laſt he has ſtrained the cord till he has broken it. Our patience and forbearence are at length exhauſted, and we are at laſt obliged to fight. He ſhould therefore

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aſſent to the propoſitions moved that night by the noble earl, becauſe he thought they could not be controverted.

A noble earl oppoſite to him (Lord Limerick) had ſtated that in voting theſe reſolutions, the Houſe would interfere with the Conſtitution, with the Conſtitutional Prerogative of the Crown in the appointment of its own miniſters, to which Lord Darnley ſaid, he could by no means aſſent. He was the laſt man to wiſh to trench upon the juſt prerogatives of the crown, but he by no means thought he did ſo in offering to his ſovereign the beſt opinion and advice he was able, according to his judgment. If the Houſe ſhould agree to expreſs ſuch an opinion of his Majeſty's miniſters as theſe reſolutions conveyed, it did not therefore follow of abſolute neceſſity, that theſe miniſters were to be diſmiſſed—his Majeſty might ſtill uſe his diſcretion. For his part, Lord Darnley ſaid, he had no deſire to have them diſmiſſed. He had already expreſſed and ſhewed his partiality to them —ſtill leſs did he deſire to ſee thoſe who were moſt active in oppoſing them in their places. He might indeed ſay, that he acknowledged no political attachment but to his king; no party, but that of his country. His wiſh was to ſupport miniſters whenever he could conſiſtently with his duty, and more eſpecially in times of difficulty and danger ſuch as theſe. We are engaged in a conteſt which required no common exertions. This was a time, if ever ſuch there were, when that unanimity ſo forcibly recommended on a former occaſion by a royal duke, was moſt deſirable. We had to contend with a great and powerful empire, which had proved under every government our implacable enemy in war, and our envious rival in peace. Such he feared muſt always be the caſe, and ſhe was now more than ever formidable, not ſo much on account of the perſonal character of the man at the head of her government, as of her enormous and gigantic power. He wiſhed indeed the noble Earl (Groſvenor) had not thought it neceſſary to inform the Houſe, that *he did not deſire the aſſaſſination of Bonaparte.* He truſted not only that no man in that Houſe, but that no man in the counrry cared whether Bonaparte was aſſaſſinated or not. Beſides, he could not help reminding the noble earl, that even if *this* Philip were dead, we ſhould ſoon have another Philip in his place, if we conducted our affairs in the ſame manner.

Lord Borringdon differed entirely from the noble lord who had juſt ſat down, as to its being of little moment who was miniſter or who was not. He wiſhed the preſent miniſters to ſtrengthen themſelves by every poſſible acceſſion of talent. He could not help remarking, and giving it as his opinion, from the moſt careful peruſal of the correſpondence, that there was not one point previous to the great leading queſtion relative to Malta, which could in any way particularly excite the feelings of the nation. The noble lord who ſpoke firſt, had aſked whether the intention of France to regain, or rather to get entirely the poſſeſſion of Egypt, was matter in any ſhape novel? Certainly it was a favourite object of the Bourbons during the whole of the laſt century. Still he would contend with reſpect to Bonaparte again getting that country, that previous to the miſſion of Sebaſtiani, and the report made by that officer, no evidence could be given that the Firſt Conſul's views were directed thither, or that any intention of the kind was at all rendered manifeſt and clear. He did not approve of the principles on which the preſent miniſters came into power, nor did he think highly of their talents; but he would not, therefore, withhold his approbation when it was deſerved, and therefore he voted now in their defence.

Lord Fife ſaid, he had been deſirous to deliver his ſentiments when the correſpondence was under conſideration, and when thanks were returned to his Majeſty for his gracious meſſage, on which he was confident there could be but one opinion. He ſaid he had peruſed the whole correſpondence with all the attention he could poſſibly beſtow on it. He hardly knew any one of his Majeſty's miniſters, or had any communication with them, but he would do them the juſtice to ſay, that in his opinion, they had conducted the negotiation with honour, candour, and ability, while thoſe they had to deal with were the moſt trifling and abſurd he ever heard of. He was ſo far from blaming his Majeſty's miniſters for not declaring war ſooner, that if they had acted otherwiſe, they would not have got the country, heart in hand, to go along with them. He oppoſed no government, but the infamous government of ſtock-jobbers, which was by far too powerful in this country, and he did implore noble lords to take it under their moſt ſerious conſideration; for, if learned lords did not bring forward ſome law that could reſtrain that infamous gambling, it would bring down ruin on this country; he thought it more dangerous than all the national debt; and we ought to look with a jealous eye to the mercantile empire in Leadenhall-ſtreet. Much wealth certainly came from the Eaſt Indies; but they brought along with it bad principles from peculation and extravagance.

The Duke of Cumberland ſaid, he was induced to riſe merely from an expreſſion which fallen from a noble lord, who had aſſerted that he diſapproved of the mode in which the preſent adminiſtration came into office. What the noble lord might intend by *the mode*, he could not really ſay, but he had never known a ſet of men come into office in a more honourable manner.

Lord Borringdon explained, that in making uſe of the expreſſion quoted by the royal duke, he had not been actuated by any motive of diſrepect towards his Majeſty's miniſters.

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The Earl of Suffolk ſaid, if it was not for the partition of Poland, a prince of the houſe of Bourbon would now be upon the throne of France. His lordſhip added, he conſidered that the cauſe of the hoſtile ſpirit manifeſted by Bonaparte did not ariſe ſo much from the circumſtances of the negotiation, as from the conduct of his Majeſty's former miniſters, in the violation of the treaty of El-Ariſch; and he contraſted the moderate and civil conduct of the preſent miniſters with Lord Grenville's anſwer to Bonaparte's letter, which had coſt this country two years of deſtructive war, and 150,000,000*l.* of money.

The Earl of Weſtmoreland truſted that he ſhould ſtand excuſed in the opinion of the Houſe, if he endeavoured to anſwer and refute the various charges which had been brought againſt miniſters. He ſurely could not be contradicted when he aſſerted that the non-performance of a treaty was tantamount to a declaration of war, as he was ſtrengthened and fortified by the words of Bonaparte himſelf, and alſo the opinion of Talleyrand. A refuſal to evacuate Malta, becauſe the letter of that treaty could not be fulfilled, was made a declaration of war. But was it the duty of miniſters to have patiently waited until the ſword was unſheathed, and the Chief Conſul had withdrawn his troops from the Weſt Indies, before hoſtilities ſhould be commenced by this country? The importance of Malta had not been denied; that iſland was the key to the Levant, the protection of Egypt, conſequently in a very eminent degree the guardian of our poſſeſſions in India. It was alſo of much moment to Great Britain as a naval ſtation, for watching the movements of the powers of France and Spain in that quarter. Had miniſters, therefore, not retained Malta, he was much inclined to imagine, that Egypt would have been again attacked by France. The war was of courſe either a war without Malta, without every thing which could give Great Britain a ſuperiority and advantage, or a war with Malta in her poſſeſſion, attended by every facility which ſuch an important acquiſition could confer, both upon herſelf and her allies. He would aſk, what was the price to be paid by this country for the preſervation of peace? Nothing ſhort of a direct violation of the laws of hoſpitality; laws which were of the moſt ſacred and binding deſcription. We were alſo required to give up our deareſt rights as Engliſhmen, and ſubmit our free preſs to bonds and controul, which, in the worſt times of England, had never been heard of. England was therefore engaged in the war on the ſtrongeſt of all grounds, neceſſity, and the preſervation of all that was dear to her, on the moſt urgent grounds of policy. After recapitulating the ſeveral acts for which the miniſtry had received the unqualified approbation of the parliament and the public, his lordſhip ſtrongly contended that miniſters would not have been juſtified in coming to Parliament upon every inſult from France. He concluded by calling upon the Houſe to be unanimous in ſupporting the war, in defence of the liberties of the people, in defence of the conſtitution of the country, and in defence of his Majeſty's ſacred perſon.

Lord Mulgrave obſerved, that thoſe who had experienced ſo much during the laſt war, and who had watched its progreſs from its commencement to its termination, could not but perceive that the objects of the French government were three, and that the leading points in Bonaparte's views, were to deſtroy the reſources and wealth of this country in India by getting poſſeſſion of Egypt; to exclude from the continent and from France every article of Britiſh merchandize; and to overturn and deſtroy the independence of this country. It was notorious that theſe had been the objects of France ſince her eventful Revolution. But the point on which he put moſt ſtreſs was, the great one of French commercial agents being ſent to this country, for no other purpoſe than that of paving the way for invaſion. That an invaſion would be attempted might reaſonably be expected, as Bonaparte had made no ſcruple in avowing his intention of hazarding his life, his fame, and thoſe armies which had exalted him to that pinnacle of greatneſs on which he ſtood. The war, therefore, was to be maintained by the reſources and energies of a great and free people, unanimous and hearty in the conteſt, in oppoſition to conſcripts and forced meaſures. Miniſters had undoubtedly an awful duty to diſcharge. He truſted they would ſoon bring down to the Houſe meaſures of revenue of a laſting and permanent kind, wiſely calculated to bear as little on the people as the nature of the conteſt would allow. He truſted that meaſures would be inſtantly taken to renovate and reſtore thoſe forces which had been diſbanded; and when theſe meaſures ſhould be brought forward, it would then be as much the duty of every noble lord to enter fully into their ſpirit, as it was at preſent the duty of the Houſe to abſtain from all retroſpective queſtions or debate whatever. If the meaſures which would then be ſubmitted by miniſters ſhould be deemed ineffectual, then the Houſe would employ its wiſdom in correcting and improving thoſe meaſures. Above all, his lordſhip deprecated any diſcuſſion which could turn aſide, for an inſtant, that proud and angry ſpirit manifeſted by the country againſt the conduct of France. He lamented the debate which had occurred, and in order that there might be no more of it, he ſhould move that the Houſe do now adjourn.

The Earl of Carliſle ſpoke in terms of the higheſt praiſe as to the abilities and eloquence of the noble lord who ſpoke firſt in the debate, and recapitulated ſome of his lordſhip's arguments, in order to point

out their force, and impreſs them the ſtronger on the mind of the Houſe. His lordſhip reprobated the propoſal of ſuch a motion when the Houſe were employed in the diſcharge of one of their higheſt and moſt important conſtitutional duties, an inquiry into the conduct of his Majeſty's miniſters, in the courſe of a negotiation which, through their neglect, had led the country into the ſtate in which it ſtood—of actual war with France. He alſo implored the Houſe to conſider in what a ſituation they placed his Majeſty's miniſters, if ſuch a motion ſhould be carried. They would be deprived of the opportunity of clearing themſelves, if they could clear themſelves, of one of the heavieſt charges that ever was brought againſt miniſters. Was that fair? Was it candid to them? His lordſhip urged the neceſſity of proceeding in the preſent debate, and allowing every noble lord, who thought as he did, to ſtate the grounds on which he conceived his Majeſty's miniſters deſerved the ſevere cenſure paſſed upon their conduct, and enable them to make their defence. It was more neceſſary that this ſhould be the courſe of proceeding, becauſe, although his Majeſty's miniſters had talked much of their acknowledging their reſponſibility, and being ready to meet inquiry; yet the word *reſponſibility*, as applied to miniſters, appeared lately to have loſt its meaning. The word, reſponſibility, had been better underſtood by our anceſtors. Cardinal Wolſey, who was undoubtedly a great miniſter, towards the end of his life felt what reſponſibility in the king's ſervants really was. Lord Strafford, in like manner, paid the price of reſponſibility for his conduct. Other miniſters, and great officers of ſtate, for their mal-practices, paid the ſame price; and it was highly neceſſary that the miniſters of this day ſhould be taught how awful and ſerious a thing reſponſibility was. Miniſters, he contended, were anſwerable for every charge which ſhould be brought againſt them by parliament, and which was ſupported by arguments founded in reaſon; yet, he was ſorry to ſay, it was too common a mode of evading that awful reſponſibility to which they were liable, to ſay, that in a time of peace they ſhould not diſturb the public tranquillity, or cauſe any ferment in the public mind, by inſtituting an inquiry as to what had paſſed during a period of hoſtility and irritation of the minds of the contending powers. In war, it was urged, on the other hand, it was not becoming to clog the operations of the government for the good of our country, by inſtituting an inquiry which might, at that time, by throwing a reflection on the conduct of their rulers, damp the ardour of our countrymen. If this ſort of general principle were to be adopted by the legiſlature, there would be an excuſe, not only for every ſpecies of incapacity or inability, but alſo for every dereliction of all principle, and even a total want of integrity might eſcape the juſtice of parliamentary cenſure, or parliamentary puniſhment. The conduct of his Majeſty's miniſters appearing to him highly culpable in many points of view, he felt himſelf therefore bound, to ſupport the motion.

The Earl of Carnarvon reprobated the conduct of his Majeſty's miniſters both at the time of the definitive treaty and during the whole of the negotiation which had ſince taken place. He ſaid it appeared from the papers on the table, that they knew, when they ſigned the definitive treaty, that the article reſpecting Malta could not be carried into execution, and when they defended the preliminary articles, and aſſured the Houſe, that the peace was likely to be ſafe, ſecure, and permanent, on the ground of their knowledge of the amicable tone and temper of the Firſt Conſul towards this country, at the time that they could not but be aware, that the very reverſe was the fact. The definitive treaty, therefore, inſtead of having a wiſe, an efficient, and ſincere treaty, was a treaty founded in deluſion and fraud. His lordſhip ſaid, miniſters were highly criminal for having not only deceived the Houſe by giving them repeated aſſurances, that every thing pacific was evinced in the conduct of the Chief Conſul, where they knew to the contrary, but by unconſtitutionally withholding, in the moſt unconſtitutional manner, the information which they had from time to time to have communicated to parliament. His lordſhip ended with declaring, that he ſhould give his negative to the motion of adjournment, and vote for the reſolutions.

Lord Ellenborough declared, that the reſpect and eſteem which he felt for the characters of his Majeſty's confidential ſervants, both in their public and private capacity, made him indignant at the frequency of ſuch reflections, as from day to day rang the changes on the hacknied charge of the incapacity of his Majeſty's miniſters, their weakneſs, and imbecility; ſo that, forſooth, in a moment of great emergency, they were to learn capacity from the incapable, ſtrength of the weak, and knowledge from the completely ignorant, and to be removed from their ſituations, in order to make room for thoſe utterly unqualified to become miniſters, and were inexperienced, and not likely to ſupport thoſe characters at all. Some alluſion had been made to the conduct of miniſters from the time of their coming into power. He called upon their lordſhips to recollect the critical moment at which that event took place, and the many difficulties with which they had to ſtruggle. In particular, there were two objects worthy of the moſt ſerious conſideration:—Clouds then hovered over the north of Europe, and darkened every moment, which required the utmoſt ingenuity and promptitude in ſtateſmen to diſpel them. The ſecond was, a conſideration which delicacy forbad him to enlarge upon in the preſent ſituation of our public affairs *. Theſe were circumſtances which, combined

* Probably his Majeſty's indiſpoſition.

combined with many others, muſt obviouſly create much difficulty in the management of public affairs, and ſuch as could not be withſtood by perſons of ordinary ability, or of ordinary zeal. The effort to accompliſh and to maintain peace had been made, and its completion had been pronounced ſatisfactory to the country. Himſelf, for one, was diffident at the time. He looked at the perſon who domineered in the councils of Europe; *he looked at Bonaparte himſelf.* In him he ſaw no ſteadineſs, but ſteadineſs to a ſtrong ambitious principle, by which he ſeemed principally to regulate his mind. The only queſtion appeared to him to be, not whether the war was right or wrong, (for that had been already decided) but whether the conduct of miniſters was right or wrong. He thought it rather unſtateſman-like to be always running our elbows in our neighbour's ſide. The whole conduct of his Majeſty's confidential ſervants, he contended, was regulated with a greater degree of propriety, and ſupported with more ability, than if it had been ſupported with the Herculean ſhoulders of ſome perſons who ſeemed to be pointed out at preſent as their ſucceſſors. A noble lord had ſaid that the detention of ſhips was a ſufficient cauſe for war. But he begged their lordſhips to conſider that every country had a right to frame their own laws; and by a navigation act, veſſels might be liable to ſeizure in one country which were perfectly legal in another, notwithſtanding which the utmoſt cordiality might be then ſubſiſting between them. But the principle on which he complained of the enactment of any law for the detention of ſhipping was, where that law was invented and paſſed in an ill-natured or ill-minded moment of the government that enacted it. The moſt frivolous objection of all he heard, to him appeared to be that, complaining that miniſters had not come down and informed parliament of each ſeparate tranſaction. The noble lord then made an animated appeal to the feelings of Engliſhmen, to unite in the common cauſe for the good of their country, and hoped that their lordſhips would unanimouſly agree with him in ſupporting the motion of adjournment.

Earl Spencer conſidered many of the public evils which had occurred, as owing to the premature pledge given by miniſters on the ſubject of peace—a pledge which bound them up in the negotiation which preceded the definitive treaty. It was ſaid that peace had been called for by the voice of the country. He could not allow it to be ſaid that at the period of the preliminaries, there was any ſuch clamour for peace as could force miniſters into raſh and inadequate engagements. He next proceeded to conſider the delay which had taken place in miniſters announcing to parliament the hoſtile views of France. In reading over the declaration, he found that moſt, if not all of the aggreſſions complained of, except Sebaſtiani's report, were of an old date, and previous to the aſſembling of parliament, yet, for months after that, miniſters had continued to conceal thoſe very aggreſſions of which they complained. The French aggreſſions, and the conduct of miniſtry reſpecting Switzerland, Malta, &c. next engaged his lordſhip's cenſure; after which he added, that when theſe things were conſidered, it was not mere vague charges that were made againſt miniſters. They were arraigned of incapacity and miſconduct upon ſpecific facts and circumſtances preſented to the attention of the Houſe in the papers on the table. Thoſe who brought forward and ſupported the reſolutions propoſed, did ſo from feelings of public duty. It was in vain to talk of unanimity in the maintenance of the public cauſe, unleſs we boldly faced our ſituation, and examined all the means by which our ſafety was to be promoted. In this view he conſidered it as of the greateſt importance to examine the conduct of miniſters, both in the negotiation of peace and the courſe they took to preſerve it. No man was leſs than him diſpoſed to conteſt the prerogative which gave to the King the choice of his miniſters; but, on the other hand, it was the duty of the Houſe, both for the ſake of the king and the public, to examine the meaſures of miniſters, and if they did not appear deſerving of confidence, it was competent for them to addreſs the throne for their removal. He concluded with ſaying that he ſhould vote for the reſolution.

Viſcount Melville reſolved to vote for the adjournment. Thoſe who brought forward the reſolutions, admitted that they implied a cenſure equivalent to a motion for an addreſs for their removal. Another claſs were diſpoſed for the preſent to put aſide all queſtions of this ſort; for indeed it was evident, that if the preſent reſolutions, and thoſe connected with them, were to be brought forward night after night, the attention of the Houſe would be wholly occupied with them—a thing which he conſidered of very miſchievous tendency. We now were engaged in war with almoſt the unanimous voice of the country in its favour; and it ſeemed to be equally agreed by all, that unleſs all the ſpirit, energy, and reſources of the country were ſpeedily called forth, and wiſely exerted, the nation would be expoſed to the greateſt dangers. In his opinion, therefore, it was due to the country—it was due to themſelves, to put the country in a ſtate of defence and preparation, inſtead of at preſent waſting their time with diſcuſſions that withdrew their attention from the demands of the public cauſe. He knew the purity of the noble mover of the reſolutions too well to throw the ſmalleſt doubt on his motives on the preſent occaſion. He feared, however, that in the proſecution of motions of cenſure on miniſters, thoſe who promoted them might appear to the country engaged in a ſcramble for place, and a conteſt who ſhould obtain the management of public affairs. At a crisis ſo

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important, when the eyes of the country, when the eyes of France were turned to us to ſee what efforts we were to employ, and what means of defence we were about to prepare, it would be of the moſt pernicious conſequence to ſeem engaged in political warfare and in party conteſts. The firſt object, therefore, ſhould be to conſider how we could beſt draw forth the energy and reſources of the country; and for this reaſon he was anxious to poſtpone the queſtions now brought forward. In another view he was adverſe to the reſolutions. It was admitted that they were equivalent to an addreſs for the removal of miniſters, and ſhould be ſo followed up. But, granting that the Houſe might concur in ſuch a motion, could there be any reaſon to believe that the ſovereign had ceaſed to repoſe confidence in his miniſters? After ſaying who are not fit to be miniſters, are we ready to ſay who are? Are we ready to ſay that, ſhould any intermediate danger or ſtruggle occur, the ſtate ſhall be endangered by a ceſſation, as it were, of all vigorous and ſtable adminiſtration? At the cloſe of Lord North's adminiſtration, many perſons, from different motives, concurred in motions for his removal; but when they came to ſay who ſhould ſucceed, an adminiſtration was formed which ſoon fell to pieces by its own diſunion. Was the Houſe then prepared to ſay who were to be miniſters, in order to ſecure a vigorous adminiſtration, in caſe the preſent were removed? Lord Melville then proceeded to comment upon what had been ſaid reſpecting the Cape of Good Hope. He ſaid he was aſtoniſhed to hear that important ſettlement vilified. If the Cape was ſo worthleſs a poſſeſſion, why were orders firſt ſent to retain it? With reſpect to the value of that poſſeſſion, he entetained a very different opinion from the noble lord; and he had ſeen with regret the unhappy fatality by which it had got into the hands of the enemy. Had we been at peace, he ſhould not have thought himſelf at liberty to expatiate on its value; but now, if the time were come for entering upon the diſcuſſion, he had no heſitation in ſaying, that both in a political and commercial view, the Cape was a poſition of immenſe value, and ſo he believed from the earlieſt times it had always been conſidered in this country.

Lord Hobart pointed out the great injuſtice the Houſe would manifeſt in ſupporting the motion of adjournment. Could he on ſuch an occaſion be influenced by perſonal motives, he might conſent to ſuch a motion, becauſe he was conſcious it would add much to the convenience of the Houſe, as well as to the convenience of miniſters, under the preſent circumſtances of the country. If the miniſters were to be cenſured and diſgraced under the preſent circumſtances, it would naturally follow, that they ought to be diſmiſſed, or the meaſures neceſſary to be purſued for the defence of the country would be enfeebled and rendered inefficient, and of little utility. Conſidering the arduous and difficult taſk that miniſters had to perform ever ſince they came into office, undoubtedly many of their acts might be highly queſtionable; but ſo conſcious was he, that the more their conduct was examined the more it would be found that every ſtep they had taken had been taken with great anxiety, with great caution, and with a moſt earneſt endeavour to avoid the depriving the country of the continuance of the bleſſings of peace. His lordſhip was ſo conſcious of this, and at the ſame time, that their whole conduct would be ſcrupulouſly inquired into, that whenever inquiry had been talked of and menaced, he had always declared that they were ready to meet it. He had never ſaid he was anxious to court it, but prepared to meet it; now, therefore, as motions of cenſure, amounted in ſubſtance to a deſire of the removal of miniſters, he earneſtly entreated the Houſe not to vote the adjournment propoſed, but to go on with the debate, and decide upon the reſolutions, reſpecting which they had already heard ſo much that day, and, no doubt, would hear much more.

With reſpect to what had fallen from the noble viſcount oppoſite to him, relative to the Cape of Good Hope, he would repeat to the noble viſcount what he had ſaid in his abſence, that he did not think half ſo highly reſpecting the value of the Cape, as that noble viſcount did.

Lord Carysfort adverted to the conduct of miniſters, and cenſured it as having prevented that Houſe from exerciſing its conſtitutional privileges and rights. His Majeſty had the excluſive prerogative of making peace and war, in common with every other ſovereign; but there was another thing by which he was diſtinguiſhed from all other ſovereigns on earth, and that was the appeal to the voice of his people by conſulting parliament. The ſilence of miniſters had not only prevented parliament from exerciſing its conſtitutional privileges, but had very materially injured the people. Nothing could more have facilitated the bringing about of peace, than the ſtatement of ſome particular point as the cauſe of war. The point was not communicated to parliament, for the very good reaſon that miniſters themſelves had not fixed upon it. He concluded by declaring his approbation of the motion of cenſure upon his Majeſt's miniſters.

Lord Grenville ſaid, that not to riſe on this queſtion would be to ſhrink from his duty, and diſgracefully to deſert the cauſe he had maintained. Even if it had been in his power to remain ſilent on this occaſion, what had fallen from ſeveral noble lords would have rendered ſuch a courſe impoſſible. It had been contended that his Majeſty's miniſters have a right to complain of the manner in which the preſent ſubject had been treated, alledging that it was in our power, who thus accuſe them, to have brought

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all the points to an iſſue when the great queſtion as to the expediency of the war was diſcuſſed in that Houſe. Was there, his lordſhip aſked, any thing in this courſe of proceeding which any friend of his country need be aſhamed to avow? Was it not, on the contrary, the plain and manifeſt method of reconciling what noble lords might feel their duty towards miniſters with a due conſideration of the arduous and critical circumſtances in which the country was placed? Another motive for this courſe was, that when a general diſſatisfaction at the conduct of miniſters had been intimated, thoſe who had expreſſed that opinion had been called on to ſpecify the particulars of their charge, that miniſters might know in what points they were accuſed. Yielding to this requiſition, the preſent mode of bringing on the queſtion had been adopted; and would it, he aſked the Houſe, be ſaid, with any juſtice or candour, that thoſe whoſe duty placed them in the ſituation of accuſers, by following ſuggeſtions thus made, ſhewed any diſpoſition to take advantage of parliamentary form, to forward any objects they might have in view? On the contrary, did they not by this proceeding diſcharge a very painful duty, as much as poſſible, in conformity to the feelings and opinions of others? He and other noble lords, who thought as he did in reſpect to the conduct of his Majeſty's ſervants, had frequently expreſſed their opinion of it to the Houſe, that it was not in general ſuch as to entitle them to any confidence in the trying and arduous ſituation in which the country was placed. On theſe occaſions, the anſwer, as he had ſaid, uniformly was, do not hover in generalities---bring forth ſpecific charges, that his Majeſty's miniſters may know what they have to anſwer. We accept the challenge; we produce our ſpecific charges. Then we are told that all theſe points might have been brought to iſſue, when miniſters themſelves brought forward the general queſtion, as to the exiſtence and policy of the war. We, on the contrary, were anxious to give no interruption to that general queſtion, affecting, as its deciſion did, the great and vital intereſt of the country. This queſtion diſpoſed of, we now, from the very papers produced by miniſters in their own juſtification, produce thoſe ſpecific charges we were by their defenders called upon to do. If the other mode alluded to by the noble and learned lord were really thought to be deſirable, they might on the motion of any noble lord be adopted. It was now ſaid, do not bring forward your charges, but make a motion tending to criminate miniſters, or referring the whole to a committee. At the preſent moment we wiſh to diſcuſs the reſolutions brought forward by the noble earl, as being moſt adapted to the wiſhes hitherto expreſſed. Then we are told that miniſters can defend themſelves better in a committee. If ſo, the noble and learned lord knows that any lord is competent to turn the form of a debate into a committee. Such had been the conduct of his Majeſty's miniſters ever ſince the concluſion of the Preliminary Treaty, that his lordſhip thought the honour of the Houſe and intereſt of the public were equally concerned in forwarding the inveſtigation to which the motion led. Notwithſtanding the wide ſcope which had been alledged as a ground of complaint, thoſe who accuſed his Majeſty's miniſters were ready to go into the ſubject charge by charge. It could by no means be ſaid, that it was they who moved the queſtion of adjournment. This was entirely with the adverſe party, and ſo was in no wiſe imputable to them. The particulars of the preſent motion were two facts, and a conſequence that manifeſtly, when theſe were eſtabliſhed, reſulted from them. The inference or juſt reſult from theſe was not, as had been ſtated, that an addreſs was to be propoſed for the removal of his Majeſty's ſervants. All that the inferences went to eſtabliſh was, that his Majeſty's miniſters wanted the confidence of that Houſe.

His lordſhip contended that the diſcuſſion of the conduct of miniſters involved a great conſtitutional principle, as to juſt intercourſe and proper communication between the government and parliament of the country. The noble lord near him (Lord Melville) had admitted a variety of opinions, that ſome had praiſed their conduct, and others ſaid, in ſome particulars, it required apology and explanation. The charge, in general, againſt miniſters was, that, not by accident, *but by a deliberate ſyſtematic conduct*, they precluded parliament from that knowledge of public events which was indiſputably neceſſary to the performance of its duty. As to this point, the charge of not communicating eſſential information to government, one noble and learned lord (Lord Ellenborough) had ſaid, of all the charges, this was the moſt trivial and unfounded. He had given a challenge to point out when miniſters ſhould have come down, and what they ſhould have communicated; which challenge his lordſhip accepted, in ſpite of the danger of including himſelf in the charge of conſummate ignorance. He would undertake to ſay diſtinctly, when they ſhould have come down to parliament, what they ſhould have communicated, and the miſchief ariſing from their not having done ſo. Communications of this kind were indiſpenſible, he contended, to the juſt correſpondence and conſtitutional underſtanding between the executive government and parliament. He might refer, he ſaid, in inveſtigating this ſubject, to the miniſterial defence of the preliminary articles, in ſupporting which miniſters declared there was nothing in the perſon who ruled over France, or in the circumſtances of the times, that ſhould render the peace leſs likely to continue than any that ever was made. He would, however, commence his ob-

ſervations where miniſters were inclined to make their ſtand; namely, at the Definitive Treaty. The abolition of the Spaniſh priories, and ſubſequent deſtruction of the Spaniſh langue at Malta, he had reaſon to believe took place before the ſigning of the definitive treaty. He believed this event took place in March 1802, whereas in May following, miniſters contended, that peace in all its articles was practicable. The definitive treaty was now ſaid to be an experiment; if ſo, it muſt mean an experiment leading to peace, and to aſcertain whether the great ſacrifices we then made were likely to produce the objects for which they were oſtenſibly made. As ſoon as peace, in ſo material an article as Malta, became impracticable, it was the duty of miniſters to ſay ſo. When the Houſe went up to his Majeſty with the addreſs on the definitive treaty, miniſters were in duty bound to diſcloſe the impracticability of executing the treaty, ariſing from the then known abolition of the Spaniſh priories, at the inſtance of France. Not doing ſo was putting a deluſion on parliament, and ſuffering them to act and think on a ſuppoſition of facts not true. This happened the 14th or 15th of May. The ſeſſion laſted ſix weeks after, yet no communication took place, and parliament were ſuffered to proceed in confidence in making reductions, and miniſters themſelves went on executing the treaties. The ſeſſion ended on the ninth of June. In the ſpeech made on that occaſion by the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, it is obvious he heard nothing of the impracticability of executing the treaty, as he ſpeaks of peace, and thanks his Majeſty for giving the people repoſe and ſafety. His Majeſty's ſpeech on the concluſion of the ſeſſion had ſimilar expreſſions. Who would think that at the very moment when his lordſhip was ſpeaking, his Majeſty's miniſters were in poſſeſſion of facts that rendered peace impoſſible. One noble lord had ſaid that ſuch communication was unconſtitutional; whereas his lordſhip maintained, that it was a public principle, and that in no circumſtances of the country, any way ſimilar, had the fulleſt information been withheld. For the laſt thirty years, connections with the continent had been more rare than formerly. He had always condemned this policy, though others might differ. But in this time, and during the reigns of George I. and II. communications from the king to parliament were matter of ordinary intercourſe. In the reign of William and Anne ſtill more ſo. The latter ſometimes had aſked the opinion of parliament as to pending treaties. From theſe inſtances, his lordſhip ſaid, that frequent and particular communications to parliament, were ſanctioned both by principle and practice. Now, ſo little had his Majeſty's preſent miniſters treated parliament with that conſtitutional reſpect, that ſo late as the opening of the preſent ſeſſion not one word was ſaid that any thing had occurred, or exiſted, that threatened the breach of the treaty, though by the papers it was evident every point of diſpute, except one, had then aroſe. As to the political relations of France, his lordſhip was at a loſs to conceive what inſtances of great violence and aggreſſion France could be guilty of to the powers of the continent, without affecting our domeſtic intereſts and ſecurity. The particulars of thoſe aggreſſions are Elba, Parma, Placentia, Piedmont, Italy, Germany, Egypt, Malta, and Switzerland: he ſhould not aſk, why France was ſuffered to annex Piedmont without any interference on the part of his Majeſty's miniſters; he ſhould ſay nothing of their conduct with reſpect to Italy and Germany, although he believed, that there were many better opportunities for ſounding the Emperor of Germany and the other powers of Europe, than the affairs of Switzerland afforded. As to the arrangements in Germany, he thought, that beſides the diſgrace which the country ſuſtained, by ſuffering the German dominions of his Majeſty to be the object of violence and ſeizure, the arrangements were in one reſpect *directly contrary to the treaty of Amiens*, which ſtipulated a complete indemnity for the prince of Orange in Germany. The inadequate proviſion which was aſſigned him, was a direct violation and breach of that treaty: and yet it does not appear, that there was any interference with reſpect to this breach of the treaty. As to Switzerland, there was an interference; but what ſort of interference was it? We ſent our envoy to Vienna, to inquire whether the emperor could ſpare an army to march from Vienna to Switzerland, to protect that country from the French; but ſo it happened, that before our envoy got to Vienna, the French were completely in poſſeſſion of Switzerland. However right the interference of his Majeſty's miniſters was in its principle, he could not diſcover much wiſdom in it, when it was urged in a manner that it was almoſt impoſſible it could ſucceed. They had remonſtrated with France, but in ſo mild a tone, that it rather appeared as if they were intreating the compaſſion of the French for the poor innocent Swiſs. He thought that perhaps Piedmont would have been a ſubject of interference, for which we ſhould be more likely to obtain the co-operation of other powers. It was another conſideration, whether it would not have been much better to have interfered in June than in October. In June, our ſailors were not diſcharged, and we had 120,000 ſoldiers, which have ſince been diſbanded. Perhaps this was the time we could have interfered with the beſt proſpect of allies, and with a ſtrong fleet and army of our own. But in the armament for Switzerland in October, his Majeſty's miniſters, without any communication to parliament, put the country into a ſtate of war. They ſent out orders to retain the Cape of Good Hope, which by treaty

was to have been ceded to the Dutch garriſon, who were ready to take poſſeſſion of it. In this inſtance miniſters ventured a direct violation of the treaty, without communicating this ſtep to parliament, and afterwards counter-orders put the country again in a ſtate of peace. As to the queſtion of Malta, if the French official correſpondence is to be believed, miniſters have been guilty of a diſingenuous ſuppreſſion of a material note, which accompanied their *projet*; they knew, at the time they ſigned the treaty of Amiens, that Ruſſia would not guarantee that article of the treaty, it being contrary to the wiſhes of Ruſſia, and to a previous ſtipulation between England and Ruſſia. Knowing, then, that Ruſſia would not guarantee it in the terms of the article, they affect to ſolicit the guarantee of Ruſſia. He thought the charge of ſuppreſſing a material note to deceive parliament, (although made by M. Talleyrand) was ſo ſerious as to require from the noble ſecretary a ſpecific anſwer. The deſigns of the French government upon Egypt were known long before Sebaſtiani's report; they were the common converſation of Paris, long previous thereto. It might be proper for this country to interfere upon the ſubject; it might be proper to arm; but miniſters might have either negotiated or armed, without ſending down to parliament that meſſage which cauſed the ruin of ſo many private families. The object of the meſſage was ſaid to be to call out the ſupplementary militia; but was there no way of arming but that? Might not the regiments of the line have been recruited and our naval ſtrength conſiderably improved, without having recourſe to a meaſure which appeared like a declaration of war in the firſt inſtance? He concluded by oppoſing the adjournment, and expreſſing a with that the reſolutions ſhould meet that diſcuſſion which was due to their importance.

The Lord Chancellor (Lord Eldon) could by no means give his aſſent to the motion of adjournment, and conceived it would be a ſtigma on his character were he to do ſo. What would be the ſentiments of the country? what opinion would the firſt conſul entertain, if in the firſt debate after the breaking out of the war, a kind of declaration—not a poſitive one to be ſure, but a negative declaration—were to be made, that miniſters were to retain their ſituations, or to be truſted, only to ſuch an extent as it might be convenient to truſt them? If ſuch high principles actuated noble lords, as were avowed, it was their duty to perſiſt; but if the propoſitions did not appear to the Houſe to be fair, it was its duty to reſiſt them. Motions tending to degrade miniſters, if thoſe miniſters be intended to conduct the war, muſt be moſt miſchievous, not only by embarraſſing government, but by infuſing into the people a ſuſpicion that government was unequal to its duty. His lordſhip here commented upon the reſolutions, and referred to the circumſtances of the peace; then went over the ſeveral grounds already noticed, and replied to all the arguments urged by Lord Grenville on the events which had happened ſince the definitive treaty, and refuted the charge of miniſters having been guilty of a breach of duty, in the particular inſtance of their long ſilence on the ſubject of the late diſcuſſions; they had followed the practice of former times, and mentioned the circumſtances preceding the commencement of the late war, the diſcuſſions relative to which had commenced in May, and there was no communication to parliament till November. In the affair of the Ruſſian armament, the interval was ſtill longer. He truſted the conduct of miniſters reſted on no improper vindication; for, conſcious of having done the beſt they could for their country, they had no apprehenſions from appealing to its juſtice; and abſurd indeed would it be in them to conſent to a motion of adjournment on the preſent queſtion, which would only ſerve to paralize their exertions in the arduous cauſe to which they were now pledged, and thus furniſh a new pretence for reviving at the end of a month or ſix weeks, a motion for their cenſure and removal.

Lord Mulgrave vindicated himſelf againſt the charge of injuſtice and abſurdity, which, had it come from another noble and learned lord, who ſometimes *cuts and laſhes* like a huſſar or a coſſack, with no diſcriminatory hand, he ſhould not have minded ſo much as coming from the noble and learned lord, whoſe known mildneſs of manners and character rendered the charge the more ſevere. He ſaid, his motive for moving the queſtion of adjournment was not as a ſhield to miniſters, but to the country, againſt apparent diſunion, and becauſe, as there were many points in the conduct of miniſters, which he could not conſcientiouſly approve; and therefore, as he could not vote againſt the whole of the original motion, he preferred moving the adjournment.

The Earl of Warwick, after allowing to miniſters all poſſible credit for their private virtues and inflexible integrity, did not think that the amiableneſs of their diſpoſition was combined with talent ſufficient to guide the affairs of the country at this difficult criſis. Their lordſhips then divided, when the numbers appeared, for the adjournment eighteen, againſt it one hundred and ſix. Majority eighty-eight. The Houſe again divided on the previous queſtion, when the numbers were, for the previous queſtion, ninety-ſix, againſt it fourteen.

This debate was reſumed on the ſixth day, on the order of the day being read for *the additional reſolutions* propoſed by Earl Fitzwilliam, for THE CENSURE OF MINISTERS.

His lordſhip adverted to the arguments that had been

been uſed on the ſide of adminiſtration, on occaſion of the former debate, and combated them. So far from giving ſatisfaction to his mind, they had only more firmly impreſſed it with the conviction, that the conduct of miniſtry had been ſuch as juſtly merited the cenſure which it was the object of his reſolutions to fix upon it. He concluded his obſervations on the queſtion, and the arguments which had been adduced againſt his propoſitions, by declaring, that the effect of the whole upon his mind had been ſuch as induced him to perſevere in his former intentions of ſubmitting the additional reſolutions to the conſideration of the Houſe. Theſe reſolutions were in ſubſtance as follow:—"*That no firm and adequate repreſentations had been made by his Majeſty's miniſters relative to the ſyſtem of aggreſſion, in which France had conſtantly perſevered ſince the concluſion of the Treaty of Amiens. That his Majeſty's miniſters had, by theſe means, neglected the opportunity of bringing France to ſuch an explanation as would either have prevented the renewal of the war, or obliged her to diſcloſe her real intentions before the forces of this country had been to any conſiderable degree diſbanded. And that their conduct had proved of the utmoſt injury and detriment to the nation. Theſe were, that the tenth article of the Treaty of Amiens was conſtructed in ſuch a way, as rendered it incapable of being executed:—that in theſe circumſtances miniſters had neglected to enter, till too late into a diſcuſſion with France, relative to the beſt mode of applying a remedy to this defect; and the conſequence had been, that the queſtion how it was to be adjuſted had, by theſe means, produced another rupture between the two countries.*

Reſolved, "*That it was the duty of his Majeſty's miniſters to have made early and ſpirited remonſtrances againſt all thoſe acts which conſtitued a ſeries of aggreſſions, inſults, &c. on the part of France, and by ſuch repreſentations to have endeavoured to aſcertain, whether their courſe and progreſs could have been arreſted without the neceſſity of recurring to force of arms. That before the determination of the French government was aſcertained, they ſhould not have proceeded to a reduction of our forces; and that the neglect of ſuch duties on the part of his Majeſty's miniſters, was injurious to the public intereſts.*"

The duke of Clarence remarked, that in whatever ſhape this motion had been introduced, he could not hel conſidering it as a motion expreſsly made for the removal of his Majeſty's miniſters. He roſe, becauſe he wiſhed to ſay, that though he differed completely from the noble Earl, yet he gave him credit for his conſiſtency, as his motion was in the ſpirit, and conſtituted a part, of the ſyſtem which he had uniformly purſued from the commencement of the French revolution. There were many parts of that ſyſtem in which he had cordially agreed, and which the royal duke highly approved, but the continuation of the war was not in the number. Upon that point certainly he did differ from the noble Earl, as he always thought that no opportunity ſhould be loſt to put an end to the horrors of war, and that the chance which the ſtate of things appeared to afford for the attainment of that end, ſhould not have been rejected. Miniſters, therefore, did right in making peace, notwithſtanding their expectations had been fruſtrated. How far indeed they ought to have agreed to the Definitive Treaty, is matter of ſerious conſideration. That is a queſtion which would involve the groſs miſconduct of the former adminiſtration, which brought the country into the ſtate which the preſent miniſters found it. On that ſubject he was ready to go into detail. Upon that ground he was ready to meet any noble lord from the firſt act, namely, from the embarkment of the Guards for Holland in 1793, down to the day on which the preſent adminiſtration came into power. Much ſtreſs had been laid upon the difficulties in the way of the execution of the tenth article of the Treaty of Amiens, reſpecting Malta. Miniſters did ſay they were anxious to ſecure the independence of that iſland, and that ſuch was the object of the ſtipulations contained in the article. Surely, then, France muſt have felt the ſame conſciouſneſs when ſhe made the treaty, and that we wanted guarantees of Malta, in order that we might call upon them ſhould ſhe attempt to violate its independence. The preſent miniſters had been accuſed for reducing our force. He did not admit that they did reduce it lower than was neceſſary for the ſafety and intereſt of the country. Suppoſing, however, the charge to be founded in fact, it ſhewed that miniſters were actuated by a pacific ſpirit, and repelled the charge which the enemy have brought againſt them, of wiſhing to renew the war. He had thought the peace at any time a matter of experiment, and in ſuch a ſituation, it was impoſſible to know what the amount of the force ſhould be. The parliament met, and there was one paſſage in his Majeſty's ſpeech, which he owned gave him great pleaſure. His highneſs did not remember the exact words, but he recollected their import well. It ſaid, "France ſhall not aggrandize herſelf; ſhe ſhall not purſue a ſyſtem of violence and encroachment with impunity, and without reſtraint. We ſhall be prepared for our defence and for our reſiſtance to that ſyſtem, ſhould ſhe attempt to perſevere in it." Under theſe circumſtances, the army eſtimates were voted to an amount that had been held ſufficient for the eſtabliſhment in any war in which the country had been ever before engaged. So far then for the charge of a too great reduction in the army. With regard to the navy, there were many opinions, and his highneſs owned he had not been without forming a judgment upon

upon it. There was one circumſtance, which it will be obſerved, is peculiar to our navy. We are a great commercial nation, and the manning of the navy muſt greatly interfere with our trade. A ſailor's life is a profeſſion, and therefore it is not ſo eaſy to procure ſailors as marines and ſoldiers, who can learn their buſineſs in a ſhort time. So early as the firſt week in Auguſt, the marines were reduced; but ſtill there was a large eſtabliſhment of them. The army was alſo conſiderably reduced; yet ſtill on the eighth of March, it was in as good a ſtate as in the time of any preceding war. Now what was the conduct of miniſters at this time? Upon the 17th of October, they ſent out orders to retain the Cape. This was done in conſequence of the conduct of France towards Switzerland; and though, his highneſs confeſſed, in the November following, another order was ſent out for its evacuation, yet what did this conduct ſhew? Was it not ſaying to France, we are not afraid of you; you muſt conduct yourſelves as you ought, or dread our reſiſtance? "For," exclaimed his highneſs, "my lords, we muſt deſpiſe the boaſt that England, ſingle-handed, is not able to contend with France. England, in fact, never beat France to ſo much advantage, as when ſhe fought her ſingle-handed. —The man who ſays otherwiſe, muſt know himſelf, in his heart, to be a liar, or he muſt be groſsly deficient in hiſtorical information." Now, coupling his Majeſty's ſpeech with the date of the order, he thought it a fair policy to ſay to France, as they implied, we are ready to meet you; but at the ſame time, you ſee in us our ardent and ſincere diſpoſition for peace. On theſe grounds, therefore, he felt himſelf diſpoſed to negative the propoſition of the noble Earl.

Lord Minto declared that he did not conſider the peace a hollow truce, as ſome were pleaſed to call it, nor an armiſtice, but a continuation of the war. France had acquired an immenſe acceſſion of power, which entirely changed the relative ſituation of the two countries, ſince the time of the ratification of the Treaty of Amiens; and, therefore, had the terms been even practicable, we ſhould be juſtified in inſiſting upon even a better ſecurity for the independence of Malta, than that ſtipulated by the treaty, if ſuch could be obtained. With this acceſſion of power on the part of France, and her hoſtile deſigns openly avowed and confeſſed, it ſurely would not be contended that we were bound to remain ſatisfied with the ſecurity which might have been held ſufficient before France had obtained ſo great an acceſſion of power.

Of the importance of the iſland of Malta, he thought it unneceſſary to ſay much. If ever it was of importance it might be peculiarly ſo now, when ſo many of the hoſtile objects of France were within the Mediterranean, and her influence ſo great over the powers that border upon that ſea. To defeat her views in the Mediterranean, we muſt have a ſuperior fleet in it, but that could not be done without the poſſeſſion of Malta. Formerly we had the ports of Leghorn or Naples open to us, but that was an accommodation upon which we could not in future rely. Without, therefore, ſome ſuch place as Malta for ſafety, ſhelter, and refitting, even a victory muſt prove fatal, as it was not to be expected that our ſhips could triumph without ſuffering ſome injury, and conſequently wanting repairs. A war for Malta, he therefore conſidered a war of policy and juſtice, but he could not be content to leave it there. He ſhould place it upon a higher ground; he meant the enormous aggrandiſement of France ſince the Treaty of Amiens. In that interval, ſhe had acquired Elba, Parma, Placentia, and Switzerland. By this poſſeſſion, and the Italian Republic, France had extended herſelf beyond the Alps to the Adige on the one ſide, and on the other to the naked frontier of Auſtria, the old friend of England, and the rival of France. He diſapproved, therefore, of the Treaty of Amiens, becauſe, in the firſt place, it did not abridge her power. On the contrary, it conſolidated and confirmed it, and threw into her already heavy ſcale, thoſe very poſſeſſions of which we had diveſted ourſelves. In the ſecond place, it left her at liberty to purſue the ſyſtem of aggrandiſement in which ſhe has never relaxed for a moment. It enabled her to ſet up that ſtrange new-fangled doctrine, that becauſe this is a country ſurrounded by the ſea, and poſſeſſing a powerful fleet and flouriſhing commerce, it muſt have no connection with the *terra firma* of the continent. He conſidered the conduct of miniſters as a ſanction for the political excommunication of the country from the nations of Europe. They ſigned the preliminaries at the very time he was acquiring, and not with very great diſpatch, the Italian Republic. They did this, and yet we never heard of any remonſtrance upon the ſubject. But it muſt be confeſſed they were not totally paſſive. They ſent out Mr. Moore to Switzerland, upon a private miſſion, which was the very line a timid and feeble ſtate would adopt towards a powerful neighbour. He ſaid the Treaty of Amiens had now expired; it lived only in memory. He ſhould be diſappointed, if all our efforts and exertions ſhould be only for the ſake of one article in the treaty. He hoped there would be a negotiation as ſoon as a ſeaſonable opportunity offered; but he hoped and truſted that it would not be upon the baſis of the Treaty of Amiens.

Lord Groſvenor ſaid, that in his opinion, no war had ever been conducted with more ſpirit and ability than the laſt. He was ſurpriſed the noble Earl ſhould have again brought forward his motion, after noble lords had ſo decidedly expreſſed their opinions on the ſame ſubject on a former night. Some

noble lords might have doubts reſpecting the propriety of ſome parts of the conduct of his Majeſty's miniſters, though they might think the whole not reprehenſible: now, if any of the particular points in the reſolutions before their lordſhips, ſhould be thoſe on which any of their lordſhips ſhould doubt, upon the noble Earl's own views, he thought the motion not likely to anſwer his intention. He thought nothing of the kind ſhould at the preſent time be urged, as it muſt tend to cramp the exertions of miniſters.

Lord Bolton was among thoſe perſons who did not wholly approve of the conduct of adminiſtration. His Majeſty's miniſters ſhould be content with the vote obtained on a former occaſion; there were circumſtances which precluded him from giving that total approbation which government muſt deſire. At the time the Treaty of Amiens was made, there was a general wiſh for a return of the bleſſings of peace; ſo far the treaty was a gain; but even the failure of that treaty was a gain; for it had taught us that our own exertions were to be our guarantee; and he acquieſced with a noble lord on the other ſide, that upon them we ſhould depend. He, for one, was glad France did not accept the propoſitions, which it appeared our government had made reſpecting Malta.

Lord De Dunſtanville ſtated, that as Piedmont was in a ſtate of military *arrondiſſement*, before the firſt conſul annexed Piedmont to the French territory, it made no great difference; as to the French troops invading Switzerland, miniſters had remonſtrated with the French government upon it, and done their duty to prevent the occurrence, by an offer of pecuniary aſſiſtance. Upon the French troops not evacuating Batavia, they had ſent an order to retain the Cape. His lordſhip voted againſt the propoſitions.

Lord Clifton (Earl Darnley) roſe briefly to ſtate, that he wiſhed the reſolutions had not been purſued, after the ſenſe of the Houſe had been taken upon the firſt, and the whole tendency of them ſo fully debated. With regard to the firſt, he did not object to it, but he could not vote for the other two; nor did he at all approve any thing that bore the appearance of *a factious oppoſition* to miniſters; up to the making of the peace, he thought they acted perfectly right, and had his cordial ſupport. Some parts of their conduct he did not quite approve, but he would always diſcriminate, and not oppoſe all their meaſures becauſe he diſliked one.

Lord Carysfort wiſhed to call back the attention of the Houſe to what was the real object in diſcuſſion. His lordſhip followed the order in which they ſtood enumerated in the three reſolutions which had been read; and the firſt of which had been moved by his noble friend, the noble earl near him; as the laſt of theſe reſolutions turned upon the ceſſion of the Cape of Good Hope, in conſequence of the order of the 17th of November, after they had ſent out an order to retain it, dated the 16th of October. He argued at ſome length on the inconſiſtency of ſuch conduct, and laid particular ſtreſs on the criminality of it. He concluded with declaring, that he ſhould vote for the reſolutions, the object of which was to paſs a cenſure on his Majeſty's miniſters.

Lord Hobart obſerved, that in fact no reduction had been made by miniſters, except of the cavalry. The only force that was obliged to be diſbanded, was the militia, which muſt always neceſſarily be the caſe when peace was made. The fenſible regiments alſo were diſbanded on the ſame account, as well as thoſe corps which had been raiſed to ſerve only to the end of the war, under the authority of various acts of parliament. A larger number of ſhips were kept in commiſſion than had been done during any former peace. His lordſhip produced an account of ſhips of the line, ſloops, &c. in commiſſion, in the years 1764, 1784, and in the preſent year 1803, from which it appeared, that thoſe in commiſſion in the year 1784, exceeded the number of thoſe in commiſſion in the year 1764 very conſiderably; but that thoſe in commiſſion in 1803, exceeded the number of thoſe in commiſſion in 1784, ſo much more conſiderably ſo, as almoſt to double that number; miniſters had not therefore diſarmed the country in the manner, and to the extent, with which they had been charged by the noble lord oppoſite to him. His lordſhip then proceeded to take notice of what had been ſaid about the inconſiſtency of their conduct, in reſpect to the orders ſent out by them, October the 16th, to retain the Cape of Good Hope, and that another order to make the ceſſion of it to the Dutch was ſent out on the 17th of November. His lordſhip remarked, that it was neceſſary to advert to circumſtances under which theſe orders had been ſent out by his Majeſty's miniſters. They had been applied to by deputies from Switzerland, for the aſſiſtance of this country, when the firſt conſul menaced Switzerland, and threatened that he would pour in a conſiderable number of French troops, in order to give it a free conſtitution. In conſequence of the application, miniſters cauſed a remonſtrance on the ſubject to be preſented to the French government, and at the ſame time ſent Mr. Moore into Switzerland to ſee in what ſituation affairs were there; and to offer the Swiſs pecuniary aſſiſtance, provided he ſhould find them able and willing to fight for their liberty, and defend their conſtitution. On his arrival, Mr. Moore found that the Diet, thinking themſelves unable to reſiſt the overwhelming power of France, had determined to yield, and the French troops were actually in poſſeſſion of Switzerland. To our remonſtrance the firſt conſul gave no anſwer. Beſides

ſides this act of aggreſſion and violence, the firſt conſul had, in breach of the Treaty of Amiens, ſent more French forces into the Batavian Provinces, which, by the treaty, he had engaged to evacuate, and withdraw the French troops altogether. Alarmed at this extraordinary conduct, his Majeſty's miniſters thought it their duty to ſend out orders, not merely to the Cape of Good Hope, but to the Weſt Indies, to their officers entruſted with the care of the different iſlands; and which, (by the Treaty of Amiens, were to be ceded to the French and the Dutch), to retain them reſpectively. Unfortunately thoſe orders arrived in the Weſt Indies, and at Demerara, Surinam, &c. too late to anſwer the deſired purpoſe, thoſe iſlands having been already ceded. The holding the Cape of Good Hope then became a very different conſideration from what it would have been, if they ſhould have had the good fortune to have been able to detain the whole of the ceſſions which had been ſtipulated for under the expreſs agreement, that Batavia ſhould be evacuated, and the French troops marched out of it. Upon conſultation, therefore, it was deemed proper to comply with the Treaty of Amiens reſpecting it, and hence it was that miniſters thought it their duty to ſend out the order of the 17th of November, 1802, to cede it to the Dutch. With regard to the value ſet upon the Cape of Good Hope, he would again repeat, that he did not hold it in equal eſtimation with many of their lordſhips. If he was aſked, whether he thought it of no value? Certainly he ſhould not go the length of anſwering in the affirmative. It had its value undoubtedly, but not to the extent that other noble lords attached to it. In the firſt place, it was not neceſſary that ſhips coming from or ſailing to India ſhould touch at it, and he had been informed from thoſe beſt acquainted upon the ſubject, that no French cruizers could derive any advantage from it. The uſual and the beſt practice of our Indiamen, was to keep at leaſt the diſtance of thirty leagues from the Cape in their voyages to and from India. In the next place, it was to be conſidered that Cape Town could hardly be deemed a port; during the favourable ſeaſon of ſix months in the year, ſhips might lay in Table Bay; but during the ſevere and tempeſtuous ſeaſon, ſhips could only lay in Falſe Bay, from which, on account of the boiſterous ſea, the worſt of any part of the ocean, no man of war or cruizer could put to ſea. But another conſideration was the immenſe charge the Cape put us to, while it was in our own hands. It coſt this country no leſs than one million and a half, whereas it would not coſt us above four hundred thouſand pounds to ſend out convoys with the ſeveral fleets of Indiamen which ſailed from our ports at home to India, and from India home again.

Lord Grenville ſtated, that the object of the reſolutions was to infer, that it was the duty of his Majeſty's miniſters to have remonſtrated with the French government for the aggreſſions they had committed; and he contended, that in not having done ſo, their conduct had been highly criminal. He argued againſt that ſyſtem of acquieſcence in inſult, which characteriſed the preſent government. His lordſhip was of opinion the reſolution ſhould have been taken ſeparately. He recapitulated the charges which they contained, obſerving that it was the duty of his Majeſty's miniſters to have followed up, by ſtrong remonſtrances and repreſentations, the acts of violence of the French republic.

The ſecond charge in the reſolutions was partly a proof of the former one, attended with an aſſertion, that if the aggreſſions of France had been followed up with becoming ſpirit, it would have been productive of a proper anſwer; or, at leaſt, if that anſwer had been contemptuouſly refuſed, the ſilence of the French government might have been conſtrued into a declaration of war. It certainly would have been ſo conſtrued by any government than ſuch a one as at preſent directed the affairs of this country. He then adverted to the arreſt of Captain d'Auvergne in the ſtreets of Paris; a more groſs affront was, he ſaid, never offered to any government, than that was; yet this flagrant retention of an officer wearing the king's uniform had never been reſented, even by the ſlighteſt remonſtrance.

The noble lord called the conſideration of the Houſe to the object for which the war was undertaken. Was this great and illuſtrious nation, he obſerved, to involve itſelf in a war on the diſpute reſpecting the paltry iſland of Lampedoſa. If war had been undertaken to vindicate the honour and dignity of our gracious and eſteemed ſovereign, that would have been a cauſe of ſufficient magnitude; if war had taken place to eſpouſe the part of Holland, or the people of Switzerland, we ſhould then have been juſtified; but their lordſhips would ſee that ſomething more than Malta, Lampedoſa, and the different cauſes at preſent urged by miniſters, was neceſſary to prove the grounds of the conteſt was likely to enſue. If the Cape was ſpoken of, it would be obvious that miniſters had violated the treaty of Amiens by not giving it up at the appointed time. On the 17th of Auguſt the troops were to have left that place. On the 16th of November we find the Dutch troops there, and the Engliſh in poſſeſſion, and if a battle had taken place in conſequence, many lives would have been loſt, and miniſters would have added one more charge to the many brought againſt them. The noble lord concluded with remarking, that the importance of the conteſt we were now engaged in, had been kept back from public obſervation by miniſters, whoſe meaſures, ſince the treaty of Amiens, had led to hoſtilities in conſequence of making an inſecure peace.

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The Lord Chancellor expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at the expreſſions made uſe of by a noble lord, who had advanced opinions reſpecting the conduct of miniſters, which he certainly could not wiſh to ſee realized. It was well known that at the end of the laſt war, a war which the noble lord conſidered as juſt and neceſſary, the people in general were averſe to it, from not knowing the principles upon which it was maintained, and the neceſſity there was for ſupporting it. When ſuch was the wiſh for peace among all ranks of ſociety, his Majeſty's miniſters made peace, and during the difficulties they had to ſtruggle with, they afforded ſatisfaction to the people and relief to the country. The object at ſuch a time as the preſent was not to inveſtigate the conduct of miniſters, or to ſay they did right or wrong upon former occaſions, but to unanimouſly join in defence of the common good.

After going through the three propoſitions, and anſwering the charges imputed to his Majeſty's miniſters, his lordſhip went into a courſe of general reaſoning on the whole view of their conduct in firſt making the peace, and in ſince uſing their moſt anxious endeavours to preſerve the continuance of it to their country; and he contended, that the verdict of their lordſhips of *guilty*, or *not guilty*, muſt be pronounced upon the whole of it, and not upon parts picked out, as are ſubject, perhaps, to the charge of being erroneous, or not the very beſt mode of proceeding that might have been adopted under leſs difficult or leſs arduous circumſtances. He ſaid he perfectly agreed that the preſent was a war to check and reſtrain the ambitious ſpirit of aggrandizement, aggreſſion, inſult, and violence of the French government, which had by a ſyſtem of offenſive and injurious conduct ſhowed that no country could repoſe in ſafety till that ſyſtem was put an end to. It was a war at once juſt and neceſſary, a war for the preſervation of our deareſt rights and intereſts, to ſecure to us our glorious conſtitution, and all the bleſſings which it held out to us, which rendered the Britiſh people the envy and the admiration of all Europe.

His lordſhip adverted to the caſe of Capt. d'Auvergne, who, he ſaid, was not a ſubject of this kingdom, and that conſequently his caſe ſtood on very different grounds from that on which the caſe of a ſubject of this country would do. He alſo denied that his Majeſty's miniſters had any information of Colonel Sebaſtiani's conduct in Egypt, till his report was publiſhed, and they received a diſpatch from General Stuart, informing them of Sebaſtiani's conduct in Egypt, with reſpect to his application to him (General Stuart) as to the non-evacuation of Egypt.

Earl Spencer ſaid, that having liſtened with the greateſt attention to the arguments of the noble and learned lord on the woolſack, and being perfectly conſcious, that no man was more capable of defending the conduct of his Majeſty's miniſters, if it could be defended, yet he muſt ſtill find himſelf under the neceſſity of voting for the reſolutions. The arguments of the noble and learned lord appeared to him to be very poor ones, where arguments ſo much ſtronger were neceſſary to be urged. He would not go into detail, or attempt to follow the noble and learned lord in his extenſive courſe of reaſoning, but would content himſelf with making two or three obſervations on points which had fallen from the noble and learned lord. In the firſt place the noble and learned lord had ſaid, that the caſe of Captain d'Auvergne was not before parliament. He would aſk, whoſe fault was it that it was not before parliament? He had himſelf aſked for papers reſpecting it, and a noble ſecretary of ſtate had promiſed to lay information reſpecting it before the Houſe, but he never had made good his promiſe. With regard to there having been a difference as to the ground of complaint between the treatment of a perſon who was a ſubject of two countries, he could not ſpeak to ſuch diſtinctions, becauſe he did not underſtand them. But to admit that the diſtinction was a ſolid one, as applied to Captain d'Auvergne, what could be ſaid as to the caſe of Captain Dumareſque, who was not a ſubject of France, but a native of Jerſey or Guèrnſey? With regard to miniſters not knowing of Colonel Sebaſtiani's miſſion, till his report was publiſhed, he begged leave to refer them to one of Lord Hawkeſbury's letters, written antecedent to the publication of that report, in which letter they would find Col. Sebaſtiani and his miſſion mentioned. His lordſhip added one obſervation or two relative to the conduct of miniſters, reſpecting the ceſſion of the Cape of Good Hope, and concluded with repeating, that he ſhould vote for the reſolutions.

Lord Pelham admitted that he was miſtaken, when on a former day he had ſaid that Capt. d'Auvergne was liberated immediately on the application of the Britiſh miniſter, as he had ſince found, that he had been confined three or four days afterwards. His ſilence on that ſubject had been in conſequence of an application from the friends of Captain d'Auvergne, who feared that the agitation of that matter in the Britiſh parliament might injure his intereſts at Paris. His lordſhip explained Lord Hawkeſbury's mention of Colonel Sebaſtiani, as miniſters knew by the diſpatch of General Stuart, that Colonel Sebaſtiani was in Egypt, but did not know how offenſively he had acted there and in Syria, till they ſaw his report.

The Houſe divided on the firſt propoſition—Contents ſeventeen—Non-contents eighty-ſix.——The ſecond and third propoſitions were negatived.

The intereſt which attached to the preceding debate, has induced us to treat it copiouſly; becauſe the opinions of the great leading characters in the nation

nation are expreſſed, upon one of the moſt eventful circumſtances recorded in the page of Engliſh hiſtory. The powers of oratory, the exertion of talent, and the ſtrength of reaſoning were never more forcibly or more decidedly diſplayed: the opponents to miniſtry ſtrove by cogent and plauſible arguments to convince the public of the incapacity of thoſe who ſtood at the helm of ſtate; whilſt the latter, relying on their integrity, produced the moſt authentic documents to prove, that under exiſting difficulties, they had done all that was poſſible, and that no better meaſures, at that time, could be purſued, than thoſe they had been obliged to adopt. It has ſince appeared, that the Grenville intereſt, both in, and out of the cabinet, were uniformly inimical to the peace of Amiens. Certainly, however, a partial good derived to the country from that Treaty; for, had it not been entered into, the deſigns of the firſt conſul would not have been ſo ſoon developed, nor would the remaining embers of diſaffection in theſe realms have been extinguiſhed; happily the contrary has happened; the conſequence has been a full diſcovery of the firſt conſul's ambitious projects, and a firm coalition of ſentiment throughout the united kingdom; the patriotic ſubjects of which have cloſed into a phalanx againſt a malicious and unprincipled enemy.

CHAP. II.

Proceedings in the Commons Houſe of Parliament.—Mr. Patten's Motion for cenſuring Miniſters.—Debates thereon.—Is negatived by a large Majority.

THE very important debate in the Houſe of Peers on Earl Fitzwilliam's Motion of Cenſure, was followed up by a ſimilar motion in the Houſe of Commons, by Mr. Patten, member for Newtown, Lancaſhire, which we, on account of connexion, make the ſubject of this Chapter; and when the ability, the intereſt, and the meaſures purſued or repelled by the different parties, whether anti-miniſterial or miniſterial, are collectively conſidered, we are led to admire the talents indicative of thoſe who eminently intereſt themſelves on great political queſtions which come before them; and concluſively boaſt that the Britiſh Senate, like its Conſtitution, has no parallel.

We ſhall *uniformly* purſue this method on all queſtions of importance, in order occaſionally to preſent to our readers a connected ſeries of the leading opinions of the firſt characters in the nation, in both Houſes of parliament; and, as impartially as we are able, deliver the ſentiments of thoſe enlightened perſonages who grace the age in which they live, by exhibiting the moſt brilliant qualifications of enlightened minds.

Mr. Patten called the attention of the Houſe to his MOTION FOR CENSURING MINISTERS, and ſaid he felt great regret that the taſk had not been undertaken by ſome gentleman more calculated to give to it the effect it deſerved. It was now the third time that he had treſpaſſed upon their indulgence. He had felt that in undertaking the review of the conduct of his Majeſty's miniſters, he was juſtified by the opinion of the people of Great Britain, which left no doubt upon the ſubject. If gentlemen took the trouble to look to the commercial intereſts of the country, or to the tranſactions of monied people, they would find the ſuſpenſe which prevailed fatal to every kind of commerce and ſpeculation. They would find that trade was locked up in our ports, and that the ſpirit of enterprize, the great ſource of our opulence, was nearly, if not altogether, extinguiſhed. But, it might be aſked, why he undertook a taſk, to the execution of which, he candidly confeſſed himſelf incompetent. It was upon this ground, that gentlemen of great talents and rank, not only in the opinion of this country, but of Europe, had been accuſed of aiming, by their difference of ſentiment from his Majeſty's miniſters, at places and emoluments, and in order to prevent an accuſation of ſo unworthy a nature from being in the ſlighteſt degree countenanced, he had come forward, and propoſed the inquiry. He felt a grateful and honeſt pride in obſerving, that he belonged to no party, and that he could not be accuſed of having for his object, the gratification of perſonal or ſelfiſh feelings. It had been the cauſe of conſiderable alarm to the country, to hear that formidable naval armaments were carrying on in the ports of France; yet he had heard, that when Lord Whitworth received his Majeſty's meſſage to Parliament, communicating that intelligence, his lordſhip did not know of any ſuch armaments. That this was the fact, was confirmed by the ſtatement of the firſt conſul, and by the poſitive aſſurances of Talleyrand. He was alſo informed of the ſentiments of an officer of great eminence in the civil line in France, who declared that the naval force preparing in the ports of the republic, was not ſufficient for the wants and exigencies of the colonial ſervice. He now came to a view of the papers and documents which were upon the table, relative to the late negotiation, and the immediate cauſes of the preſent rupture. He could not conceive that there was a ſingle man in that Houſe, or in the country, with a ſpark of Engliſh ſpirit in his breaſt, or a drop of Engliſh blood in his veins, who was not ſatisfied that the firſt conſul ultimately aimed a fatal blow at the ruin of our power and independence. But although this was a propoſition which could not be controverted, it did not go

to extenuate the meaſures purſued by his Majeſty's miniſters, in their diſcuſſions with the government of France. The Houſe was called upon to take into conſideration the conduct of the King's miniſters, as it aroſe out of the papers on the table; and the reſult was, that they had been kept in a continual ſtate of aggreſſion, inſult, and degradation, by the firſt conſul. After recapitulating the many points on which he wiſhed to ground his cenſure, Mr. Patten concluded a manly oration, ſtating that there were many other grounds, on the juſtice of which he ſhould reſt his charge againſt his Majeſty's miniſters, but he ſhould content himſelf with accuſing them of withholding all communication from parliament; of ſuſpending the functions of that Houſe; of having iſſued ſuch orders as they were not warranted to do, from their own knowledge and conviction; of compromiſing the honour and dignity of his Majeſty's crown; and of eſſentially injuring the intereſts of his people. He then read the reſolutions, he intended to ſubmit to the conſideration of the Houſe:

"1. Reſolved, That it appears to this Houſe, from the declaration of his Majeſty, which has been laid before the Houſe by his Majeſty's command, that the conduct of the French Republic, ſince the concluſion of the Definitive Treaty, has been ſuch as to be conſidered by his Majeſty's miniſters as inconſiſtent with good faith, moderation, and juſtice, and as forming a ſeries of aggreſſion, purſued by France for the purpoſe of degrading, vilifying, and inſulting his Majeſty's government.

"2. That his Majeſty's miniſters have not ſince the treaty of peace to the time of iſſuing his Majeſty's declaration, neither communicated to parliament the real ſenſe which they entertained of the ſyſtem of conduct purſued by France, nor the ſteps taken by his Majeſty's government thereupon; and that they have thereby prevented this Houſe from having the opportunity of properly diſcharging its real functions; and that by their having thus improperly withheld ſuch communication, they have materially embarraſſed the commerce of the country, deceived the expectations, and depreſſed the ſpirit of the people.

"3. That it was the duty of his Majeſty's miniſters to embrace ſome more early opportunity of obtaining reparation for this country for the inſults which had been offered to it by the continued aggreſſions on the part of France, and that ſuch reparation was to be procured by dignified and temperate remonſtrances; and that if ſuch conduct had been purſued more ſeaſonably, this country might have avoided the neceſſity of going to war, even before his Majeſty, by the reduction of his forces, had in a manner put out of his hands the moſt eſſential means of procuring reparation after the failure of all others; and that ſuch a conduct, on the part of miniſters, was a manifeſt neglect and omiſſion highly injurious to the public intereſt.

"4. That it appears to this Houſe, that upon the 4th day of October laſt, counter orders were iſſued by his Majeſty's government for the evacuation of the Cape of Good Hope, and that on the 16th of November, the ſpirit of France had been manifeſted by aggreſſion, violence, and inſults, for which no redreſs had been attempted to be obtained; that the Spaniſh and other priories had been withdrawn from the Order of Malta, and that Parma and Placentia had been added to the dominions of the French Republic; Switzerland had been attached, and the territory of the Batavian Republic occupied by armies of the French government; that the firſt conſul of France at the ſame time entertained all his plans relative to the Turkiſh empire, which appear from the papers before the Houſe: and from all theſe circumſtances it is evident, that by the evacuation of the Cape, during ſuch tranſactions, his Majeſty's miniſters have acted contrary to their duty, and have imprudently expoſed to danger his Majeſty's government.

"5. That by all theſe inſtances of miſconduct in the preſent miniſters of his majeſty's government, they have proved themſelves unworthy of the confidence repoſed in them, in ſuch an important criſis as the preſent undoubtedly is."

After the firſt reſolution was put, ſeconded by the right honourable T. Grenville, and read from the chair,

Mr. I. H. Browne obſerved, that the difficulties and dangers to which the honourable gentleman alluded, originated with the former, and not with the preſent adminiſtration. He did not think it right at this critical moment, when the honourable gentlemen themſelves, and the Houſe, all agree in the propriety of ſupporting the country againſt the dangers which threaten it, to interrupt the harmony and unanimity of the Houſe, by any vote of cenſure on his Majeſty's government. He was well convinced, however, that the generality of the Houſe was as unanimous againſt the firſt conſul as he appeared to be determined againſt our enjoyment of the liberties of Engliſhmen. The concluſion of the Treaty of Amiens, he thought praiſe-worthy in the preſent adminiſtration. While France continued to violate only the ſpirit of the treaty, he thought it moſt wiſe to avoid hoſtilities, if poſſible; but when ſhe came to violate the letter, that was a point to ſtand on, there he thought it fit to reſt, as, indeed, for every rupture of the kind it was neceſſary to begin at ſome point. He was decidedly againſt the motion, having never heard a ſpeech of ſo great importance in its concluſion, and which contained ſo little to convince his judgment in the courſe of it.

Lord Temple ſaid, it muſt be in the recollection of the Houſe, that his Majeſty's miniſters, ſince the ratification

tification of the Definitive Treaty, on the 23d of April 1802, until the 8th of March, when his Majeſty's meſſage was communicated to parliament, did invariably hold out to the country the moſt flattering hopes, and he might add certainty of peace. How, he would aſk, could they juſtify themſelves for having done ſo? Had they not, and did not they offer as a juſtification, that the ambitious views, inſults, and aggreſſions of France, ſince the ſigning of that diſgraceful treaty, were a juſt ground of recommencing hoſtilities—did they not roundly declare, that it is indiſpenſably neceſſary for Great Britain, even ſingle-handed, to oppoſe the gigantic ſtrides of the firſt conſul? Peruſe with attention the papers they had laid before the Houſe, and it muſt appear, that his Majeſty's miniſters were convinced, from the ſigning of the treaty, that it could not be executed. Notwithſtanding the provocations, the injuries, and aggreſſions offered and committed by the man, at the head of the French Republic, miniſters came down to the Houſe and gave every aſſurance of the permanence of peace, although there was ſcarcely any ground ſubſequent to the 23d of October, that did not exiſt before that period, and conſequently miniſters muſt acknowledge, that they told what they did not believe, what could not take place, and what they were determined ſhould not take place, namely, the execution of a treaty which had been already violated by the French government. But it was not until the report of colonel Sebaſtiani, that miniſters ſeemed to take the alarm, and inform the country of the hoſtile intentions of the firſt conſul. Was not the ſending of commercial agents to this country antecedent and ſufficient ground for war? Need he mention what had happened reſpecting the King George Packet, on the 13th of October? Were we not given to underſtand that Holland was freed from the French troops? and on the 29th, Bergen-op-zoom and Breda were occupied by them; and ſtrange as it may appear, Mr. Liſton wrote a letter, in which he recommended to leave them there, and this at a time when the annexation of that country to France was actually in the contemplation of the French government; all this was known previous to the 23d of November. But after all this, the tenth article of the Treaty of Amiens comes to be conſidered, and it is found impoſſible to carry it into effect. It is diſcovered, that the general intereſts of the guaranteeing powers of all Europe, and of Great Britain in particular, render the execution of it, under exiſting circumſtances, totally impoſſible. Miniſters knew all this before the 23d of November, and determined to act upon it, and ſtill the country was led to indulge the fallacious hope of peace. On the 27th of April, 1802, a Madrid Gazette had announced the annexation of the poſſeſſions of Malta in Spain by the government of that country; was not that a cauſe why the treaty could not be executed? But on the 22d of Auguſt, the noble ſecretary writes to the French government, informing it, that if the guaranteeing powers could be induced to accede to the wiſhes of both governments reſpecting Malta, there could be no further difficulties in the way of peace; and this was done at a time when ſufficient ground for hoſtility had long before occurred, and when miniſters knew that event, the tenth article of the treaty, could not be carried into effect. He would come now to Switzerland, and ſee what had occurred. Before the 23d of September, Mr. Moore was negotiating at Conſtance. Was that a moment for miniſters to come down and lull the country into almoſt fatal ſecurity, when they had alſo known the policy that was to be obſerved relative to the ſtates of the empire, and that the Stadtholder would not be indemnified? On the 9th of February, his views on Egypt, on Turkey, and on India, were known; the reſources, the wealth, the commerce of this country in the eaſt were to be cut off; Turkey was to be diſmembered, at leaſt in part, and of this miniſters were in poſſeſſion long before that communication of his Majeſty's miniſters on the 8th of March. On the 13th of July, the Cantons of Switzerland remonſtrated againſt the oppreſſion they endured; on the 12th of September, they were in arms; and on the 12th of October, Mr. Merry writes that a Swiſs deputy had applied to him for the interference of England; and on the tenth of October, miniſters remonſtrated to M. Otto. What the anſwer was, we are not told, or whether there was any. But there undoubtedly was an anſwer, and the moſt inſolent that was ever given to the miniſters of any country; they were told *that they ſhould have nothing to do with the Continent; they ſhould have the benefit of the Treaty of Amiens and nothing more.* On the very day that this inſulting anſwer was received, Mr. Moore ſet off with his inſtructions, and on the 23d of October arrived at his deſtination. He had ſcarcely ſtepped out of his carriage, when he was informed that the Diet had withdrawn, and ſcarcely had he recovered from his fatigue and aſtoniſhment, when on the 25th, miniſters let him know that he might come home. Was not this inconſiſtent conduct, a ſevere reflection on the government and character of this country? No anſwer was ever given to the Swiſs deputy in Paris. On the 11th of March, Talleyrand tells Lord Whitworth, that on the evacuation of Malta by the Engliſh troops depended either peace or war, and that the treaty of Amiens muſt be ſtrictly executed. Was this information miniſters were not prepared to receive? Did they not know long ſince that it would be impoſſible to execute it? And yet with all the grounds of war which he had already ſtated, ariſing out of the inſults, ambition, and the infraction of the treaty, miniſters did preſent an ultimatum as incapable

capable of being executed on any permanent grounds, or with any hope of removing the feverish uncertainty which had pervaded the country, and depreſſed the ſpirit of commercial enterpriſe. What was this ultimatum? That this country might keep poſſeſſion of Malta for ten years, during which time we ſhould be colonizing and improving Lampedoſa, and enlarging its harbours; *and at the expiration of that term, we ſhould be requited with the ſovereignty of that invaluable iſland, which would be the reſort, not of ſeamen, but of ſea-gulls.* On the ſubject of the preſs, he felt like an Engliſhman, and hoped England would never be reduced to the neceſſity of regulating it to gratify any power. But when the inſult reſpecting it was offered—for he called it the groſſeſt inſult that could be offered— was there any remonſtrance preſented? was the inſolence repelled with that firmneſs and indignation which ſhould be felt by every Engliſhman? Next came the demand that the French nobles ſhould be tranſported to Canada—was not this ſtill more degrading? What opinion can be entertained of miniſters who could receive ſuch an application? What! they ſhall not dare even to wear their badges of diſtinction—thoſe honourable rewards of ſervices rendered to their country, or the memorial perhaps of illuſtrious anceſtors! Here the noble lord read the anſwer tranſmitted by our government; and aſſerted that it conceded too much. He concluded with obſerving, that it was manifeſt from the documents and papers ſubmitted to the Houſe, that his Majeſty's miniſters had ſeen from the firſt moment that the treaty could not be executed; and he would not heſitate, therefore, to ſay, that they had ſhamefully ſported with the feelings of the country, deluded it with falſe hopes, and abuſed its generoſity. He charged them with not having remonſtrated with the deciſion and energy which ſhould characterize the miniſters of this great nation. But he hoped, that after having the ſad experience of two years of peace, as they were called, no perſon would be found ſo degraded as to ſacrifice any longer at the ſhrine of ſuch miniſters; eſpecially at this moment, when every thing which was held moſt dear and ſacred might be at iſſue in the conteſt.

Mr. Hobhouſe denied that the miniſter had, on the 23d of September, uſed the language attributed to him; on the contrary, his Majeſty's ſpeech contained theſe words, or words to the ſame import: "It is neceſſary to look with vigilance at what ſhall take place on the continent," &c. alluding moſt certainly to thoſe occurrences which it was deemed impolitic then to notice in a more open manner. What more could his Majeſty's miniſters do? When they were required to ſend the princes out of this country, they anſwered with firmneſs and moderation, "We ſhall make arrangements to remove thoſe who are really obnoxious, and whoſe conduct is reprehenſible." But not complying to the full extent, was a cauſe of war with Bonaparte and not with his Majeſty's government. We were called upon to ſubmit to regulations of our preſs.—The miniſters replied, that they would not. This ſurely was cauſe for re-commencing hoſtilities on the part of France. And, becauſe ſhe did not do ſo, are his Majeſty's miniſters to incur the charge of timidity, irreſolution, and inconſiſtency? But certainly the proper time for us, was, when Bonaparte has violated the treaty, and told us authoritatively, we ſhould evacuate Malta.

He finally recommended unanimity and ſpirit, and truſted that every conſideration of a private nature would be poſtponed to the general intereſt and the ſafety of the country.

Sir William Young conſidered that the true policy of this country to be adopted towards France, was to view it as a great military republic, headed by a man too formidable and too eminent in enterprize, to be deſpiſed or diſregarded; a man who, when he came to put into action his real deſigns, would not be found intoxicated with looſe, vague, and undigeſted projects, but prepared to follow up his real plans with the moſt determined and deſperate ſpirit. We muſt therefore be prepared againſt his attempts. It was of the very nature of a military republic to find conſtant employment for its troops; without this it muſt ceaſe to exiſt; and thus, ſo long as France retained this form, it was immaterial whether Bonaparte, Moreau, or who elſe might be at her head; it would be her policy to vomit forth her troops upon every ſurrounding nation, which offered them enterprizes to intereſt their avarice or ambition. He concluded by voting for the reſolutions.

Mr. T. Grenville ſaid, that the motion had been aſcribed to mean conſiderations of party ſpirit; to the mere wiſh of one ſet of gentlemen to drive others from confidential ſituations under government, with the view of occupying their places. For himſelf he muſt moſt unequivocally reprobate ſuch inſinuations, and he would not ſo far forget what he owed to the Houſe and to his own character, as make them the ſubject of any length of animadverſion. It had been argued that the preſent was not the time for bringing forward reſolutions of the nature which had that evening been ſubmitted to the Houſe. This country was now engaged in a conteſt where unanimity among all ranks and orders in the ſtate was of the higheſt importance, and when, conſequently, it was highly to be wiſhed for that no diſcuſſion might be provoked which might have the appearance of a wiſh to diſturb this unanimity. Of all the poſſible objections which could be urged, he had no difficulty in ſaying that he conſidered this as one of the moſt extraordinary. He could hardly bring himſelf to believe that that evening he had heard it gravely ſtated, that by agreeing to the reſolutions, or, even by preſſing

preſſing the diſcuſſion, information might be conveyed to the enemy. For himſelf, he had no ſort of difficulty in ſaying, that a principal object which he had in view by ſupporting the reſolutions, was to convey both to the enemy and to the people of this country information which, at a criſis like the preſent, was in all points of view ſo important. He was anxious that, at a moment when we were engaged in a conteſt more trying and more hazardous, in a conteſt in which great exertions and great ſacrifices would be more powerfully required than in any former ſtruggle in which the country was ever engaged, that an inquiry ſhould be inſtituted into the capacity of thoſe who were to direct the application of the national reſources, and the national ſtrength; to aſcertain whether the battle which was to be fought, would be fought with proportionate energy and courage; to ſee that every department of the public ſervice was properly adminiſtered; to take care, that if the country was to ſubmit to extraordinary ſacrifices, the exertions which were made were directed by thoſe to whom all ought to look up with confidence. In this ſenſe he certainly wiſhed that the enemy and the people of Great Britain ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of that, which it was the object of the reſolutions to procure. Having ſaid this, he would not pretend to deny that the object of the reſolutions was to call in queſtion the conduct of miniſters throughout the whole of the negotiations and diſcuſſions which had taken place between the two governments, from the time that the definitive treaty of peace was concluded. To have a full and fair view of this ſubject it would, however, be in the firſt place neceſſary, briefly to advert to the ſituation of the country at the time when the treaty was concluded. By the ſecond of the reſolutions it was declared, that miniſters had not made to parliament ſuch full and ample communications as could lead to any eſtimate of the real ſituation of the country, and therefore the Houſe was debarred of the conſtitutional right of giving any opinion on the ſtate of public affairs. He was deſirous, therefore, of diſtinctly recollecting and ſtating to the Houſe the views and expectations which had been held out at the time of the ſignature of the definitive treaty. He could not better explain what thoſe views and expectations were at that period, than by referring to the language which had then been employed by the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when the merits of the definitive treaty were fully diſcuſſed *. On that occaſion he was among the ſmall number of thoſe who had uniformly argued in favour of the propriety of an addreſs to his Majeſty, recommending an immediate ſettlement of the various points which the treaty had left open to diſcuſſion, and from which was anticipated a rupture at no very diſtant period, unleſs an adjuſtment was effected. This propoſition had, however, been reſiſted by miniſters and rejected by the Houſe. What then was the ſtate of the information which miniſters communicated to parliament? The fact was, that no information of any kind was communicated to the laſt parliament after the ſignature of the treaty, except what was communicated through his Majeſty's gracious ſpeech at the concluſion of the ſeſſion. In that ſpeech an expectation was certainly held out, that there was a proſpect of the continuance of peace, and a recommendation was given to cultivate the advantage which a ſtate of peace preſented. With this general impreſſion the laſt parliament was diſſolved. He certainly had never heard it aſſerted, and he could in no caſe admit the poſition, that the proſpect of a ſpeedy diſſolution of parliament at all leſſened the obligation of miniſters to communicate a full and fair explanation of the ſtate of public affairs.

In this ſtate the matter continued till the opening of the new parliament †, and then, as before, all communication was withheld. Here, however, it became important to inquire what were the facts which had occurred during the interval. When thoſe who ſupported the reſolutions contended that no information of the real ſtate of the country was laid before parliament, at the opening of the ſeſſion in his Majeſty's ſpeech from the throne, they at the ſame time argued that every one of the grounds of war enumerated in his Majeſty's declaration had then taken place, and were as well known to miniſters as at the period when the declaration was publiſhed. To ſhew that this aſſertion was well founded, he ſhould direct the attention of the Houſe to a few of the principal grounds of complaint and aggreſſion which the declaration contained. The firſt to which he would advert, was the moleſtation to which our commerce was expoſed. From documents now on the table, it appeared, that from December 1801, to the ſame period in the following year, a ſeries of theſe complaints had been preferred to miniſters, and no ſpirited remonſtrance had taken place on the ſubject. The viſit of the military conſuls was known before his Majeſty's ſpeech was delivered, for it appeared by a paper which was laid

* The right honourable gentleman alluded to the debate on the 14th of May 1802, when Mr. Addington made uſe of the following expreſſions, in anſwer to ſome arguments to prove that the peace could not poſſibly be of long duration:—"I am impreſſed with a thorough conviction that the peace which has now been concluded will, in all probability, be of as long duration as any of the pacifications concluded at various periods of the laſt century. I ſee nothing in the appearance of the preſent times, in the preſent government of France, or the character of the individuals of whom that government is compoſed, which at all induces me to think that the peace will not be laſting."

† The 23d of November 1802.

before the Houſe, that the inſtructions of Talleyrand to Fauvelet, who had been ſent to take ſoundings of the harbour of Dublin, that they were dated at an early part of the month of November, and conſequently were known to miniſters when parliament was opened. That the deſigns of the Firſt Conſul of France with reſpect to Switzerland was a matter of general notoriety. Miniſters themſelves had preſented a remonſtrance long before that period. With the annexation of Piedmont to France, miniſters were not unacquainted. The confiſcation of the revenue of the Spaniſh priories of the order of Malta, there was alſo every reaſon to think that miniſters were acquainted with even before the definitive treaty was concluded. The miſſion of Sebaſtiani, miniſters were fully apprized of long before they thought proper publicly to allude to it. They were not ignorant of the time when he left France, and on the 29th of November a diſpatch from General Stewart announced his arrival in Egypt. Thus all the principal grounds of the declaration were perfectly well known to miniſters long before the declaration made its appearance. But he would not confine himſelf to theſe circumſtances; he would refer to others of not leſs importance, though they were not introduced into the declaration, and very materially implicated the conduct of miniſters. The firſt of theſe points to which he begged leave to allude, was the arrangement of the German indemnities, which to a conſiderable degree involved Britiſh intereſts. When he ſaid this, he meant to allude to the inſult which had been offered to his Majeſty, by mulcting a part of his Hanoverian dominions to ſatisfy the avarice of the greater powers. Complete myſtery had almoſt wholly covered the whole buſineſs of the indemnities to the houſe of Orange. For this arrangement an article had been introduced into the treaty; but till the papers were laid on the table the Houſe had been totally ignorant in what train the negotiation on this ſubject had been left by miniſters. The whole buſineſs about the order for the evacuation of the Cape, and its ſubſequent retention was entirely paſſed over in ſilence. By papers ſubſequently called for, it appeared, that * miniſters had diſpatched orders to retain the Cape, though by a ſolemn treaty, it was to be given up within a limited period. Miniſters, by this treaty, entered into a ſtipulation, which ſtated, that within a certain period the Cape ſhould be ſurrendered to the Batavian republic. The treaty containing this ſtipulation had been laid before both Houſes of Parliament, and had received their approbation. Under ſuch circumſtances, miniſters had taken on themſelves to violate a direct ſtipulation of the treaty. They had choſen particularly to diſpatch orders to ſuſpend the execution of a part of it, and of conſequence to declare the country in a ſtate of war. At what time, he deſired the Houſe to conſider, was it that this extraordinary ſtep had been taken by miniſters? It was juſt about one month from the time that parliament aſſembled. Did miniſters, when parliament aſſembled, inform the Houſe of the extraordinary meaſure to which they had reſorted? They had not ſaid a ſingle word on the ſubject. In a very few weeks after, it had appeared proper to them to evacuate the Cape, and then a war virtually intervened; ſtill miniſters continued to obſerve the ſame ſilence; and he ſincerely believed, for himſelf, that if the negotiation, which had lately terminated, had taken a favourable turn, we ſhould have heard nothing of the whole of the orders and counter-orders of miniſters; the whole would in a ſhort time have been involved in the darkeſt night. Every diſcuſſion would have been diſcountenanced by miniſters, and converſation in the public prints would have ſupplied the place of official documents on a matter of the higheſt importance. It would not be forgotten what the documents were which miniſters had laid down on this ſubject. In caſe of war they were not unwilling to grant what information was required. On the other hand, if there had been a favourable period put to negotiations, miniſters did not indeed ſay that they would refuſe all explanation, but they reſerved themſelves as to the caſes on which they conſidered ſuch information expedient, uſeful, or neceſſary. The right honourable gentleman next proceeded to examine the grounds on which the third reſolution was founded. From the two firſt reſolutions, the third appeared to flow as a neceſſary inference. It involved a variety of ſerious and weighty obſervations. Firſt, in the attacks which had been made on our ſhips by the officers of the French government. One honourable gentleman ſeemed to conſider, that on this point there was no reaſonable ground of complaint. If injuries had been received, Britiſh ſubjects had only to appeal to the national courts of juſtice. But what, he begged the Houſe to conſider, were theſe national courts of juſtice?

The principal ground of complaint was, that theſe courts of appeal decide only by taking immediate poſſeſſion of the prizes ſubmitted to their deciſion. But what does the Firſt Conſul ſay to the complaints of Britiſh ſubjects? Why, he tells them they muſt appeal to the tribunals, to the very tribunals from which all the injuſtice complained of had been received. Let juſtice take its courſe, is the language of the Firſt Conſul; and the groſſeſt injuſtice is the courſe which this pretended juſtice invariably purſues. The capture is divided, and the Britiſh claimant is forced to bear thoſe loſſes, againſt which the remonſtrances of miniſters had failed to protect them. In failing to remonſtrate with vigour againſt a ſpecies of aggreſſion, ſo contrary to every principle of intercourſe between civilized nations, miniſters had incurred a very grave and ſerious reſponſibility. The miſſion of the French military conſul did not appear

* On the 16th of October.

appear to him to be described in his Majesty's declaration, in terms at all correspondent to the nature of the insult. It was an outrage in all respects so gross, that ministers ought with much greater spirit to have resented the attempt to violate the usages of independent nations. In vain, however, had such an opinion been expressed. Ministers had chosen to pursue a course totally different. No memorial could be laid before the House, not because they had not remonstrated, but because the remonstrance had taken place merely in a verbal conference with the French ambassador. Here, as well as with respect to many other parts of the documents on the table, he could not but lament that every thing had not been reduced to a regular memorial, instead of being submitted to a statement dependant on verbal recollection. This was an evil in diplomatic proceedings which was frequently attended with very serious consequences. It left too much dependant on memory, necessarily liable to considerable deficiency. It placed important statements too much exposed to be distorted by party prejudice and private views of interest.

The next point on which he wished to touch, was one which, he said, he considered as of the highest importance. He meant to allude to the situation of Holland. On this subject it also afforded him real delight, as he was sure it must have done to the House at large, to find the two right honourable gentlemen*, to whom he had already alluded, speaking, with respect to the policy which this country ought to pursue with respect to Holland, those truly British sentiments, which every true Englishman could not fail cordially to approve. For his own part he had no difficulty in saying, that he considered the conduct of the French government to the Batavian republic, independent of all other considerations, to be a full, fair, and unanswerable ground of war. What he had to complain of in the conduct of ministers was, that they had not shewn that zeal and activity with regard to the necessity of remonstrating against the violence and injustice of the French government to the Dutch, which their duty to the public imperiously called on them to display. So far from making the cause of the Batavian republic distinctly the cause of this country, they appeared on all occasions backward to take up the business. So far from availing themselves of opportunities which occurred of reviving the solid connection of friendship and interest, which it was so obviously the mutual interest of both countries to maintain, their conduct was marked by weakness, irresolution, and timidity. It had been remarked by one honourable gentleman, that in making their stand for Malta, ministers had made their stand for a truly British object. When he considered the manner in which the stand was made, whatever he might think of the importance of Malta, he could not perfectly coincide with that sentiment. But even granting that Malta was a fair British object, he would ask of ministers whether, on their own principles, a stand in favour of Holland was not of infinitely more importance in a national point of view? Was there any man who did not think that Ministers ought firmly and manfully to have remonstrated against the continuance of the French troops in Holland? Was there any man who expected that ministers had neglected making such remonstrance with energy and spirit? It was, he must confess, to his infinite astonishment, that he found that no memorial had been presented to the French government on the subject; not that no memorial or remonstrance had been drawn up with the view of being presented; not that it had been transmitted to Paris, with the view of being laid before the First Consul, but that after being in the hands of our ambassador, ministers had at length discovered that it would be more wise, prudent, and proper, that it should not be delivered. And on what motive was it that so extraordinary a neglect of the most imperious duty was attempted to be justified? The justification was more humiliating and degrading than the neglect itself. It was not true that ministers were not sensible of the importance of getting the French troops removed from the Batavian republic; it was not that they did not conceive that, according to the clearest principles of the law of nations, and the most obvious maxims of a national policy, they had an undeniable right to interfere; but they declined interfering, on the base and dishonourable principle, that their interference might have excited the jealousy of the French government. Was such language to be endured in an English parliament? Was a British secretary of state to tell a British House of Commons, that a memorial drawn up in behalf of an ancient and valuable ally, in support of the independence of a power with which we have a mutual interest, should, from considerations of prudence, propriety, or wisdom, from a dread of irritating France, be cancelled or buried in oblivion. Such was the disgraceful picture which the conduct of ministers to the Batavian republic presented. Now, as to their conduct to Switzerland, he confessed that here too ministers seemed to prove highly reprehensible. What he should state in the first instance, he should state on the authority of very prevalent rumours, though he would not take upon himself to say that these rumours were in all respects accurate as to the facts. He had good reason, however, for believing that as early as the spring of last year, several persons of eminent character, and invested with considerable situations, had come from Switzerland to London, with the view of consulting about the best means of providing against that interference of the French government in their internal affairs they had even then begun to dread. He had heard that these individuals, so far from being

* Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox.

ing received with favour or with kindneſs, that it was not till after a ſolicitation of near two months that they could gain admiſſion to any one of his Majeſty's miniſters. This was a circumſtance of conſiderable importance, and could not fail to make a ſtrong impreſſion on the Houſe. But he wiſhed to point out particularly the application of this circumſtance, as throwing light on the conduct of miniſters. They muſt have known long before October, when their remonſtrance* in behalf of Switzerland was preſented, what was the real ſituation of that country.

In June, the fears, the wiſhes, and the views of the inhabitants had been explained to them. He wiſhed to know from miniſters what circumſtances exiſted to induce them to remonſtrate in October, which did not operate with equal force in June? Was not the right of interference equal? Were not the claims of the Swiſs as powerful? Was not their ſituation as much recommended to protection? Was there not then a much greater probability of ſucceſsful reſiſtance than at the time when the remonſtrance was preſented, when in fact that was done beyond the power of reparation, which it was the object of Mr. Moore's journey to prevent? Did miniſters expect that any thing myſterious was to reſult from this journey? Did they hope to find an Auſtrian army at Conſtance, ready to afford protection to a perſecuted country. The whole remonſtrance evinced neither dignity nor foreſight. It was equally deſtitute of policy, wiſdom, or ability.

But, there was another circumſtance attending this remonſtrance, to which he thought it might not be improper to call the attention of the Houſe. The memorial had been preſented to the French government on the 10th of October, and nothing more is heard of it till the 27th of February, when Lord Whitworth is inſtructed to demand an anſwer to the remonſtrance. Was no inquiry made during the whole intermediate ſpace, in what light the memorial was regarded by the French government? Was this a matter of ſuch trifling importance, that miniſters choſe to overlook it? Was not this refuſal to give any anſwer, an indirect way of telling miniſters, that the French government was determined not to permit them to interfere on the continent? Was it not a tacit mode of eſtabliſhing what miniſters could not but know was the avowed and favourite object of the ambition of the Firſt Conſul? Miniſters, on every conſideration of wiſdom and policy, ought much earlier to have demanded explanation. But this was juſt a part of their general ſyſtem. As to Piedmont, he had to offer a few obſervations. On a former occaſion the ſituation of the King of Sardinia had given riſe to a good deal of diſcuſſion. On the debates on the definitive treaty, when it was objected that no proviſion was obtained for that ſovereign, a noble ſecretary of ſtate* had ſaid, that he had not only loſt all right to interference on his behalf on the part of this country, but had, from his conduct, placed himſelf in the ſituation of being conſidered as an enemy.

Againſt ſuch a view of the ſubject he did then and muſt at all times proteſt in the ſtrongeſt terms. Becauſe a prince who, fighting in our cauſe, had been ſtripped of his dominions, and deprived of his all, was for a while obliged to aſſume the nominal appearance of a foe, he could never admit the doctrines which the noble lord had laid down. But on a ſudden a moſt important change is introduced in the ſituation of this ſovereign. From being ſomething little ſhort of an avowed enemy, he is at once converted into a favoured ally, for whom ample ſecurity is to be obtained for all his loſſes. And how is this new indemnity to be procured? Why, by the rare ſcheme of the ceſſion of Lampedoſa, and by tacking the poor king of Sardinia to the end of the

* The following is a copy of the remonſtrance extracted from the official correſpondence between Lord Whitworth and the French government:—

"NOTE VERBALE.

"Lord Hawkeſbury has received his Majeſty's commands to communicate, through M. Otto, to the French government, the ſentiments of deep regret which have been excited in his Majeſty's mind by the addreſs of the Firſt Conſul to the Helvetic people, which was publiſhed by authority in the Moniteur of the 1ſt inſtant, and by the repreſentations which have been made to his Majeſty on this ſubject, on behalf of the nation whoſe intereſts are ſo immediately affected by it. His Majeſty moſt ſincerely laments the convulſions to which the Swiſs Cantons have for ſome time paſt been expoſed; but he can conſider their late exertions in no other light than as the lawful efforts of a brave and generous people to recover their ancient laws and government, and to procure the re-eſtabliſhment of a ſyſtem which experience has demonſtrated, not only to be favourable to the maintenance of their domeſtic happineſs, but to be perfectly conſiſtent with the tranquillity and ſecurity of other powers.

"The Cantons of Swiſſerland unqueſtionably poſſeſs, in the ſame degree as every other independent ſtate, the right of regulating their own internal concerns; and this right has moreover, in the preſent inſtance, been formally and explicitly guaranteed to the Swiſs nation by the French government in the treaty of Luneville conjointly with the other powers who were parties to that engagement. His Majeſty has no other deſire than that the people of Swiſſerland, who now appear to be ſo generally united, ſhould be left at liberty to ſettle their own internal government without the interpoſition of any foreign powers; and with whatever regret his Majeſty may have peruſed the late proclamation of the French government, he is yet unwilling to believe that they will farther attempt to controul that independent nation in the exerciſe of their undoubted rights. His Majeſty thinks himſelf called upon by his regard for the general intereſts of Europe, and by his peculiar ſolicitude for the happineſs and welfare of the Swiſs nation, to expreſs theſe his ſentiments with a frankneſs and ſincerity which he feels to be due to his character, and to the good underſtanding which he is deſirous of preſerving with the government of France.

"*Downing-ſtreet, October* 10, 1802.

"*M. Otto, &c. &c. &c.*"

† Lord Hawkeſbury.

projet

projet; which contains two articles which may be either admitted or not, as the French minister for foreign affairs chooses to receive them. Whether, however, the menace of war or the proffer of peace was considered, the whole conduct of ministers to that unfortunate prince appeared equally disgusting. Now as to the direct subject of Malta. He could not but think that a total want of policy with regard to Russia had been discovered by ministers, while negotiations were going forward on this subject. Russia is allowed on all hands to have been the principal power on which ministers relied for the guarantee of Malta at the time the tenth article of the treaty was formed. Now, what happened while such was the avowed wish and design of ministers? Ministers signed a treaty, by one article of which Russia is to be invited to be one of the guarantees of the independence of the island of Malta; and this ministers did, while at the very moment they were making this requisition, they were conscious that such a guarantee would be directly contrary to a previous arrangement betwixt this country and Russia. [Here the right honourable member read an extract from Count Woronzow's note on the 12th of November, stating this fact.]

The history which he had now to present to the House on the subject of Malta, was short and simple, unless the note to which he had alluded was a direct forgery, which there was no reason whatever to suppose. The language of the Emperor of Russia to the ministers of this country, or to the French government is—"You wish me to be one of the guarantees of Malta, agreeably to the tenth article of the Treaty of Amiens, which I am far from wishing to undertake; but if I were willing, I cannot accept the invitation; it is not in my power, as you, the ministers of Great Britain, must be perfectly aware. You know that I have already entered into an agreement with your court relative to Malta, in its nature entirely contrary to the guarantee you require." Is it really true that the King's ministers knew that such was the situation of the Emperor of Russia with regard to Malta; and did they really form an article, which they must have been conscious at the time could never be fulfilled. Those who objected to the article originally, did so on the ground of the difficulties which could not fail to attend its being carried into execution. How much stronger reasons had ministers to entertain such an opinion. They knew that it was contrary to the wishes of the Emperor of Russia to undertake the guarantee. They knew further that it was impossible he could, consistently with a former solemn engagement, undertake it, and yet with such knowledge they conclude the treaty, and gravely call for the guarantee. In the whole annals of diplomacy, he believed, it would be difficult to find any parallel to the conduct of ministers in this point; of a piece with this was the manner in which they had acted with respect to the sale of the priories of the order of Malta in Spain. They knew, that without revenues the restoration of the order was utterly impracticable, but, at the very time, when the Definitive Treaty was signed, they had every reason for thinking that in Italy, in Bavaria, and in Spain, the revenues of the order were either confiscated, or on the eve of being confiscated, in these several countries. After all this knowledge, they come forward and call for the guarantees, to pave the way for the restoration of the order. He was anxious to hear what account ministers would be able to give of these circumstances, to which he had now alluded. If they were false, he should rejoice to find that this was the case. If, however, on the other hand, they were not false, how was it possible for any man to conceive that ministers ever could have entertained the remotest idea of the restoration of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in Malta? Before he concluded, he wished to occupy the attention of the House a few moments on the subject of the Cape of Good Hope. Of the importance of the Cape as a naval station, no diversity of opinion prevailed. All those whose habits of life led them to form the most accurate ideas of its value, were those who spoke most highly of its importance. It was merely with the view of an absolute necessity of its surrender at the conclusion of peace, that the cession was ever attempted to be justified. On this ground alone had the expediency of ceding the Cape been argued, both in the Preliminary Articles and the Definitive Treaty. With this impression powerfully operating on his mind, it was, he said, with no small degree of surprise, that he found, on referring to the French official papers, that the proposition for ceding the Cape originated with the ministers of this country; that it was brought forward even so early as the second conference. He begged leave to press this on the attention of the House, which in the minds of many gentlemen, could not fail to excite very considerable surprise. He recurred to the order for retaining the Cape, and on this subject he made some very pointed observations. It was generally understood the orders for the retention were sent out on the 16th of October, with reference to the prospect of a war with France, on account of her unjustifiable interference with Switzerland. He would not now decide how far this was politic or wise. But this, however, he would say, that, if the interference of France with Switzerland was a just ground of war, the same interference with respect to Holland was a still more powerful reason for hostilities. If the occupation of Switzerland by French troops, was a fair ground of remonstrance, it surely was not less so with regard to Holland. Now, how did the case stand here? Ministers, on the 16th of October, dispatched orders to retain the Cape of Good Hope,

under an apprehenſion of the renewal of war, on account of the unjuſt attempts of the French government to impoſe a form of government on the Swiſs people. On the 14th of November they receive a diſpatch from the Britiſh miniſter at the Hague, which gives them no room to entertain any hope of the French troops being ſpeedily withdrawn from Holland. Now, what ſteps do they take on receiving this intelligence? Do they diſcover new jealouſy, and adopt new meaſures of precaution? On the contrary, they ſend out orders for the evacuation of the Cape! He deſired gentlemen to contraſt this with the order of the ſame day on the preceding month, and then judge of the talents or the conſiſtency of miniſters. The right honourable gentleman, after recapitulating and enforcing all his arguments, ſat down by giving his cordial vote for declaring his Majeſty's preſent miniſters unworthy of the confidence of Parliament, and unfit to manage the affairs of the empire at ſo perilous a criſis.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Addington) now addreſſed himſelf to the houſe, and obſerved, that were it not that ſeveral of the charges and obſervations that had been ſo forcibly inſiſted upon by the right honourable gentleman who ſpoke laſt, ſeemed perſonally to be directed againſt him, and that he was but too ſenſible of the weight they muſt carry with them when they come under the ſanction and authority of his name, he ſhould not have riſen in the preſent diſcuſſion. But much had on the preſent and on former occaſions been remarked upon the Treaty of Amiens. He ſhould now only repeat what he always had felt and ſaid reſpecting it, viz. that he conſcientiouſly and deliberately entertained the ſame opinion of it as he did at the time it was immediately under diſcuſſion, and that opinion prompted him to pronounce, that it was a meaſure not only wiſe, prudent, and neceſſary at the time it was adopted, but that it had ſince been productive of the moſt beneficial conſequences; nor would he heſitate to affirm, that he ſhould not have now to congratulate the Houſe, and the country, on the ſpirit, the vigour, and the unanimity, which the preſent emergency had called forth, were it not for that very treaty which was ſo loudly arraigned and ſo ſeverely ſtigmatized. Of the wiſdom and beneficial conſequences of that treaty, not only did he continue to retain a hardened ſenſe, but was ready to go further, and to affirm that it was alſo wiſe and deſirable to endeavour to maintain it; and until the cauſes had occurred which produced the preſent rupture, cauſes which had been ſtated with all poſſible truth and accuracy, it was the firſt wiſh of his heart, and he thought he might venture to ſay that it was likewiſe the firſt wiſh of the hearts of his colleagues in office, that the peace might have been maintained, if it could be maintained conſiſtently with the honour, the dignity, and the intereſts of the country. But ſince our anxious wiſhes in that reſpect had been fruſtrated, and war had neceſſarily ariſen, he truſted he was prepared to meet the criſis with the feelings of an Engliſhman; and anxious as he was to ſheath the ſword, he ſhould now be found no leſs determined to unſheath it, until it appeared that the honour of the country remained untouched, and that its ſafety and independence were more effectually ſecured.

He wiſhed to be permitted to advert to what had been rather harſhly obſerved reſpecting the temper which his Majeſty's miniſters were ſaid to have borne with the conduct of the French government. Their deſire of peace had, no doubt, induced them to manifeſt no inconſiderable ſhare of patience and forbearance; but they felt that the ſituation of France itſelf, and the circumſtances in which was placed the perſon who held the chief rule in that country, called for ſome allowances. Theſe circumſtances might ſeem, perhaps, for a time to juſtify the conduct of that perſon. His mind was ſo pampered with victories, it was ſo dazzled with the additional ſplendor that was ſhed upon his name, that it might not be fair to expect he would immediately ſit down quiet, and ſoberly examine what might beſt belong to his new ſituation. Under that impreſſion it was judged wiſe to obſerve a certain degree of forbearance with reſpect to what ſhould otherwiſe be noticed in the French government at other times and under other circumſtances. A deſire to make theſe allowances produced the forbearance which had marked the conduct of miniſters; a conduct he felt, to which was now owing the ſpirit and the energy which the country ſeem prepared to diſplay. That forbearance which ſome gentlemen were ſo prone to cenſure, miniſters, he thought, had reaſon to boaſt of. It had produced no bad conſequences, if we were to go to war; it had neither delayed it too long, nor had it brought it on one hour too ſoon. If it had been brought on ſooner, we ſhould not have been actuated by that ſpirit and courage which, under the guidance of Providence, would be truſted, enable us to get through a conteſt with honour and ſucceſs. He was free to confeſs, the conduct of his Majeſty's miniſters had argued throughout, an uniform ſpirit of forbearance, which might appear, perhaps, to have been carried to an extreme; but he was at the ſame time warranted in aſſerting, that in no inſtance had it exhibited a ſingle proof of unmanly and unbecoming conceſſion; and in no inſtance had it been marked by any one act of that deſcription. He next briefly adverted to the language which he was ſaid to have held upon different occaſions. He had been charged by the right honourable gentleman of holding out expectations of the continuance of peace, which expectations had ſince been proved not to be juſtified by circumſtances of the moment. His Majeſty's miniſters had

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alſo been charged with withholding from parliament thoſe communications which parliament had a right to expect, and which it was their duty to have made. As far as his recollection would bear him back, he was ready to reſtate the expreſſions to which the right hon. gentleman ſeemed to allude. His noble friend (Lord Hawkeſbury) alſo expreſſed himſelf in the ſame language. They ſtated, "that they had no reliance at any time on the continuance of peace, but ſuch as aroſe from a view of the ſituation of the enemy, and the conſciouſneſs of our own ſtrength." France might have diſcovered the ſame reſtleſs ſpirit of ambition that has ever marked her character. Yet, on the occaſion to which the right honourable gentleman ſeemed to refer, he did ſay, that the peace might laſt as long as any other; and he then alſo added, that the only chance of its continuance aroſe from the energy of our ſtrength, and the impregnable ſecurity of our reſources. He was of the ſame opinion when the preliminaries were diſcuſſed. The ſame language had he held in the debates of laſt ſeſſion. But the right honourable gentleman had obſerved, that the conduct of the French government ſhould have inſpired different apprehenſions. He was ſure, he was not very much diſpoſed to flatter and compliment the perſon now at the head of the French government; but ſtill he muſt ſay, that he could ſee nothing in his conduct which led him to believe that it was his policy to renew hoſtilities. In this he was willing to allow that he might have been deceived; but his ſending at the time the remaining navy of France to St. Domingo, his expoſing ſo large a portion both of his naval and military force, were ſurely pretty reaſonable indications of a pacific ſyſtem; nor can it well be accounted for, but on a principle of peace. It had alſo been aſſerted, that in the diſcuſſion on his Majeſty's ſpeech, on the 23d of November, an aſſurance was expreſſed by him, that there was no probability of a rupture. What he then ſaid, was in anſwer to an honourable gentleman, who obſerved that he was concerned to ſee that it was likely hoſtilities would be renewed. All he aſſerted on the occaſion was, that he ſaw no probability of an immediate rupture at that time. Similar language was ſaid alſo to have been uſed by him when the queſtion reſpecting the income of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales was under diſcuſſion. He was ſuppoſed then to have obſerved that we were in profound peace. That he mentioned our being at peace, he readily agreed, but he did not think that he made uſe of the word *profound*. The circumſtance which led him to make uſe of the expreſſion, was an alluſion to the language that was uſed in 1796, when the ſame ſubject was under the conſideration of parliament. It was then obſerved that it was right to continue the reſtrictions on the expenditure of his royal highneſs, on account of the extreme difficulties of the times. But he obſerved, on the occaſion alluded to, that the reſtrictions that might be proper in time of war, might as properly be done away in time of peace, and if he added the word *profound*, it was probably only from the uſual combination of the two words. No other expreſſion of the nature hinted at had eſcaped his lips. Another converſation had alſo been referred to, which took place in a diſcuſſion on the conſolidated fund. In that converſation, he was again ſuppoſed to have ſaid, that he had no expectation that the war would be renewed. What he ſaid then, merely referred to the ſtate of our national and military ſtrength, which he aſſerted was not intended to anſwer any views of ambition and aggrandizement, but had only in contemplation the aſſertion of our juſt rights, and the maintenance of the bleſſings of peace. But he was eager, then, to releaſe the Houſe from any further reference to any language uſed by him. He wiſhed them to reſt their opinion on better authority; let the Houſe, therefore, conſult the records of parliament, and they will there find what were the real ſentiments of his Majeſty's miniſters. Let them conſult the ſpeech of his Majeſty at the beginning of the ſeſſion, the addreſs, and even the amendment to the addreſs, which were moved on that occaſion. Did they imply any thing like the opinion which was aſſerted he had uttered? On the contrary, did not the ſentiments there expreſſed create great anxiety in the minds of ſome gentlemen? Is it to be ſuppoſed that he ſhould have expreſſed a perfect conviction that no renewal of hoſtilities would take place, at a time when he was agreeing to a large naval and military eſtabliſhment? Why then ſhould thoſe who propoſed ſuch precautions, be imagined to be wholly without any apprehenſion of war? This ſurely would argue a ſtrange and unaccountable inconſiſtency between their opinions and their meaſures. The preparations then adviſed and purſued, were therefore the beſt proof of what were the real ſentiments of miniſters—and if that proof were not ſufficient, an additional one might be found. In the obſervations which he made at the time, it was propoſed to renew the reſtriction on the caſh payments of the bank, viz. that the ſtate of Europe was the beſt argument that could be urged in favour of its adoption. Miniſters were alſo accuſed of not making formal communications to parliament of the matters that gave riſe to the diſcuſſions. Such communications might be attended with the worſt effects, and therefore it was prudent to withhold them until the time came for making them with ſafety. As to the application from Switzerland, it was true, that it took place before the meeting of parliament, but it was then earneſtly wiſhed that no reſiſtance ſhould be made on their part. Nor was there then any combination that could give any effect to a remonſtrance in their behalf.

half. When that combination afterwards took place, it was too late to make any ſucceſsful remonſtrance. It is not now our intention to enter into the diſcuſſion of all the points that have been referred to in his Majeſty's declaration, and which have been conſidered as juſt cauſes of war. With regard to Holland, the right honourable gentleman complained that ſtrong and vigorous remonſtrances had not been made for the removal of the French troops from that country. The contrary would appear from the inſtructions given to Lord Whitworth. Hopes were given by Mr. Liſton, on the 5th November, that the French troops would evacuate Holland; but on the 12th that expectation was diſcouraged. The French government expreſſed a wiſh that the troops deſtined for Louiſiana might continue ſome time longer in the Batavian territories; with which wiſh the Batavian government ſeemed diſpoſed to comply; for they hinted a deſire that we ſhould forbear to interpoſe in their behalf. On the ſubject of the Cape of Good Hope *, much had been ſaid, and more value has been attached to that poſſeſſion than, perhaps, it deſerves. In his opinion, it was of much leſs value than other poſſeſſions which his Majeſty's miniſters were anxious to retain; and in this opinion he had been confirmed by the concurrence of thoſe who were beſt qualified to decide upon that queſtion. Beſides, the retaining of it would involve a large expence; for during the time we were in poſſeſſion of it, that expence amounted to no leſs than two millions. Whatever its value might be eſtimated at by others, he could never bring himſelf to imagine that we ſhould forego for its ſake the chance of retaining more valuable poſſeſſions. The right honourable gentleman in ſpeaking of Malta, ſeemed to ſuppoſe that an engagement reſpecting it had been entered into with Ruſſia; no ſuch engagement had taken place, nor any thing approaching to it. Previous to the concluſion of the preliminaries, a communication had been made to the Ruſſian government of the heads of the arrangement reſpecting Malta: and then no objection was made to the arrangement, except to that part which related to a Malteſe Langue. We afterwards, indeed, agreed to adopt the Ruſſian mode of electing the grand maſter, and hopes were given by Lord St. Helen's, that Ruſſia would on her part conſent to grant her guarantee, but theſe hopes were afterwards diſappointed. But with reſpect to any other engagement, he might again repeat it, that there was none, and conſequently there was no breach of faith on our part with reſpect to Ruſſia. The right

* The Cape of Good Hope, the moſt famous place of traffic among the Hottentots, was diſcovered in 1493, by Bartholomew Dias, a Portugueſe admiral, in the reign of John II. The admiral gave it the name of *Cabo dos totos los Tormentos*, or *The Cape of great Sorrows*, from the boiſterous winds almoſt conſtantly roaring there. But the king, his maſter, changed the name to *Cabo del Buonne Eſperanza*; the Cape of Good Hope; "becauſe," ſaid he, "there was now good hope of making proſperous voyages to the Eaſt Indies." This has continued its European name ever ſince.

But the Portugueſe never having made any ſettlement here, it remained unnoticed, except as an anchorage, till 1600, when the Dutch diſcovered it; but even they did not conſider its advantages till, in 1650, Mr. Van Riebeck, a ſurgeon, found out what advantage the Dutch Eaſt India company might reap, if they encouraged the cultivation of the ſpot, and erected it into a ſettlement; his repreſentations were ſanctioned by government, and after many improvements it arrived at its ultimate importance.

The ſettlement being firmly eſtabliſhed, its population increaſed to ſuch a degree, being joined by other ſettlers from Europe, that new ſettlements were extended along the coaſt, which at laſt were divided into four principal forts or towns, viz. The Cape, which is denominated the capital; Hellenbogeſh; Drakenſtone; and Waveriſh colony. The colony alſo purchaſed a large tract of land, called Terra de Natal, lying between Moſambique and the Cape; for which they paid in toys, &c. to the value of 30,000 guilders, ſo that, with ſuch an acceſſion, the province became of great extent, and its government a conſiderable port.

Whilſt in the hands of the Dutch, the government conſiſted of ſeveral eſtabliſhments, a grand council, a court of juſtice; a petty court of aſſaults, &c. a court of marriages, a chamber of orphans; an eccleſiaſtical council; and a board of militia, by means of which the Cape was well regulated in its police.

In the neighbourhood of the Cape are three remarkable hills; of which the higheſt is denominated Table Hill. On the tops of theſe are ſeveral ſprings of clear and wholeſome water; and though at a diſtance, there is no appearance of fertility, at a nearer approach, the beholder is charmed with an abundant beauty of cultivation: the ſtately trees with which theſe majeſtic eminences are creſted, are hardly diſcoverable but at an approximity. On Table Hill, are two groves, between which a ſilver mine was diſcovered, which might be wrought to great profit. The fragrance of the flowers, that grow in great plenty, and beautifully adorn the brow of this hill, are not to be expreſſed; they are more delightful to the eye, and more odoriferous, than any to be met with in Europe.

The European trade to the Hottentots is arrack, tobacco, hemp, and ſeed for cultivation, the exchange for which is cattle, and other neceſſaries, the product of the country.

The traffic of the Caffres here is with the rovers of the Red Sea, who bring them manufactures of ſilk for elephants teeth, wherein they greatly abound. Theſe manufactures the Caffres exchange, as ſhips from Europe touch at Terra de Natal, for European commodities; for tar, anchors, and cordage, which they again exchange with the Red Sea rovers. The ſilk, which they do not put off to the Europeans, they diſpoſe of to the merchants of Monomotapa.

We cloſe this article with an obſervation, that if the influence of commerce, unſhackled by the rigidity and craft too much practiſed by the Hollanders, was extended in a liberal manner among the natives, ſuch juſt notions of the invaluable bleſſings of traffic and civilization, whatever may have been advanced to the contrary, might be formed, as would give birth to mutual intercourſes of friendſhip and hoſpitality; would humanize the moſt barbarous hordes of ſavages; and ſubſtantiate a confidence which time and good treatment would never efface. The Cape of Good Hope would then be a valuable acquiſition; its treaſures would enrich our commerce; its inhabitants would be our coloniſts and allies; and, beſides being a key to our Eaſt Indian ſettlements, even the wilds of Caffraria would furniſh additional reſources to our felicity and grandeur.

honourable gentleman was alſo pleaſed to complain of the inſults and indignities offered to this country by the French government; and of their diſregard of our remonſtrances againſt them, which, in his mind, was a ſufficient ground for war. Whether they had properly remonſtrated againſt it or not, was amply ſhewn by the papers now on the table: but that the diſregard of ſuch remonſtrances was an adequate cauſe of war, he could not bring himſelf to agree with the right honourable gentleman. Such diſregard might indeed afford juſt ground of jealouſy, of complaint and remonſtrance, but not of war, as a variety of examples might abundantly prove; at leaſt prudence and expediency would not adviſe it to be held in that light. With regard to the commercial commiſſioners, and the intention with which it appeared that they were ſent into the Britiſh dominions, his noble friend had remonſtrated in the moſt ſpirited terms, and he received a diſavowal of the purpoſe for which they were ſuppoſed to be intended. But his noble friend did not ſtop here; as ſoon as all hopes had vaniſhed of concluding a commercial treaty, government refuſed to recognize them, and they were inſtructed to remove from the country. The only one of them who attempted to remain, was ſent away from Jerſey, by virtue of an order from the ſecretary of ſtate's office; and an intimation was ſent to general Andreoſſi, that unleſs they all withdrew, force would be employed to compel them. Would it now be contended that no remonſtrances had been made againſt the inſults and injuries offered to the country by the French government, or that they have been all diſregarded? He ventured indeed to hope, that if more energetic meaſures had not been purſued, the Houſe would make due allowance for the difficulties in which miniſters were placed. Miniſters anxiouſly wiſhed to preſerve peace, but notwithſtanding that anxiety, the honour of the country was never committed, as the documents on the table would abundantly prove. They would exhibit, indeed, ſtrong marks of forbearance, but not one of unbecoming weakneſs. While there remained a hope of peace no communication was made to parliament, becauſe it was thought, and he thought juſtly, that ſuch communications would fruſtrate rather than promote the attainment of the deſirable object. What the conduct of miniſters had been throughout, he hoped, that the Houſe had now before them full and ample communications, and if a ſingle document were wanting, by the help of which the conduct of miniſters might be better elucidated, they ſhould feel it their duty to the Houſe to furniſh it without delay. In his own and their name, he was then ready to ſay, that in whatever light they might be induced to behold their conduct, miniſters were ready to meet their deciſion. They only called for a deciſion; they did not venture to aſk for approbation: they were anxious, however, to eſcape cenſure—if it were merited, they ſubmiſſively acquieſced in the ſentence of the Houſe: but if it were unmerited, let their minds be relieved from the charges which the reſolutions then propoſed hung over them, and let them go unfettered to the diſcharge of thoſe arduous duties of which they were deſirous to acquit themſelves with zeal, diligence, and fidelity. Let them know that they did not go forth in the eyes of the country branded with the ſtigma of the diſpleaſure of the Houſe; or, if they had unfortunately incurred their diſapprobation, let it be proved by a direct charge; if the houſe ſaid the charge was not founded, their gratitude would be unbounded—if they ſaid it was, they ſhould bow to the deciſion, with the conſciouſneſs of having exerted their beſt endeavours to have deſerved a better fate.

Mr. Pitt felt a conſiderable difficulty in giving a decided opinion, and the more eſpecially ſo after the manly appeal of the right honourable gentleman who had juſt ſat down, to the poſitive deciſion of the Houſe. If he was prepared to give it in the ample manner called for, he ſhould certainly do ſo according to the direction of his conſcience. If, on the contrary, he was to give it according to the opinion of the right honourable gentleman who ſpoke laſt but one, and that he ſhould be induced to addreſs his Majeſty for the removal of his preſent miniſters, he hoped he ſhould be as ready to make a ſacrifice of his perſonal feelings as any other member of this Houſe. If, on the other hand, he could feel as the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Addington) felt, that the declaration made by his Majeſty's miniſters was, throughout all its bearings, ſo clear and deciſive, as to draw forth that unqualified approbation they ſeemed to demand, he ſhould not heſitate to deliver that ſentiment with all the freedom which the peculiar nature of the caſe required. If in a caſe of ſuch difficulty, he could ſee the matter ſo clearly as to have no doubt, he ſhould then ſay it was a title to approbation. But to that extent he could not concur with the propoſitions; nor was he prepared to agree with the expreſs negative propoſed to be put on them. The reaſon for his preſent difficulty, in the choice of the courſe he was to purſue on the preſent occaſion, was founded in the broad and general objection he had ever entertained to the very nature and extent of ſuch motions. He was one of thoſe who did not wiſh, without ſome very ſtrong and urgent reaſon, to interfere with the juſt prerogative of the crown; and he could not conceive a caſe more pregnant with miſchievous conſequences, than to adopt any meaſure that might render it unavoidable to diſplace thoſe whom his Majeſty wiſhed to employ and to retain in his councils. In a caſe of ſuch high and weighty importance, it became neceſſary to take a more extenſive view of the queſtion, than merely to confine their

thoughts to the propoſitions themſelves, and to look forward to their probable effects on the public ſafety and convenience. In this ſtatement of the caſe, gentlemen would ſee that it admitted of various gradations, and of many different bearings. He begged leave to put it to the Houſe, that there might be points within the conduct of miniſters with which the majority of the Houſe might feel themſelves diſſatisfied; yet it behoved the Houſe ſeriouſly and deliberately to conſider, whether, at a criſis like the preſent, it would not be moſt for the public ſervice to provide ample ſources for our finances; for our national armaments, and for the various branches of our unavoidable expenditure, than to enter upon a queſtion, the effects of which might be attended with conſequences which none could foreſee. To diſplace an adminiſtration at ſuch a moment, was not the work of a day, or of an hour; and it was highly important for the Houſe to reflect on the interval that it might produce, with an executive government interrupted and deprived of its efficient means of conducting its moſt eſſential concerns. Nothing in his mind could juſtify a meaſure of ſuch a magnitude, at ſuch a moment, and in ſuch a ſituation as the country was at preſent placed in, but abſolute neceſſity; and even in that caſe, unleſs that neceſſity were as ſtrong and paramount as the honourable gentleman who introduced the motion thought it. He would ſtrenuouſly adviſe the Houſe to pauſe before it ſuffered itſelf to entertain a meaſure, the reſult of which muſt be to diveſt his Majeſty of his whole adminiſtration; for certainly the next ſtep to adopting the propoſitions muſt be, to addreſs his Majeſty to diſmiſs his miniſters. But, he ſaid this was a queſtion that did not reſt with the Houſe, but with the Crown, to decide: and he left it to the Houſe, whether it would not, in the caſe of his Majeſty, place him in ſuch a predicament, as that he ſhould be induced to ſuppoſe the Houſe wiſhed to deprive him for a moment of the inherent right he poſſeſſed of chuſing and appointing his confidential adviſers; and he aſked thoſe gentlemen, whoſe ſituations and talents might render them the moſt likely to ſucceed the preſent miniſters, ſuppoſing his Majeſty ſhould be induced to part with them, whether they could accept appointments under ſuch circumſtances, without having their feelings wounded in a manner that could not fail to be irkſome and diſagreeable to them. There were many conſiderations which weighed deeply on his mind on the preſent occaſion—conſiderations for the public ſafety—conſiderations for the general and multiplied intereſts, which, at ſuch a momentous criſis as the preſent, demanded to be looked to with the moſt ſcrupulous attention, and the moſt ſcrutinizing eye. He did feel, that the ſituation of the right honourable gentleman who ſpoke laſt, was a very irkſome one, but he muſt ſacrifice thoſe feelings to a ſenſe of public duty. If there were any who entertained the ſame feelings as himſelf, who did not go the whole length of the charges, but who thought there were circumſtances which extenuated the blame they would otherwiſe attach to the conduct of miniſters, ſuch muſt be guided by their judgment and their conſciences, and could not vote that in all its parts their conduct had been culpable. And if there were thoſe who thought the conduct of miniſters had been the reverſe of what he had juſt ſtated, ſuch would unqueſtionably vote for the reſolutions propoſed. For his own part, he would not at preſent enter into any particulars, becauſe he ſincerely deprecated all ſuch diſcuſſions. If a certain portion of good was not to be obtained by any meaſure which was comparable to the miſchief it might occaſion, we ſhould not loſe a moment to enter upon the queſtion, and to decide it at once. But he could not help thinking, that if they were inſtantly to enter upon a plan of enabling his Majeſty to carry into immediate effect thoſe active and vigorous meaſures which might be neceſſary for the general welfare and ſecurity of the country—if they were to grant him a bill of ſupply for completing the ranks of our armies and other neceſſary eſtabliſhments—which might give the moſt effective energy to the operations ſo neceſſary for us to carry on by ſea and on land—theſe were objects by which they would ſooner convince his Majeſty of their love and regard for his perſon, and their attachment to, and anxiety for, the honour and dignity of his crown, and the general welfare and proſperity of the nation, than by deſiring him to diſmiſs his miniſters, and ſhewing a want of confidence in thoſe to whom he had entruſted the rule and guidance of his executive government. Theſe were the ſentiments which he felt, and therefore, without entering further into the motives for doing ſo, he ſhould conclude by moving "that the other of the day be now read."

Lord Hawkeſbury roſe, evidently under conſiderable agitation. He ſaid, that never before had he riſen in parliament with ſuch feelings as thoſe that now oppreſſed him. With every wiſh to do juſtice to the motives of his right honourable friend, in making the motion with which he had concluded his ſpeech, he and his colleagues ſhould be ſhrinking from their duty to themſelves, if they could accept the compromiſe offered, between a direct cenſure and a total acquittal. A charge of crimination, founded upon papers laid on the table, had been brought forward. He aſked, if there was an inſtance in which propoſitions founded on ſuch documents, and involving the conduct of miniſters, had not been met either with a direct negative or affirmative? A motion of inquiry might be got rid of by a previous queſtion; but when a direct charge was made, grounded on facts, riſing out of public documents, a previous queſtion was not the fit way

way of diſpoſing of the ſubject. No man was more ready than he was to acknowledge the prerogative of the crown to chuſe its miniſters: but, on the other hand, miniſters were reſponſible to parliament for the exerciſe of their functions, and when parliament ſaw ſufficient grounds of cenſure, they ought to ſtate it; and then miniſters, no longer able uſefully to ſerve the public, ought to retire. Independent of private conſiderations, he muſt contend that the credit of government ought to be maintained, particularly at ſuch a criſis as the preſent. But he had no difficulty in ſaying, that thoſe who wiſhed to deſtroy the adminiſtration ought to vote for the reſolutions, becauſe that was their obvious tendency, while the vote which his right honourable friend had propoſed, would have the effect to diſcredit government, to leave them diſcredited, in poſſeſſion of functions which they could not exerciſe with honour to themſelves nor advantage to the public. His right honourable friend (Mr. Pitt) had declined going into details. He wiſhed, however, that he had afforded ſome details, that he had pointed out thoſe parts of the conduct of miniſters which he could not approve, that they might have an opportunity of meeting any charge, or explaining what was deemed exceptionable. It was poſſible that in a long, an arduous courſe of conduct, ſome points might be liable to objection. In a country like this, however, he always conſidered it to be the fair principle, both of ſupport and of oppoſition to miniſters, that thoſe who agreed or diſagreed with them ſhould do ſo on a general ſyſtem. It was not to be expected that all ſhould approve every particular point. They were to overlook minor differences for the ſake of giving effect to the general ſcheme of meaſures and conduct which they approved. Theſe, he had always underſtood, were the general principles, and he regretted that Mr. Pitt had not made up his mind to act upon them. He aſked, whether, after ſurveying the conduct of miniſters during a period of unexampled difficulty, he was not now prepared to ſay yes, or no, directly, to a motion of cenſure? On the Ruſſian armament, he well remembered that his right honourable friend and himſelf had not thought it ſufficient to get rid of a motion of cenſure by a previous queſtion, but in circumſtances when the government in one point had given up, yet the charges were met boldly, and directly negatived. He wiſhed that, on the preſent occaſion, miniſters might either be acquitted or condemned. He was ſure, from what he knew of his right honourable friend, that his motives in bringing forward a previous queſtion were pure and upright, but miniſters could not acquieſce in the diſcredit of a ſuſpended cenſure. *If it were the deſire of miniſters to retain their places at all hazards, they might accept the compromiſe which had been offered, but he could ſay for himſelf and his colleagues, that they had no deſire to remain in office longer than they could be uſeful to their country. If he felt himſelf reduced to that ſituation in which he could not ſerve it with advantage, he would carry the ſeals to the feet of his gracious ſovereign, and intreat him to appoint a ſucceſſor more worthy. It was that they might not remain in office diſcredited, and uſeleſs, that he muſt oppoſe the previous queſtion; for he could not think of remaining an hour in office after having forfeited the confidence of the Houſe, and the good opinion of the country.* He therefore gave a direct negative to the previous queſtion, as well as to the reſolutions moved.

Mr. Canning ſaid, he roſe under the impreſſion of feelings ſcarcely leſs painful than thoſe which had been manifeſted by his noble friend who had juſt ſat down, to ſtate, in as few words as poſſible, the reaſons which governed the vote that he was about to give upon the queſtion. In giving this vote, whether he looked at his noble friend the ſecretary of ſtate, or at his right honourable friend (Mr. Pitt) who had moved the order of the day, he felt a degree of pain and reluctance, which nothing leſs than a conſcientious ſenſe of duty could enable him to ſubdue. By this over-ruling ſenſe of duty he found himſelf compelled to differ, for the firſt time in his life, from his right honourable friend. For the firſt time in his life, he could not reconcile it to himſelf to concur in the vote which he had recommended, to purſue the courſe in which he led the way. But let it not therefore be imagined, (God forbid!) that in following a different courſe for himſelf, he preſumed to inſinuate the ſmalleſt blame, to hint a doubt of the propriety of that which, with his view of the ſubject, he had choſen for himſelf, and for thoſe who might come, like him, with unpledged opinions to this diſcuſſion. Far from it. He admitted, and concluded, on the contrary, that whoever in that Houſe had either not completely made up his mind to the extent of that charge againſt miniſters, a heavy charge undoubtedly, which was contained in the reſolutions upon the table, or whoever, agreeing even in opinion as to the juſtice of that charge up to its full extent, was perſuaded (like his right honourable friend) that greater miſchief might be to be apprehended from puſhing ſuch an opinion to a parliamentary declaration, than from ſuffering it to paſs by undecided, and to be (if poſſible) buried in oblivion; whatever gentleman there might be, who joined with his right honourable friend, entertaining theſe opinions, that man was bound, as he thought, to adopt the line of conduct which he had ſuggeſted, and to avail himſelf of the opportunity which was afforded to him of eſcaping from a deciſion which he could not negative with truth, and which he thought could not be affirmed without public miſchief. For himſelf, he had no ſuch refuge open to him. He entertained a deep and full

conviction of the truth of all and every one of the charges which thoſe reſolutions contained: and, unreſtrained by the reaſons of delicacy, which might naturally and laudably operate on the mind of his right honourable friend, he had no heſitation in avowing, that he thought the continuance of a blundering and incapable adminiſtration, at a criſis like the preſent, a greater and more certain miſchief to the country than any that could ariſe from a public declaration by parliament, of its opinion of their incapacity and miſconduct. He therefore was perfectly prepared for a deciſive vote upon this queſtion. And he was the more deſirous of coming to that vote, becauſe, after the manly and impreſſive appeal of his noble friend, he felt, even if he had not felt it before, that he was not one of thoſe who had honourably to himſelf, or juſtly with reſpect to miniſters, concurred in refuſing to come to a deciſive vote upon the preſent occaſion. He had not diſguiſed his opinion, he had expreſſed his ſtrong and growing ſuſpicions of the miſconduct of adminiſtration on many occaſions which had ariſen in the courſe of the buſineſs of parliament during the preſent ſeſſion. What was then ſuſpicion, was now, to his conviction, proved. The papers which they had laid before parliament, exhibited to his mind, abundant proofs that our affairs had been groſsly miſmanaged. The production of thoſe papers appeared to him not only to afford the natural opportunity, but to throw down a challenge to all thoſe who had, like himſelf, expreſſed a ſtrong preſumptive opinion againſt the conduct of miniſters, to repeat or retract that expreſſion now that their conduct was fully before the Houſe. And it was, as he thought, a challenge which, ſo ſituated, they had hardly the option to decline. He conſidered himſelf bound, therefore, to comply with the demand of his noble friend, and, much as he lamented (which he ſincerely did), that one for whom he felt ſo much perſonal regard as he did for him, was involved in the iſſue of the deciſion, he would at leaſt do him the juſtice which he required, by voting in the firſt inſtance againſt a propoſition which (however juſtifiable on the grounds on which it was offered) would prevent that deciſion, which miniſters were undoubtedly entitled to expect on the part of thoſe who were prepared and pledged to come to it.

He had ſaid, that he was fully prepared to declare his entire aſſent to all, and every part of the reſolutions upon their table. After the manner in which they had been argued by his right honourable friend oppoſite to him (Mr. Grenville), and the anſwer, if anſwer it could be called, which his able and perſpicuous ſpeech has received from the right honourable gentleman below him, (Mr. Addington), it could not be neceſſary, even if at that time of night, and after the turn which the debate had taken, it were poſſible for him to detain the Houſe by any detailed argument, in ſupport of the reſolutions. He wiſhed to be allowed only very ſhortly to expreſs his adherence to every principle on which they were founded, and to every allegation which they contained.

Mr. Canning then proceeded to take a ſurvey of the ſeveral reſolutions. The firſt, he obſerved, was a mere truiſm, ſtating in the words of the declaration itſelf, the ſenſe which miniſters appear, by that declaration, to have entertained of the conduct of France. To this he apprehended no objection could be urged, as in that none had been attempted. The ſecond reſolution contraſted the conduct which miniſters had thought proper to hold, and the language which they had uſed, and the impreſſions which they had ſtudiouſly created throughout the country, with what now appeared to have been all along their own real opinions—a contraſt and contradiction not more diſgraceful to miniſters themſelves, than miſchievous to the country which had been duped by it. Could any man reflect without indignation on the deception and deluſion ſo long practiſed upon parliament and upon the people? Could any man recal to his mind, without diſguſt, the canting profeſſions of belief in the continuance of peace, and amity, and goodwill between this country and France, uttered in that Houſe almoſt daily before Chriſtmas, nay, even up to the very moment, it might be ſaid, to within ten days, of the declaration of war, or, what was nearly the ſame thing, of the king's meſſage—uttered at moments (as it now appeared) when the ſecret thoughts and internal convictions of miniſters were directly at variance with the aſſertions which they made? Could any man conſider the conſequences of this ſyſtem of deceit, and not think ſome marked cenſure upon thoſe who had dared to employ it, abſolutely neceſſary, to mark the reſentment of parliament? Should it be borne that parliament ſhould have been called upon to vote under falſe pretences? that members ſhould have been ſent down among their conſtituents (as had happened at the Chriſtmas receſs) to ſpread falſehood and error throughout the country; and that the confiding country ſhould have been miſled into incorrect and groundleſs views, and deluded into viſionary hopes, only that it might feel more ſeriouſly the blow of diſappointment? For what purpoſe could it be that miniſters had thought this ſyſtem of deception, this trick upon the nation, adviſeable? Was it deſign? What poſſible good could ariſe from it? Are men better prepared for action when they are rouſed out of a ſleep, and, as they fancy, ſecure ſlumber? or was it in ſport only that miniſters ſpread theſe gay deluſions? Was it matter of amuſement to them to engage the commerce of the country in wide ſpeculations and hazardous enterprizes, that they might ſee how men would look, when a ſudden and unexpected check wreſted their progreſs, or prevented their expected returns?

returns? or was it sheer ignorance? Did they not know what they were about? Is their excuse for having duped England, that they were themselves the dupes of France? Had they in their possession, had they before their eyes, and in their minds, those documents which they have now at length put into the hands of parliament, those records of insult, injury, and aggression, sufficient, one should think, to awaken the most sluggish suspicion; and did they suspect nothing of the insecurity of their peace? There was but this alternative, either they must have been deceived themselves, or they must wilfully, wantonly, and most audaciously have imposed upon the public; in representing as solid, substantial, and durable, that peace, whose baseless fabric was at that very moment crumbling under their feet. He would not refer to the instances which had been particularly quoted, to those expressions of the right honourable gentleman below him in particular (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) so rashly hazarded, and now so ingenuously explained. He did not say, "*profound* peace." Did he not? The many who thought they heard him must have been wonderfully mistaken; or *if* he *did* say "*profound*," (he might have said it then, it appeared) it was only because "profound" and "peace" were so apt to come together. Happy, dignified, and satisfactory explanation. He would not dwell upon this point. He would content himself with expressing his hearty adoption of every word of a resolution, which went to mark with censure, reprobation, and contempt, a system so unworthy of the government of a country like this; a system which must lower that government in the eyes of all the world, and especially of the enemy we had to contend with; and which tended to unnerve and unprepare the minds of the people for the crisis so near at hand, and the exertions which they must necessarily make to meet it. Unprepared, he still trusted, they would not be found: but if not, it was only because the spirit, courage, and magnanimity of the nation were superior to all the efforts of their government to extinguish and overlay them.

The third resolution no man could compare first with the papers upon the table, and secondly with the avowals extorted this night from his Majesty's ministers, without feeling a painful conviction of its truth—of a truth even more afflicting and more discreditable than that resolution states it. Not only did it appear, beyond contradiction, that opportunities had been lost, for checking the aggressions of France by timely representation and firm and dignified remonstrance—not only had the grossest insults been passed by without any attempt to obtain reparation, the most flagrant violations of treaty suffered to continue without observation; but it appeared now, from the avowal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that these omissions, on the part of his Majesty's government, had been omissions not of negligence, not of inadvertency, but of design. They had, it seems, been remiss upon system; they had studiously suffered their wrongs to accumulate; they had diligently noted them, to be sure, as they occurred, but that was all—they noted them for their own private satisfaction only, not with any idea of applying for redress—and why? the reason was truly admirable—why? because they thought, in their profound wisdom, that the government of Bonaparte was entitled to peculiar indulgence; that it did not become any regular established government to find fault with the accidental extravagances and eccentricities of so extraordinary and undefinable a power. With other governments they would have been all courage, and vigilance, all high point of honour, and quick resentment of injury. But Bonaparte, truly, was to be treated with forbearance; Bonaparte was not to be bound to common rules, or expected to conform himself to the ordinary relations of political intercourse! His green and raw usurpation was entitled to privileges and indulgences which would have been denied to hereditary monarchy, and antient, recognized, legitimate sway! He (Mr. Canning) said, he was glad that the right hon. gentleman had fairly avowed his system. It is exactly what he had all along suspected it to be; though he owned he did not suspect that he would so openly have avowed it. This was the very error, the fundamental fault, the radical vice and mischief of the system upon which the conduct of our government towards France had been regulated; and in his conscience he believed it was to this that we were in a great measure to attribute the struggle in which we were now involved. He did not mean to say that sooner or later that struggle might not at all events have come. But he did say that it had been hastened, that it had been ensured, that it had been provoked (not wilfully—far be it from him to impute to the present government design, or at least successful design, design which had actually produced the object to which it was directed) by a system of conduct the most diametrically opposite to that which ought to have been adopted; to that which every feeling of honour, of prudence, and of safety, plainly recommended. Our stand ought to have been made not on the last insult, but on the first; be it what it might. Unusual indulgence to Bonaparte! He ought to have been watched; and to have known that he was watched with unusual jealousy. The first moment that he outstepped, with regard to this country, the line of respect, of decency, of honourable consideration to which we felt ourselves entitled (at least he hoped we continued to feel ourselves) he should have been met with firmness—with temper, to be sure, with moderation—but with firmness above all, and plainly given to understand that it was not so that Great Britain was accustomed to be treated; that

that ſuch was not the footing of intercourſe upon which ſhe was prepared to place herſelf; that ſhe would herſelf reſpect a power with whom ſhe had made peace, but that ſhe expected, and would demand, urge, and, if neceſſary, would enforce, equal, reciprocal reſpect in her turn. Would they then have precipitated the war? In his conſcience he believed he ſhould have retarded, poſſibly have prevented it. One inſult tamely borne is an invitation to a ſecond. An injury helpleſsly acquieſced in, is a ſignal for more. Temperately and ſteadily oppoſed in his firſt attempt upon our intereſts, or upon our honour, Bonaparte would have heſitated before he tried a ſecond experiment. As it was, he had nothing to deter him. He had every temptation to proceed. He ſaw plainly enough that he was conſidered, as the right honourable gentleman now owns he did conſider him, as a privileged perſon—that an untitled uſurper was in the eyes of the Britiſh miniſtry a favoured power—and he uſed his privilege accordingly. He did not wonder at him. He hardly blamed him. Fleſh and blood—at leaſt a tyrant's fleſh and blood, could hardly reſiſt the temptation of trampling upon unreſiſting imbecility. But for his country he did complain, that its honour had been ſacrificed, and its intereſts trifled with, in a vain and fooliſh attempt to propitiate violence by ſubmiſſion, and to repel aggreſſion by tameneſs and indulgence. He did complain, that inſtead of having taken the beſt chance of averting war altogether, by a timely notice of our determination to encounter it rather than ſubmit to oppreſſion, or to ſhame, we had enſured the war, ſuch as it now came upon us, and we had gained by our ſyſtem of forbearance no other advantage than this whining catalogue of unredreſſed grievances, to which the right gentleman appealed, as a proof of his wiſdom and moderation, but which he conſidered as the ſtrongeſt evidence of weakneſs and miſconduct.

With regard to the fourth reſolution, which related to the giving up the Cape of Good Hope, at the time, and under the circumſtances of its final ſurrender—while Holland, to which it was nominally reſtored, was yet occupied by French armies, which our temporary retention of the Cape had furniſhed a pretext for re-inforcing—while many material points were in diſcuſſion between the two governments—when that very point, upon which, as it now appeared, our government was reſolved at length to make a ſtand, was full in view, and to be ſpeedily brought to a deciſion: with regard to this reſolution, as it had been ſo unanſwerably argued by his right honourable friend (Mr. Grenville) and as a reply to his ſtatement—if reply there could be—yet remained to be offered on the part of miniſters, he would not detain the Houſe by entering into any additional argument. He would content himſelf with expreſſing his firm perſuaſion that the preſent miniſters of Great Britain were the firſt ſtateſmen who ever imagined that the moſt likely way of bringing to a happy concluſion any point upon which they intended to make a ſtand, was to put previouſly out of their hands all collateral means of preſſing it to advantage; that when, from the beginning, they were determined to take their ſtand upon the article of Malta—not to ſurrender Malta directly to France, nor under any arrangement but ſuch as ſhould provide effectual ſecurity againſt France obtaining poſſeſſion of it; when with this determination, they foreſaw, as they muſt have foreſeen, that the Firſt Conſul was bent upon preſſing the evacuation of that iſland under circumſtances which could not fail to place it within his graſp; and when ſo determined, and ſo foreſeeing, they had thought it right (for no matter what reaſon) to retain the Cape, or any other poſſeſſion which had eſcaped the general ſurrender, it did ſeem to him to be the very height of inconſiſtency, weakneſs, and improvidence, not to have turned this poſſeſſion of the Cape to the obvious advantage of which it was capable, that of making it tell upon the ſettlement of their other differences, and ſpecifically upon that of the diſpute reſpecting Malta. All the evils, whatever they were, attending the recapture of the Cape they *had* already incurred. They *had* by this act rivetted Holland in the chains of France. But having done this, having enſured all the miſchief ariſing from their own act, that they ſhould wantonly throw away all the poſſible good, implied a degree of folly utterly irreconcileable with the character and conduct of any miniſtry, except that whoſe miſtakes and miſmanagements were the ſubject of the reſolutions now before the Houſe. This only was wanting to haſten the war, which their previous neglect of their obvious duty, and ſurrender of the honour of the country, had, perhaps, already rendered unavoidable. It was to throw away the only remaining chance of an adjuſtment, the only means for the preſervation of peace with ſafety, which their former profuſe conceſſions had left for a moment in their hands.

Subſcribing, therefore, as he moſt cordially and implicitly did, to the truth of every allegation contained in the reſolutions to which he had referred, he could have no heſitation in giving a hearty aſſent to that which was the natural and inevitable inference from the foregoing, the reſolution which aſſerts, that by theſe inſtances of miſconduct the miniſters had proved themſelves unworthy of the confidence of parliament, and incapable of adminiſtering the public affairs to advantage at a criſis of ſuch difficulty and danger. In his conſcience he fully ſubſcribed to, and adopted, the averment of this reſolution alſo: and with all the ſolemnity which he felt to belong to ſuch a declaration, he declared in the face of that Houſe and of the country, that he did not think the country ſafe while

while the adminiſtration of its affairs was ſuffered to continue in ſuch hands. This was the opinion which he conſcientiouſly entertained; which he had not formed lightly, but upon the beſt conſideration that he was capable of giving to a ſubject of the higheſt and moſt awful importance; and which having thus formed, and being thus convinced of its truth, he could not conſent to abandon, or to abſtain from affirming by his vote. To give this vote, he muſt, in the firſt inſtance, vote againſt the previous motion of his right honourable friend (Mr. Pitt). It was with infinite pain he did ſo. But if all the pain which he felt in being compelled to take a courſe ſo new to him, was not ſufficient to withhold him from the diſcharge of what he conſidered as an indiſpenſible duty, it was not likely that he ſhould be deterred from it by other conſiderations, which had been adduced that night, to deter gentlemen from expreſſing what they thought of the incapacity of the preſent adminiſtration. It had been imputed by more gentlemen than one, and among others, in a particular pointed manner by an honourable baronet (Sir Theo. Metcalf) who ſat near him, that thoſe only wiſhed to diſplace the preſent miniſters, who looked for power, or emolument, or honours, from their removal. He was truly ſorry that the honourable baronet ſhould have been perſuaded to join in this trite and vulgar cry, becauſe he ſhould be loth that any thing he might ſay ſhould hurt his feelings, or derogate from the reſpect to which he believed his character to be entitled. But one general remark he muſt make, in anſwer to theſe imputations, that he believed thoſe only to be capable of ſeriouſly imputing ſuch motives of conduct to others, who were conſcious of being actuated by ſimilar motives themſelves.

The Secretary at War (the hon. Mr. Yorke) called for a deciſive vote, on the ſame grounds with his colleagues. He ſaid that the militia, and a certain portion of the army had been diſbanded on peace; but that the military force of this country was never in a better ſtate than it was at preſent. He defended the conduct of the Admiralty. He ſhewed that we had a naval force in every quarter ſuperior to the enemy; and in Europe ſuperior to that of the French by a much greater proportion than had ever happened on the breaking out of any war.

The Houſe then divided—Ayes (for the order of the day) fifty-ſix; Noes (againſt it) three hundred and thirty-three.

The Houſe then reſumed; Mr. Pitt and ſeveral of his friends immediately went out; and afterward the queſtion being put on the original motion;

Mr. Fox ſaid, that it was not his intention to vote for the reſolutions, though, at the ſame time, it was impoſſible for him to approve of the conduct of his Majeſty's miniſters. He had expreſſed his opinion upon a former occaſion, and he conceived that the time was paſt for moving a vote of cenſure on their conduct upon the preſent ſubject. Yet he hoped that what had occurred would be a warning to them how they kept the Houſe in future in the dark to the laſt moment. Mr. Fox concluded by paying ſome warm compliments to Mr. T. Grenville upon his maſterly ſpeech, and by ſaying that he could not agree to a vote of cenſure, becauſe he did not know but that the ſucceſſors of the preſent miniſtry might be more objectionable to him than the preſent;—After which a diviſion took place upon the original motion of Colonel Patten---For it, thirty-four; Againſt it, two hundred and ſeventy-five *.

Having thus concluded our ſummary of theſe very important debates; we ſhall endeavour to form an opinion, and concentrate into a regular focus the various ideas which were ſuggeſted. When the Addington miniſtry was formed, the public voice was for peace upon any conditions. Smarting under the calamities of an expenſive and deſtructive war with an enemy that had no fixed kind of government; the Pitt miniſtry, deſirous of pacific negotiation, had formerly deputed Lord Malmeſbury for that purpoſe; but finding that the perſons he had to negotiate with, only aimed at ſuperiority over each other, without any fixed principle, his lordſhip returned without accompliſhing the object of his embaſſy. The Engliſh miniſtry then ſaid, that they could not make peace with a government which had no permanence; but that whenever an opportunity offered, and that preliminaries upon an honourable and equitable footing were practicable towards the accompliſhment of a deſirable peace, miniſters were inclinable to attend to ſuch overtures. This opportunity offered after Bonaparte aſſumed the conſulate; and had not the miniſtry acceded to the terms, probably diſaffection and commotion might have been the conſequence; peace was therefore concluded for convenience and from neceſſity. But, if the French Conſul, in his uſual unprincipled manner, ſigned a peace he had no intention to abide by; if he exerciſed the functions of war, when he ought to have cultivated pacific meaſures; if he was baſe enough to employ hoſtile agents to explore the country with which he ſeemed to be at amity; if he impoſed tyrannic ſway over the allies of that country, or indeed if he had committed more aggreſſions than thoſe for which he has been reprobated,---the Britiſh miniſtry, fixed in a principle of integrity, and unwilling to involve the country again in a conteſt, from which ſhe had but ſo lately been relieved, did not immediately reſort to the repugnant cavils of warfare, till negociation had been tried to no purpoſe. It is evident then, that they acted with becoming vigour; and, as ſeveral members in both Houſes properly obſerved, it was not fair, in the moment of uncertainty, to cenſure meaſures which were certainly well intended.

The

* Mr. Fox and ſeveral of his friends retired without dividing.

The debates, however, will be read with attention by all who wiſh to aſcertain the ſtate of party at this time; the Houſe of Commons having preſented a new appearance. It muſt be remembered, that when Mr. Pitt went out of office, he unequivocally promiſed his cordial ſupport to his ſucceſſors; this promiſe he had ſtrictly abided by till now, when his behaviour appeared truly paradoxical. He could not agree in a vote of cenſure againſt miniſters—nor could he approve of their conduct. He did not offer a ſingle reaſon for his not approving of the meaſures of the miniſtry—and yet he moved the order of the day! Such verſatility appears unaccountable, and indeed Lord Hawkeſbury conceived it ſo, when in his reply his agitation was noticeable to every member. Making due allowance for what was due to the delicacy of old friendſhips, a career of oppoſition could not be opened in a more decided manner.

The arguments urged againſt the miniſtry, of having too long neglected to arreſt the arm of Conſular aggreſſion, were ſuch as ſhewed their repugnance to go to war, if any other means could be uſed to prevent it; this, in a country where commerce flouriſhes by amicable arrangements, muſt endear them to the public and every lover of peace: had not miniſters acted as they did, and waited till the meaſure of French iniquity was complete, they would have merited diſapprobation for ſo ſoon involving the country in a needleſs war, merely to ſatisfy ſome diplomatic *minutiæ*.

CHAP. III.

Mr. Tierney appointed Treaſurer of the Navy.—His Conduct arraigned at the Southwark Election.—Replies to the Charge of inconſiſtency.—Addreſs of the City of London, with his Majeſty's Anſwer.—Proceedings to the ſame Purpoſe in Ireland.

FROM appearances at this time, it was evident, that ſome change was in agitation; and as doubts had always ariſen concerning Mr. Addington's elevation to power; ſome conſidering it as purely independent, and unconnected with any part of the preceding adminiſtration; whilſt others as confidently inſiſted that he was merely the automaton of Mr. Pitt; and in this opinion were the majority of ſuch as conſidered themſelves competent to judge of the various movements in the political meaſures of the cabinet. Theſe circumſtances, however, very ſoon were diſcredited, when miniſtry took a ſtep which convinced the country of its independence and its deciſion. This was the appointment of Mr. Tierney, to the lucrative poſt of treaſurer of the navy.

Mr. Tierney had been popular during the former adminiſtration for his decided oppoſition to all their meaſures; of a bold and determined ſpirit; and with abilities adequate to ſuch a diſpoſition; he had, by means of the union of extraordinary talents, been a ſource of uneaſineſs to them in all their proceedings. His appointment therefore was a proof, that, however the former connexion had ſubſiſted, this ſtep was an act of ſeparation as great as it was unexpected, and though Mr. Pitt's obſervations in the houſe might apparently be a diſavowal of the partnerſhip, if any exiſted, this act did not fail effectually to widen the breach.

The friends of the ex-miniſter might have conceived, that the difficulties under which the country now laboured, were only to be met by the wonderful abilities, which it muſt be allowed by all parties, and has never been denied by any, he certainly did poſſeſs. Mr. Fox's admirers drew the ſame hopes of their favourite, as reſulting from the ſame cauſe; but the promotion of Mr. Tierney was a convincing proof, that the miniſter thought he could have a ſufficient reinforcement of talent without the aſſiſtance of either party. Mr. Tierney ſtood independent—he had long ſeceded as a member of the Whig Club, or as they wiſhed to inſinuate, they had *ſhaken him off*; he therefore went into office without friends, or any weight of influence, except brilliant talent, as a mere individual, and without any other recommendation. Miniſtry, therefore, made no acquiſition of power by means of his appointment; which, when announced, immediately extinguiſhed the hopes of the leading parties. The conſequence was, that Mr. Pitt immediately and unequivocally diſowned the miniſter; whilſt the Ponſonby intereſt, and the other friends of Mr. Fox, retired from public buſineſs in diſguſt; they determined to await a fortuitous turn in the cabinet, to accompliſh which, if poſſible, and, not to forfeit their hopes by precipitation, they reſolved not to take a decided part either for or againſt the miniſter.

Mr. Tierney alſo did not eſcape the cenſure which it was imagined his deſertion from his former profeſſions, as it was called, had entailed upon him. His ſeat in parliament, upon his acceptance of the treaſurerſhip, having been declared vacant, a powerful opponent appeared to diſpute his further claim on the electors of Southwark. Sir Thomas Turton, a magiſtrate, and a perſon of great intereſt, declared his determination to canvas the ſuffrages of the electors againſt one who had ſo flagrantly deſerted his conſtituents. He took a general review of Mr. Tierney's conduct, and the principles upon which he had been conſidered a fit perſon to repreſent the Borough; and he adverted to a book, formerly written by a friend of Mr. Tierney's, in explanation of his principles and conduct. Having quoted many

paſſages

paſſages from it, he begged leave to aſk, whether Mr. Tierney could poſſibly be conſidered the character he was deſcribed? Could he pretend to ſay it was in his power now to vote on any queſtion with the oppoſition? Could he ſit in any part of the Houſe of Commons, except upon the Treaſury Bench; or, could he vote otherwiſe than with the miniſter? He conſidered that Mr. Tierney had forfeited all claim to the favour of the electors of Southwark, and he truſted, that, as that gentleman had become an apoſtate from the principles he had once profeſſed, he had forfeited the title by which he had been recommended. Mr. Tierney had formerly profeſſed himſelf the champion of Peace and Parliamentary Reform, but he had now come forward as the champion of war, for, as treaſurer of the navy, he muſt neceſſarily have an intereſt in the continuance of the war; and he doubted not, but he would ſoon come forward as the champion of corruption."

To an addreſs ſo pointed and ſo perſonal, Mr. Tierney obſerved, "That on former occaſions, he had had the ſupport of the electors, an honour which he ſhould contemplate with pride to the lateſt period of his life—at preſent, he appeared before them in a new ſituation. It had pleaſed his majeſty to confer an high and honourable office upon him; he was aware, that, with many who had ſtood on the popular intereſt, it had been conſidered that, by their acceptance of a place under government, they had forfeited their pretenſions to its continuance: But when he conſidered the motives which had induced him to accept the office of treaſurer of the navy, he felt himſelf perfectly at eaſe as to the approval of it by his late conſtituents. He was afraid to meet no man upon the queſtion of the conſiſtency and propriety of his conduct; he was well aſſured, he had, in no inſtance, and particularly in the laſt, done any thing that merited the forfeiture of the eſteem and confidence of his former friends. He had felt it his duty firſt to conſult his conſtituents at the three former elections, concerning his acceptance of the place in queſtion, and he was happy to find, that the principles upon which he accepted his office, had not injured him in their eſteem; he truſted, that his acceptance of the office of treaſurer of the navy, would only be conſidered as affording him more extenſive means of ſerving his country; and that, ſo far from operating as a reaſon for the electors of the Borough of Southwark withdrawing their ſupport, it would rather be an inducement for their continuing it. His acceptance of the office of treaſurer of the navy, did not render him, in the ſmalleſt degree, dependent upon the miniſter. As a good ſubject, he thought it his duty, at that momentous criſis, to give his ſupport to miniſters, whoſe conduct he approved. If their conduct ſhould, at any future period, be deemed by him either improper or unconſtitutional, he was at liberty to throw up his office, and oppoſe them; he was not to be conſidered like the gentleman who had propoſed his opponent, once a captain always a captain; he was not obliged to remain treaſurer of the navy; if he found his majeſty's miniſters deviating from that line of conduct, which was conſonant to the principles it had always been his pride to profeſs; if he ſhould hereafter find them loſing ſight of that patriotiſm by which they at preſent ſeemed to be actuated, he ſhould feel it his duty to withdraw his ſupport from them as much as he now felt it his duty to give them his aid, in the noble ſtruggle in which they were embarked againſt the common foe."

Mr. Tierney concluded by obſerving, that "with regard to the office of treaſurer of the navy, an act of parliament had paſſed, by which the ſalary of that office was fixed; it was the ſame in peace as in war. On the ſubject of parliamentary reform, he was as ſanguine as ever he had been; but he deſired it to be diſtinctly underſtood, that he neither then was, nor ever had been a friend to the chimerical idea of univerſal ſuffrage—that degree of parliamentary reform, which the beſt friends of the country thought neceſſary, it ſhould ever be his wiſh to promote. He therefore felt himſelf juſtified in ſaying, that he ſhould be as happy as ever to march under the banners of peace and reform."

After a moſt illiberal, and perſonal conteſt, which diſturbed the peace of the inhabitants for nine days; and was productive of more rancour, than is conſiſtent with the regulations of a populous borough, in the neighbourhood of a poliſhed metropolis, Mr. Tierney gained a majority; the numbers on the final poll being for

The Right Hon. George Tierney	1,573
Sir Thomas Turton, Bart.	1,492
Majority	81

The recal of Lord Whitworth, the opinions in parliament, and the other teſtimonies of a rupture with an inveterate foe called forth the ſentiments of the whole kingdom; addreſſes from all quarters approached the royal preſence with aſſurances of unqualified loyalty and attachment; but none were more pointed in their expreſſions than that of the city of London:

On the eighth of June, the lord mayor, aldermen, ſheriffs, common council, &c. of the city of London, preſented the following addreſs to his Majeſty, on the throne:

"*To the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty.*

"*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

"We, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council aſſembled, beg leave to approach the throne, at this important criſis, with our renewed ſentiments of fidelity and

allegiance to your Majeſty's perſon, crown, and government.

"We are fully perſuaded of the neceſſity for the deciſive and dignified meaſures adopted by your Majeſty, by the recal of your Majeſty's ambaſſador from France, and the vigorous poſture of defence of the united kingdom to repel the deſigns of that government, whoſe inordinate and inſatiable views of reſtleſs ambition are manifeſtly directed to overthrow the glorious conſtitution of theſe realms, and give a mortal ſtab to our exiſtence as a free and independent nation. The juſtice of your Majeſty's cauſe, and the moderation of your claims, muſt be felt and acknowledged by every ſurrounding power; and we are convinced that the brave and happy people of this land, conſcious of the purity of their freedom, and the ineſtimable privileges they enjoy under your Majeſty's mild and paternal rule, will with one hand and heart, reſolve to defend and maintain them. Your Majeſty's faithful citizens of London feel a grateful pride in this aſſurance of kindred loyalty throughout your Majeſty's dominions, and are deeply ſenſible of the eminent diſtinction they are inveſted with, by this opportunity of teſtifying their fidelity and attachment to their beloved ſovereign. It is our earneſt prayer, that every bleſſing may attend and proſper your Majeſty's zeal and exertions for the welfare of your people; and ſhould ſubſtantial peace not be attainable, but by the deciſion of the ſword, may the calamities of a war not to be averted be loſt in the ſucceſs and glory of its achievements.

"Your Majeſty's faithful citizens cannot, however, reſrain from expreſſing their ſatisfaction at the diſpoſition manifeſted by your Majeſty, of availing yourſelf of any favourable circumſtance of terminating the ſubſiſting differences, whenever it can be done conſiſtently with the honour and dignity of your Majeſty's crown, and the ſecurity and welfare of the Britiſh empire."

His Majeſty's anſwer to the addreſs was dignified but moderate; and, according with the meaſures of his miniſters, did not wiſh hoſtility, if peace was poſſible to be maintained; it was in ſubſtance as follows:

"I receive, with great ſatisfaction, this dutiful and loyal addreſs from my city of London.

"My endeavours to preſerve peace, have been unhappily fruſtrated, by the reſtleſs ſpirit of aggrandiſement which actuates the council of the French government, but I truſt, the united and vigorous exertions of the nation at large, in ſupport of the juſt cauſe we are engaged in, will, under the protection of Divine Providence, enable me to maintain the dignity of my crown, and to defend the rights and intereſts of my people againſt every aggreſſion."

The inhabitants of Ireland alſo ſtood forward on this important occaſion. The meeting of the principal inhabitants of Cork, voted an addreſs to his Majeſty, expreſſive of fervid loyalty to the conſtitution, and of abhorrence to the tyranny which provoked, by a ſeries of offenſive aggreſſions, the neceſſity of vindicating the honour, and ſecuring the intereſts, of the Britiſh empire. But there was a new and a noble feature in the addreſs, which enhanced even the value of loyalty, becauſe it carried with it the means of making it effective, and competent to our criſis. It ſpoke the language of *unanimity among Iriſhmen*, of a reconciled and national ſpirit, in the place of alienation and animoſity, and of the reality of that redemption of the Iriſh character from the little conſiderations of party, to the broader and prouder views of their common country, the meeting exhibited proofs at once convincing and delighting. An addreſs was preſented to the Lord Lieutenant, juſtly expreſſing how much his mild and liberal adminiſtration had done, in effecting that national reconcilement which inſpired the conduct of the meeting. How much more acceptable the language of ſuch an aſſembly, ſo moved, ſo incited, and ſo influenced, than cold and formal avowals, couched in ſuborned expreſſions, and uttering the dictation of narrow and circumſcribed intereſts.

CHAP. IV.

Income Tax oppoſed by the Merchants at the London Tavern, and again by the Corporation and Livery of London.—General Remarks on that Impoſt.—Vigorous Meaſures of Government.—The Navy increaſed.—Anecdote of Britiſh Valour.—Immenſe Number and Value of Prizes taken.—Moderation of Miniſters in its Remonſtrances to the Batavian Republic.—Internal Improvement.—Highland Canal.—Account of Naval Peculation.

ALTHOUGH the city of London preſented the addreſs noticed in our preceding Chapter, ſhe thought it highly neceſſary to oppoſe every proceeding which ſeemed to encroach on her privileges, or the rights of the country.

Mr. Addington in his budget, had introduced a modification of the Income Tax, at five *per cent.* and upon this tax he had ſaid, "that he muſt make a diſtinction between that ſpecies of property, the value of which, to the owner, did in no degree depend on ſkill, talents, and induſtry, and that ſpecies of property, which wholly depended upon perſonal induſtry and exertions: under the firſt head, he included land and funded property. Theſe, he ſaid, muſt be relieved from diſcloſure; but that all perſons

ſons carrying on trade, engaged in profeſſions, or living by perſonal exertions, *muſt be brought under the inſpection of commiſſioners.*"

Such a tax, under ſuch circumſtances, created juſt cauſe of alarm, becauſe it was evident that the power given of an inquiſition into the private finances of individuals, muſt be pregnant with incalculable evils.

The propoſal of this obnoxious tax was inexcuſable, inaſmuch, as it was not merely unjuſt by its liability to evaſion; it was unjuſt in its very principle; income not being the criterion by which to judge of a man's ability to pay taxes; nor, probably, might his income be proportionable to his riches. Therefore, to tax men according to their income, was evidently one of the moſt unequal meaſures, and of conſequence one of the moſt unjuſt things that could be attempted, eſpecially in a free country *.

It ſhould alſo even be conſidered, that induſtry is ſubject to many caſualties, it may be ſuſpended by ſickneſs; and ſickneſs may unfit even a young man from exerciſing his faculties to the laſt moment of a long life; induſtry is alſo liable to mental as well as bodily imbecility; beſides, the changes which go on without intermiſſion in human affairs, often diminiſh the productive powers of induſtry. An income under all theſe caſualties, dependant upon the induſtry of an individual, muſt be worth leſs than an annuity dependant upon his life, whether ariſing from landed or other property. The worth of the one would be ten years purchaſe, that of the other would not be more than ſeven or ſix. If therefore a man whoſe income did not riſe to more than ſix years purchaſe, was compelled to pay a tax equal probably to him whoſe income was even at forty years purchaſe; very little need be ſhewn how deteſtable muſt be ſuch a ſyſtem!

So corrupt, indeed, to the very core was this tax conſidered, that had it been ſolely levied upon landed property, it would have been held unequal and unjuſt; it therefore agitated the minds of all ranks, but of none more than thoſe attached to trade and commercial concerns: in conſequence of ſuch agitation, a numerous and reſpectable meeting of merchants, bankers, and others, diſapproving of the income tax, was held at the London Tavern, on the 23d of this month, for the purpoſe of deviſing the moſt effectual means, that a tax ſo obnoxious, ſhould not paſs into a law.

Timothy Brown, Eſq. being called to the chair: Mr. Travers, an eminent merchant, opened the buſineſs: "He, ſaid, he had thought it his duty to convene this meeting, in conſequence of the declaration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, of his intention to revive that odious tax, called the Income Tax, againſt which they had proteſted more than twelve months ago. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, impreſſed with their ſtrong objections againſt the bill, thought proper to meet their wiſhes.——He repealed the bill; a meaſure that ſpread univerſal ſatisfaction throughout the country.——This was unneceſſary for him to prove, ſince even the commiſſioners of the Income Tax, many of whom he was acquainted with, had aſſured him, that if the tax had not been repealed, they would have reſigned their offices, which were ſo unpleaſant to them, and ſo repugnant to their feelings of the liberty which diſtinguiſhed the Britiſh nation, and conſtituted the pride and glory of the country. He did not think ſuch a tax would again have been reſorted to; he had given the Chancellor of the Exchequer credit for being a man of more judgment: he knew he was a man full of the beſt intentions, and he therefore could not ſuppoſe he would have attempted to revive a tax which would have the effect of rendering the war, at preſent he truſted the moſt popular one the country was ever engaged in, extremely unpopular. It was a tax which would unnerve and unbrace the energies of the country. The moment he found the Chancellor of the Exchequer had announced his intention, he wrote to Mr. Vanſittart, urging him to ſtate his objections; but unhappily the meaſure was in ſuch a ſtate of progreſſion, that as he expected no anſwer, ſo he received none. Not diſcouraged, he had on Saturday laſt written a long letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in which he ſtated all the objections that occurred to him againſt the tax. He in anſwer had a letter from Mr. Hobhouſe, informing him he had received from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, an important communication touching the Income Tax. This he ſhould lay before the meeting; but previous to his doing ſo, he thought it expedient they ſhould enter their proteſt againſt this unconſtitutional tax, in order that it might make a laſting impreſſion on the country. He hoped

* Suppoſe, for inſtance, one man derives 500*l.* *per* year from his induſtry, and another ſhould derive 500*l.* *per* year, from a landed eſtate. Are theſe men equally rich? The man who has the eſtate, can enjoy his income during his life; and at his death, the eſtate can be ſold for 20,000*l.* The 500*l.* *per* year, obtained by the induſtry of the other, would fall at his deceaſe; conſequently he muſt be poorer than the former, by the ſame ſum of 20,000*l.* This man who poſſeſſed the eſtate, might live up to his income, and leave ample proviſion for his family; but he who is compelled to live by his induſtry, and derives his income from it, ought every year to reſerve a part of that income for the benefit of his children. How intolerable then would it be, if government ſhould tax his income equally high with that of the man whoſe eſtate was a ſufficient proviſion for his family. The former, with the moſt perſevering economy, muſt ſtill leave a property greatly inferior to that of the man with the eſtate. Were he to put by his *whole* income as long as he lived, ſtill he muſt leave much leſs than he who poſſeſſed the eſtate. Could there be more injuſtice than to tax theſe men equally?

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the reſolutions he intended to ſubmit would be circulated from John O'Groat's Houſe to the Land's End in Cornwall. He would not detain them further, but would read the thoughts he had committed to paper, and then propoſe them as diſtinct reſolutions. He had at firſt framed theſe reſolutions in the form of a petition, but Mr. Smith, one of the members for Norwich, had informed him, that a petition againſt a money bill would certainly be rejected, even though it ſhould come from the city of London in its corporate capacity. The general ſcope of his reſolutions was to this effect:—"That in the preſent critical juncture of public affairs, they felt the greateſt repugnance to objecting to any tax impoſed by the legiſlature, as they were convinced of the indiſpenſible neceſſity they lay under to contribute largely towards the expences of the war in which the country was engaged; at the ſame time they thought it their duty publicly to expreſs their opinion reſpecting the intended tax on Income: firſt, as to its principle, that it was founded in error, inaſmuch as the abilities of perſons to pay the tax ought not to be meaſured by their income, but by the claims on it. One man was poſſeſſed of 200l. a year, with a large family; another had 2,000l. a year, without any family at all. Would any one ſay that it was a fair mode of taxation, to make each of theſe pay five *per cent.* on his income. One man derived his income from land, another from trade, another from ſalary, another from ſhort annuities;—was it fair that all theſe ſhould be equally taxed? Another objection aroſe from the difficulty of collecting the tax. Commiſſioners might be appointed, but no man could aſcertain the exact amount of every perſons income; it would conſequently operate as A TAX ON HONESTY.

"The next objection was, that it created a temptation to evaſion, and tended to diſſolve the great moral obligations by which ſociety were bound together.

"But the moſt weighty objection was, the manner of collecting the tax. The ſummary juriſdiction of a board of commiſſioners, furniſhed with unconſtitutional powers, were degrading to the country, and hoſtile to the feelings.

For theſe, and for many other obvious reaſons, he wiſhed the meeting to declare their diſapprobation of the tax on income, as one which no modification whatever could rectify, and that the paſſing it into a law would be both unjuſt and impolitic." Such was the tenor of the reſolutions he meant to ſubmit to their conſideration, alteration, or explanation.

He then propoſed to put the meeting in poſſeſſion of the letter from Mr. Hobhouſe, on the part of the miniſter, which was read by the chairman.

"*Dear Sir*, *Duke Street*, 21 *June*, 1803.

"The Chancellor of the Exchequer communicated to me, this evening, the contents of your letter, in which you have referred him to me as being well acquainted with you. I truſt it is unneceſſary for me to ſay, that I ſpoke of you in thoſe high terms of reſpect, to which, from my own knowledge, you are ſo well entitled. Your general character for good ſenſe is not unknown to Mr. Addington. At his expreſs requeſt, I have to convey to you his ſentiments, in which I concur. He begs you to ſuſpend your judgment, as to the propoſed tax on trade, and other property, in ſupport of the juſt war in which, through the inſolence and reſtleſs ambition of Bonaparte, the country is unfortunately engaged; and I hope you will ſecond the requeſt, and unite with him in ſuggeſting to the meeting to be called, that clauſes are intended to be propoſed in the committee, which poſſibly may invalidate the whole of the objections againſt the meaſure.

"I remain, &c."

Mr. Waithman ſaid, they were met to prevent the introduction of a tax called the Income Tax, which had been ſome time ago repealed. He had attended to the long reſolution read, but it did not ſeem to him to come up to the grand and principal objection to this obnoxious and unjuſt tax. It was unjuſt to tax that income, which might have a limited duration, in the ſame proportion as that which was permanent, and was produced from funded or landed property. It was not the wiſh of the citizens of the metropolis to be excuſed from paying their taxes; and if the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſuppoſed them actuated by ſuch a motive in their oppoſition to the Income Tax, he was much miſtaken. They were ready to pay whatever the exigencies of the country required of them, but they objected to being placed in a ſtate of degradation, which no Engliſhman ought to ſubmit to. It ſeemed to be conſidered as a promiſe to relieve perſons engaged in trade. He did not view it in that light; all that was aſked of him was to impoſe his taxes fairly, that every one might pay his juſt proportion, and not introduce thoſe which violated the freedom of the conſtitution. There was another thing which deſerved mention, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was laying on a ſhop tax under another name. Many retailers would have to pay more for the ſervants they employ in their ſhops, than for the ſhop tax. He conceived the whole of the meaſure was brought forward as if with a view to irritate the feelings of the public. It was truly ſaid, great exertions were neceſſary, but ſurely no conſideration ought to deter them from oppoſing a tax of ſuch pernicious tendency. Having ſtated ſome further objections, he ſaid he ſhould propoſe a few plain reſolutions as amendments to thoſe which had been ſubmitted. He concluded by moving, "That it appears to this meeting, that notwithſtanding the manifeſt injuſtice, vexation, and oppreſſion, occaſioned by the late tax upon income, it is propoſed, by a bill now depending

pending in parliament, to revive the ſame partial and obnoxious impoſt." This reſolution was paſſed unanimouſly. He next moved, "That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the revival of this tax is highly dangerous and impolitic; and that the arbitrary, inquiſitorial, and unconſtitutional power, neceſſary to render it efficient under any modification, would be outraging the public feeling, and endangering the peace of the community."

Mr. Travers anſwered, that they were not aſſembled to oppoſe the tax on landed or viſible property, but to endeavour, as commercial men, to protect themſelves from a tax on the dubious and uncertain profits of trade. If any one ſuppoſed they were to oppoſe the Income Tax in general, he might be perſuaded their endeavours would be vain. If it was not poſſible to obtain all they wiſhed, at leaſt let them try to obtain ſomething that ſhould be valuable. If they could prevent an obnoxious tax from falling upon trade, they would accompliſh a great deal. He, therefore, thought it would be better to return thanks to Mr. Addington for his communication. He conceived it would be indecorous not to thank the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for the attention he had paid, and ſeemed diſpoſed to pay, to their intereſts.

After ſome converſation, the vote of thanks, was carried unanimouſly.

Upon the ſubject of the other reſolution, Mr. Travers ſaid, that although he approved of the motions propoſed by Mr. Waithman, and had willingly withdrawn his own to make way for them, yet he thought they ought to be prefaced by a reſolution, declaring that they did not oppoſe government, for the ſake of oppoſition, but, on the contrary, were ready to ſupport it at the preſent momentous criſis of public affairs; he therefore wiſhed to ſuggeſt a reſolution to the effect he had before ſtated, "That in the proſecution of the war, they felt themſelves, as commercial men, deeply intereſted in the event of the war, and would readily ſubmit to other taxes, not fraught with objections to which the income tax was liable."

Mr. Waithman ſaid, it could not be neceſſary for the citizens of London to pledge themſelves to ſupport government. He did not think it proper to introduce ſuch a motion, as the meeting had been called for a diſtinct purpoſe.

Mr. Wilkes ſaid, that when he conſidered the attention which would doubtleſs be paid, not only by this country, but by France, to the reſolutions of the citizens of the metropolis, it appeared to him highly proper they ſhould be prefaced or followed by a reſolution ſtating, that they were not actuated by a principle of oppoſition to the government, or thoſe at the head of the government, but were ready to pledge themſelves to ſupport government, and pay whatever taxes might be levied upon them, provided they were free from conſtitutional objections. He was of opinion, that the reſolutions ſhould not go forth unaccompanied by the one now propoſed. It would be a greater triumph to France than any ſhe had ever gained either by her arms or her arts, to have it ſuppoſed that the citizens of London were adverſe to the taxes ſtated by government as neceſſary to carry on the war. France acted upon the principle, that the preſent war was againſt our finances: they ought, therefore, to guard againſt encouraging that principle. They ought to ſhew they were not oppoſing government, but only reſiſting a meaſure replete with particular injuſtice. He was perſuaded they would make a greater impreſſion on parliament and on adminiſtration, if they accompanied their reſolutions by an expreſſion of their readineſs to ſubmit to every conſtitutional burthen impoſed upon them.

Mr. Waithman was one of the laſt who would wiſh to retard the meaſures of government; but at the ſame time he thought himſelf juſtified in oppoſing a declaration which had no connection whatever with the ſubject of the meeting.

Mr. Travers, however, was determined to take the ſenſe of the meeting on the reſolution he had moved; and thought, that at a time when the country was threatened with invaſion by an inveterate and irreconcileable enemy, a threat which it was probable they would ſoon put in execution, it was neceſſary reſolutions ſuch as theſe ſhould be accompanied by a declaration of their readineſs to make every exertion to repel the foe.

After ſome further debate, the previous queſtion was moved, and carried by a great majority.

Determined not to let a matter of ſuch vaſt national conſequence, be dropped for want of formality; a decided opinion was given againſt it, at a Common Hall of the Livery of London, on the 29th of the ſame month.

The Lord Mayor (Mr. Price) opened the hall, by obſerving, that when he was elected to the high office in which his fellow citizens had placed him, he had made them a ſolemn promiſe, that he would, on every occaſion, on proper application, attend not only to the reſolves of the livery of London, but of the corporation at large; he truſted therefore, that on this and every other occaſion, the moſt orderly ſpirit would prevail; that every opinion would be calmly canvaſſed; and that finally he called upon them to ſupport the dignity of the ſituation he had the honour to fill, and hoped he ſhould not apply in vain.

After Mr. Waithman, one of the common council, had gone over the ſame grounds as at the London Tavern, he added, that "they had no objection to contribute their fair proportion, whenever they were called upon ſo to do, in a conſtitutional manner; but it muſt appear evident, that, under a meaſure

like that which they then diſcuſſed, they muſt ſubmit to a degree of injuſtice and oppreſſion, which could not attach to perſons who were not engaged in commercial ſpeculations." In this he was joined by Mr. Thomas Reeve, another of the common council, who added his declaration, that "he was ready and willing, and he truſted, that every citizen preſent was alſo ready and willing to ſubſcribe to aſſiſt government in the preſent arduous conteſt; but he could not think of giving his conſent to a meaſure, which would have the effect of expoſing the concerns of perſons in trade, to inquiſitorial inveſtigation. If any thing could have a tendency to diſunite the people of the country, it was a miniſter's propoſing a tax on income. Let any other tax, more congenial to Britiſh freedom be brought forward, and he was perſuaded, it would be acquieſced in with cheerfulneſs."

Alderman Perring's remarks were moderate and candid, "though," he ſaid, "he had upon this and other occaſions, given his diſapprobation of the Income Tax; but in the preſent inſtance, he begged the livery to conſider before they decided. The tax when brought forward by the late adminiſtration, had encountered in parliament the moſt animated oppoſition, particularly from one who had always ſtood forward in their rights, he meant Mr. alderman Combe; but the meaſure on which account they were aſſembled, had received a different reception; ſo far from having encountered a firm and decided oppoſition, it had only been oppoſed by one member of the houſe of commons. After many pertinent obſervations to the ſame purpoſe, he ended by ſaying, "I could wiſh that your reſolutions today ſhould prove the unanimity by which you are doubtleſs inſpired! I am ſure the effect of that unanimous expreſſion would do more than whole armies! It would ſhew the enemy that we are invincible!"

To go over the ground of argument which was uſed upon this occaſion both by the body corporate and by the merchants, would be unneceſſary, we ſhall therefore only add, that the following reſolutions were read and carried.

PRICE, Mayor.

"Reſolved, That it being intended, by a bill now pending in parliament, to revive the ſaid tax, we are of opinion, that no meaſure, which has for its object the aſcertainment of the profits ariſing from trade and profeſſions, can be modified, ſo as to remove theſe partial, inquiſitorial, and unconſtitutional operations

"Reſolved, That under ſuch circumſtances, the revival of ſuch a tax is highly impolitic and irritating to the nation at large, thereby tending to leſſen the patriotiſm, loyalty, and unanimity of the country at the preſent momentous criſis.

"Reſolved, That the repreſentatives of this city in parliament be, and they are hereby inſtructed, to oppoſe the ſaid bill from paſſing into a law, under any modification or amendment.

"Reſolved unanimouſly, That while we feel it to be a duty which we owe to ourſelves and to our poſterity, to reſiſt the impoſition of taxes replete with the ſame objections as the tax on income, we embrace with pleaſure the preſent opportunity, when the invaſion of our coaſt is threatened by a reſtleſs and powerful foe, to declare our firm determination cordially to unite with our fellow-citizens in the defence of our country, and in the preſervation of our invaluable rights and privileges."

Though apologies have been attempted for the Income Tax; and though the commercial may be ſaid to be levied with liberality, &c. yet, when the inquiſitorial part of the queſtion is ſuggeſted, as with great propriety it may, when ſo much power is placed in the breaſts of commiſſioners and inſpectors, who, poſſeſſing the paſſions ſimilar to their fellow creatures, might be induced to exerciſe that power to the diſadvantage of intereſts, which but for ſuch interference, might have inſured unſullied and unbounded credit.

The vigour which government thought it neceſſary to exert, now began to be prevalent. Forty thouſand additional ſeamen, including eight thouſand marines, were voted in the houſe of commons for the year 1803; making up, with the lateſt return of the number of ſeamen already raiſed, to an amount of ſeventy thouſand. The whole country, as though agitated by elective fluid, aſſumed a martial appearance; domeſtic comforts gave way to national duty; every Briton expreſſed the ardor of patriotiſm; and in the ſolemn dignity of the ancient Greeks and Romans, devoted themſelves to ſacrifice every other duty to the ſervice of their king and their country.

The Gazettes conſtantly announced the bravery and intrepidity of our ſailors; ſeveral valuable prizes were brought into the Britiſh ports; the capture of theſe, as they proved mortifying to the enemy, developed Bonaparte's motives for prevarication in his various anſwers; it was evident, that he wiſhed by deluſive repreſentations to prolong the negotiation, till he had ſecured the property of his ſubjects, which now ſteered for Great Britain; one month longer would have effected what he aimed at; but the forbearance of the Britiſh government had been exhauſted, its reſentment ſuperſeded its former moderation, and the firſt conſul found to his coſt the danger of inſulting a nation, which might have been, had his meaſures been honourable, a powerful friend and ally.

The gallantry evinced in a *petite* expedition againſt the French coaſt, renders it worthy of preſervation:—the Blanche frigate, commanded by captain Mudge, being upon the coaſt of France, took

took a ſmall fiſhing-boat: it immediately occurred to the firſt lieutenant, Mr. Fromow, that ſomething might be done to annoy the enemy even with this; and he not only propoſed to fit her up as a gun-boat, with a twelve-pound carronade, but alſo volunteered to take the command of her himſelf. Four ſeamen, four marines, Mr. Lockyer, maſter's mate, and Mr. Bettſworth, midſhipman, made up the crew. Thus provided, they immediately ſailed into the harbour of Havre, and came to an anchor about five in the morning, determined to brave every event to which fortune might expoſe them. They had not been long in this ſituation, before they ſaw a ſloop, deeply laden, making for the harbour. They attacked and immediately carried her, and Mr. Betteſworth, with two men, being placed aboard, was directed to proceed to the frigate, then at a diſtance in the offing. This tranſaction being perceived by the people of Havre, a brig mounting ſixteen guns, lying in the harbour, was ordered to ſlip and chaſe; and coming within piſtol-ſhot, opened a heavy fire of grape-ſhot upon the boat; her ſails were torn, and her hull was ſhattered; but fortune, which always favours the brave, preſerved the lives of the gallant men on board. Not at all diſcouraged by the inequality of the conteſt, they kept up a briſk and determined fire with their carronade upon the brig, boat in her quarter, and as ſhe was crowded with men who volunteered for the occaſion, ſuch a well directed fire had conſiderable effect. This action continued with equal ardour on both ſides, till the frigate, having heard the cannonade, and made ſail towards the harbour, checked the impetuoſity of the Frenchmen, who, conſulting their own ſafety, left the boat with her prize, and made the beſt of her way into Havre.

Catwater, the eaſtern arm of Plymouth, now diſplayed an intereſting ſpectacle, it appeared a foreſt of prizes; ſo that there was ſcarcely room for paſſage-boats. The number of French prizes and Batavian ſhips ſent into this port, in the courſe of only three weeks, amounted to the aſtoniſhing number of one hundred and five ſail, of all deſcriptions; the computed value of the ſhips and cargoes, could not be leſs than one million and a half ſterling *. Orders, however, were ſent to liberate the maſters, mates, and crews of the Batavian ſhips, which it had been found neceſſary to detain; they had each a change of linen and clothes, with freedom to go home when they pleaſed. This liberality, ſo unexpected, operated upon them to ſuch a degree, that moſt of them entered on board the king's ſhips or privateers †.

* Many of the Batavian cargoes, coſt in Batavia, from 40,000 l. to 60,000 l. each, beſides private ventures; a circumſtance unparalleled in this or any former war; for beſides the loſs of private veſſels, a conſiderable defalcation in the revenues of France and Holland, muſt have been ſuſtained by the non-payment of the duties on importation.

† The reaſons aſſigned by the Britiſh government, for its conduct, are fully detailed in the following

PROCLAMATION.

At the Court at Windſor, the 16th of June, 1803, preſent, the KING'S Moſt Excellent Majeſty in Council.

Whereas his Majeſty's moſt anxious endeavours to preſerve neutrality and peace between his Majeſty and the Batavian republic have failed, and the Batavian republic has become engaged in meaſures of hoſtility againſt his Majeſty and his ſubjects: his Majeſty, therefore, is pleaſed, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that general repriſals be granted againſt the ſhips, goods, and ſubjects of the Batavian republic, ſo that as well his Majeſty's fleets and ſhips, as alſo all other ſhips and veſſels that ſhall be commiſſioned by letters of marque, or general repriſals, or otherwiſe, by his Majeſty's commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain, ſhall and may lawfully ſeize all ſhips, veſſels, and goods, belonging to the Batavian republic, or to any perſons being ſubjects of the Batavian republic, or inhabiting within any of the territories of the Batavian republic, and bring the ſame to judgment in ſuch courts of admiralty within his Majeſty's dominions, as ſhall be duly commiſſionated to take cognizance thereof; and, to that end, his Majeſty's advocate-general, with the advocate of the admiralty, are forthwith to prepare the draft of a commiſſion, and preſent the ſame to his Majeſty at this board, authoriſing the commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high admiral, or any perſon or perſons by them empowered and appointed, to iſſue forth and grant letters of marque and repriſals to any of his Majeſty's ſubjects, or others whom the ſaid commiſſioners ſhall deem fitly qualified in that behalf, for the apprehending, ſeizing, and taking the ſhips, veſſels, and goods, belonging to the Batavian republic, or inhabiting within any of the territories of the Batavian republic: and that ſuch powers and clauſes be inſerted in the ſaid commiſſion, as have been uſual, and are according to former precedents; and his Majeſty's ſaid advocate-general, with the advocate of the admiralty, are alſo forthwith to prepare the draft of a commiſſion, and preſent the ſame to his Majeſty at this board, authoriſing the ſaid commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high admiral, to will and require the high court of admiralty of Great Britain, and the lieutenant and judge of the ſaid court, his ſurrogate or ſurrogates, as alſo the ſeveral courts of admiralty, within his Majeſty's dominions, which ſhall be duly commiſſioned to take cognizance of, and judicially proceed upon all and all manner of captures, ſeizures, prizes, and repriſals of all ſhips and goods that are or ſhall be made, and to hear and determine the ſame, and according to the courſe of admiralty and the laws of nations, to adjudge and condemn all ſuch ſhips, veſſels, and goods, as ſhall belong to the Batavian republic, or to any perſons being ſubjects of the Batavian republic, or inhabiting within any of the territories of the Batavian republic; and that ſuch powers and clauſes be inſerted in the ſaid commiſſion as have been uſual, and are according to former precedents; and they are likewiſe to prepare and lay before his Majeſty, at this board, a draft of ſuch inſtructions as may be proper to be ſent to the ſaid ſeveral courts of admiralty in his Majeſty's foreign governments and plantations, for their guidance herein; as alſo another draft of inſtructions for ſuch ſhips as ſhall be commiſſioned for the purpoſes abovementioned.

From the Court at Windſor, the ſixteenth day of June, one thouſand eight hundred and three.

ERNEST. ADOLPHUS FREDERICK.
EDWARD. WESTMORLAND, C. P. S.
PELHAM. CASTLEREAGH.
J. H. ADDINGTON.

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The naval department of the country was in continual requiſition; ſeamen were drafted from ſmaller to larger ſhips, which were prepared for ſea with the greateſt diſpatch; indeed all claſſes were engaged in ſome project to defend their own and to annoy the enemy's ſhores; under all theſe circumſtances of diſpatch, no confuſion, no precipitation ſeemed to pervade the proceedings of thoſe concerned; every thought, every project ſeemed well-weighed, and only calculated to diſplay perſeverance in the government, and confidence in the people. What ſlaviſh power could diſſolve ſo vaſt, ſo energetic an union!

The moderation conſtantly exhibited by the Britiſh government in all its meaſures was alſo manifeſted at this time by the publication of a ſtate paper, addreſſed to Citizen Vander Goer at the Hague*; it breathes no rancour; it does not attempt to arreſt the feelings; but merely ſtates ſuch facts as convince without reſorting to logical premiſes.

A meaſure of the greateſt national import took place during this period, in which the trade and navigation of the country were incalculably intereſted. In a committee of ſupply, in the Houſe of Commons, the ſum of 20,000*l.* was granted towards making a navigable canal through the highlands of Scotland from ſea to ſea. The extent is 59 miles, 29 of which are occupied by lakes of unfathomable depth. The remaining to be 20 feet deep, and of a proportionate breadth, ſo that ſhips of the line may paſs from the Baltic to the Britiſh Channel. Such a plan would obviate all the difficulties of going round about by the Shetland and Orkney Iſles; a paſſage of fourteen days in the calmeſt weather, and which, in the windy ſeaſon, is rarely effected in leſs than three months: while, by the propoſed canal, the paſſage in the moſt unfavourable weather, would not occupy more than twelve days, and frequently little more than half that period. The whole expence of this canal was calculated not to exceed the loſs ſuſtained by ſhipwrecks, in the preſent courſe of navigation, in five years.

But as a very diſagreeable counterpart to ſuch a beneficial proceeding in one part of the kingdom; a ſpecies of peculation was diſcovered which ought to redound to the ſhame and reproach of thoſe concerned.

The firſt report of the commiſſioners for inquiring into the abuſes of the navy having been publiſhed, it appeared, that the naval ſtorekeepers in Jamaica had been accuſtomed for a long time preceding to purloin the premium on bills of exchange, inſtead of carrying it to the credit of government. For this miſconduct the ſtorekeeper was removed from the office in 1795, and ſucceeded by another, who was alſo charged with having continued the practice of his predeceſſor. Of the extent of this depredation an idea may be formed, when it is known, that from 1793 to 1800, the public loſt, by the premiums on bills drawn on the navy board by the ſtore-keeper, not being carried to account, the ſum of 53,625*l.* while other nefarious practices by the ſame perſon, during the above period, would have made the whole loſs amount to 134,557*l.* if the difference had been equal between the prices abroad and at home. A proſecution was commenced againſt the ſtore-keeper who held the place ſince 1795; and who was alſo charged with circulating falſe coin to a great amount on the Iſland.

CHAP. V.

Hanover invaded by the French—Surrenders after a ſlight Reſiſtance—Signs a Convention with General Mortier—Ammunition and Stores which fell into the Hands of the Enemy.

WHILE the inhabitants of Great Britain were conſolidating their ſtrength, and preparing the moſt powerful means of reſiſting invaſion, Bonaparte was not inactive on the continent.

The Britiſh cabinet had obſerved the greateſt mo-

* NOTE

Preſented on the 24th of May to Citizen Van der Goer, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, at the Hague, by Mr. Liſton, the Engliſh Envoy.

Sir,—By orders from my court, I take the liberty of requeſting that you will be pleaſed to ſubmit to the Batavian government the following conſiderations. The King is animated with the livelieſt deſire to prevent the new war, which is about to break out, from extending to countries which have had connections with France, and from involving in its calamities nations which have taken no part in the events that have given riſe to it. His Majeſty, however, cannot obſerve towards the Batavian republic that conduct which ſuch ſentiments would dictate, unleſs the French government be diſpoſed to adopt a ſimilar ſyſtem. If France will conſent to immediately withdraw its troops from the territory of the republic; if it will exonerate the Batavian government from the obligation of furniſhing it with any aſſiſtance either by land or by ſea; in a word, if it will permit the republic to obſerve a ſincere and perfect neutrality during the courſe of the war, his Majeſty will engage on his part to adhere with ſcrupulous exactneſs to a reciprocal neutrality; and in that caſe the ſhips which may be proviſionally detained ſhall be immediately releaſed. But ſhould the Firſt Conſul unfortunately perſiſt in wiſhing to occupy the Batavian territory, and to convert the reſources of the country into means of hoſtility and attack againſt Great Britain, his Majeſty will find himſelf compelled by the duty he owes to the ſafety of his ſtates, and to the deareſt intereſts of his people, to have recourſe to thoſe meaſures which Providence has put in his power to fruſtrate the deſigns of his enemies. To conclude, it will be with ſentiments of the moſt profound grief that his Majeſty will ſee the Batavian government dragged into a war, which muſt be as little agreeable to its intentions as to thoſe of his Majeſty.

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deration reſpecting his Majeſty's German dominions, and it had been conſidered as being in no manner involved in any part of the diſputes between this country and France.

The French Conſul, however, conceived otherwiſe; and thought it had been imagined that the treaty of Amiens, at leaſt ſecured the neutrality of the Germanic body on ſome permanent baſis, the progreſs of an uſurper was not to be impeded; his power was too extenſive, and his ambition too unbounded to be reſtrained by the ordinary modes of circumvallation.

In this diſpoſition for the accumulation of power, by the ruin of defenceleſs ſtates, Bonaparte ordered his general Mortier to march from Coeverden, where he had eſtabliſhed his head-quarters, and to enter the electorate of Hanover. But that every meaſure which he undertook might have, at leaſt, the appearance of conſiſtency, the entrance of the French army into the Hanoverian territories was preceded by what was termed a proclamation, containing an invective againſt the King of Great Britain, and a comparative eulogy on the political and warlike virtues---the moderation---the humanity of the Firſt Conſul* !

On the 31ſt of May the French army had arrived before Wechte; when diſpoſitions were made for attacking General Hammerſtein, who was ſtationed at Diepholtz, with the Hanoverian advanced guard. The French advanced guard, under General Drouet, on the following day, had a ſmart ſkirmiſh with the rear guard of the Hanoverians, near Bauven; and on the 2d, the French army having joined, an attack took place near Berſten: when, after a warm cannonade, the French huſſars broke the line of the Hanoverian dragoons, and were purſuing them, when the civil and military deputies from the regency of Hanover preſented themſelves at the advanced poſts of the enemy; they requeſted them to ſuſpend their march, and informed them that they were ready to offer advantageous propoſitions, but General Mortier refuſed to liſten to any propoſals, unleſs he was put into immediate poſſeſſion of the whole country of Hanover. After a long diſcuſſion, the following Convention was ſigned and accepted, conditionally, that it ſhould be ratified by the reſpective governments:

CONVENTION

Agreed to between the Civil and Military Deputies of the Regency of Hanover, and Lieutenant General Mortier, Commander in Chief of the French Army.

Art. I. Hanover ſhall be occupied by the French army, and likewiſe the fortreſſes dependent thereon.

II. The Hanoverian troops ſhall fall back behind the Elbe. They ſhall engage, on their word of honour, not to commit any act of hoſtilities, nor to bear arms againſt the French army or their allies, as long as the war ſhall laſt between France and England. They ſhall not be releaſed from this engagement, till after they are exchanged for ſo many general officers, officers, non-commiſſioned officers, French ſoldiers and ſailors, who may now be in the hands of England.

III. No individual of the Hanoverian troops ſhall quit the place ſpecified for his reſidence, unleſs the commander in chief be informed of it.

IV. The Hanoverian army ſhall withdraw with the honours of war: the regiments ſhall take away with them their field pieces.

V. The artillery, powder, arms, and ammunition of every kind, ſhall be placed at the diſpoſal of the French army.

VI. All the effects, of whatever kind, belonging to the King of England, ſhall be left at the diſpoſal of the French army.

VII. Seals of ſequeſtration ſhall be affixed to every kind of treaſure or bank; that of the univerſity ſhall preſerve its diſtinction.

VIII. Every Engliſh officer, and every agent of whatever deſcription, in the pay of England, ſhall be taken into cuſtody and ſent into France.

IX. The general in chief reſerves to himſelf the power of making in the government and in the authorities conſtituted by the elector, ſuch changes as he may think fit.

X. The whole of the French cavalry ſhall be mounted anew at the expence of Hanover: the Electorate ſhall likewiſe

* The inſtrument is ſo curious in its formation—ſo jeſuitical in its principles—and ſo plauſible in its diction, that its inſertion *literatim* muſt be acceptable.

FRENCH REPUBLIC.

Edward Mortier, Lieutenant General, Commander in Chief, to the inhabitants of the electorate of Hanover.

" Hanoverians,

" A French army is entering your territories; it comes not with the intention of ſpreading conſternation throughout the country, but in order to reſcue that part of the continent which you inhabit from a government hoſtile to the repoſe of Europe, and which prides itſelf in trampling under foot all the principles of the law of nations and civilized ſociety.

" The Firſt Conſul, faithfully adhering to the ſentiments of moderation and humanity, for which he is as eminently diſtinguiſhed, as for his political and military virtues; the Firſt Conſul has exhauſted in vain every poſſible means of conciliation, in order to prevent a rupture.

" The King of England, in violation of the moſt ſacred engagements, has forfeited the faith of his ſignature, by refuſing to evacuate Malta, which he was ſolemnly bound to do by the Treaty of Amiens; he has given the ſignal of hoſtilities; and henceforth remains alone reſponſible, before God and man, for the calamities which the ſcourge of war may inflict on the ſtates that are under his domination.

" I am informed that proclamations, dictated by the blindeſt rage, have been addreſſed to you, to engage you in a conteſt in which you ought to take no concern.—Beware of an aggreſſion that would be both mad and fruitleſs, and of which you only would be the victims.

" Hanoverians,—I promiſe you ſafety and protection, if, looking to your true intereſts, you ſeparate your cauſe from that of a ſovereign who, by burſting aſunder all the bonds of good faith, has thereby releaſed you from the attachment which you may have imagined that you owe him.

" The moſt rigid diſcipline ſhall be obſerved among the troops which I command. Your perſons, your property, ſhall be reſpected; but, in return, I ſhall require that line of conduct from you I have a right to expect from a peaceable people.

" ED. MORTIER."

wife provide for the pay, the cloathing, and the proviſion of the French army.

XI. The form of divine worſhip ſhall be maintained on its preſent eſtabliſhed footing.

XII. Perſons, property, and the families of the Hanoverian officers, ſhall remain under the ſafeguard and protection of French ſovereignty.

XIII. The revenues of the country, ariſing both from the electoral dominions and the public contributions, ſhall be at the diſpoſal of the French government. The engagements hitherto entered into ſhall be punctually fulfilled.

XIV. The preſent government of the electorate ſhall abſtain from all acts of authority throughout the whole of the country occupied by the French troops.

XV. The commander in chief ſhall raiſe upon the electorate of Hanover, ſuch contributions as he may deem neceſſary for the wants of the army.

XVI. Every article reſpecting which doubts may ariſe, ſhall be interpreted in favour of the inhabitants of the electorate.

XVII. The preceding articles ſhall form no obſtacle to the ſtipulations that may be agreed upon between the firſt conſul and any mediating power.

Provided always that the firſt conſul approves—

EDWARD MORTIER,
Lieutenant-general, commander in chief.
F. DE BREMER,
Judge of the electoral court of juſtice, and provincial councillor.
G. DE BOCH,
Lieutenant-colonel, commander of the electoral regiment of guards.

Head quarters, at Suhlingen, the 3d of June, 1803.

The Hanoverian miniſter, previouſly to this tranſaction, had furniſhed a communication to the Diet, that the elector, his maſter, had determined to obſerve the ſtricteſt neutrality in the war betwixt England and France, and therefore called on the Diet, in conformity to the treaty of Amiens, to interfere for the protection of the Electorate from the invaſion of the French troops. The other miniſters took this declaration *ad referendum*. It was, however, generally underſtood, that the miniſters of Pruſſia, Auſtria, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg, the arch-chancellor, &c. had in private declared, that they regarded the conteſt betwixt France and the miniſter of Hanover, as well as the neutral occupation of the ſtates of the king in Germany, as a matter totally foreign to the intereſts of the Germanic empire, provided that the French did not go beyond the frontier of the Electorate of Hanover. They ſaid further, that the project of the French government, not being to ſet up any pretenſions to that country, but only to rule in *depot* till the re-eſtabliſhment of peace with England, they could not ſee in what way the Emperor and the empire could interfere in the buſineſs.

The military force of Hanover, at the time of this invaſion, amounted to 30,000 men; but there was not a ſingle fortified place of ſtrength within the whole territory, ſufficient to impede for any conſiderable time, the progreſs of ſuch invaſion, conſequently it was no very difficult matter to furniſh a boaſt to general Mortier, that he was maſter of the whole country, and in particular of the mouths of the Elbe and the Weſer. "I have iſſued orders," ſays this general, "to ſeize all the veſſels on thoſe rivers."*

But he was diſgraced in his character of a gentleman, as well as in his veracity, by the libellous notice he took of the departure of the Duke of Cambridge, who, his Majeſty the King of Great Britain, had appointed governor of Hanover, and to act as circumſtances might beſt afford.——"The Duke of Cambridge," ſays he, "ſon of the king of England, and governor of Hanover, *thought proper to take himſelf away before the battle, and to retreat by poſt. He had indeed previouſly promiſed to die with the levy* en maſſe. *It is probable he will have embarked before we reach the mouth of the Elbe.*"

It were not worth anſwering ſuch a calumny, had it not been merely to ſtate the groſs falſehood of the French general's repreſentation. The Duke of Cambridge *did not take himſelf away before the battle.* He was with, and commanded the Hanoverians, during the two ſkirmiſhes that took place, in which both parties had ſome wounded, and one or two men killed. The duke received an expreſs from the regency, requeſting his preſence at Hanover, on buſineſs of the utmoſt importance. His royal highneſs, in conſequence of this meſſage, immediately attended. After being informed that all hopes of aſſiſtance or mediation were at an end, and that the regency were on the point of ſigning a capitulation, they begged his royal highneſs would not loſe a moment in reſigning, and quitting the country, as otherwiſe he muſt be made a priſoner of war. They thanked his royal highneſs, with tears in their eyes, for having ſtaid with them till the laſt moment of hope, but intreated him, as he could not poſſibly then be of the ſmalleſt ſervice, not to expoſe his perſon unneceſſarily *.

On

* The colour put on this tranſaction, in the court Gazette, at Paris, and the gaſconade with which it is accompanied, are equally curious:

Paris, June 15.

The Engliſh journals, ſays the Moniteur, are venting their rage at the occupation of Hanover by the French; but a moment ago, they were proudly exulting in the expectation of ſeeing the country riſing *en maſſe*; but now that they have been informed of the exploits of the Duke of Cambridge, as they have no room to celebrate his glory, they point their declamations againſt the perfidy of the French. According to them, every idea of juſtice has been diſregarded; the law of nations has been violated in the moſt barbarous manner. But in order to underſtand theſe gentlemen, it muſt be recollected that

On the 11th of June, the French army entered the city of Hanover, and general Mortier notices on this occaſion, "That the moſt exact diſcipline had been maintained; and that two ſoldiers of the 48th demi-brigade, convicted of having abandoned themſelves to pillage and other exceſſes, had been ſhot."

In the metropolis of the electorate, the enemy found 15,000 new muſkets, 5,000 pair of piſtols, 60 new ammunition waggons, 100 pieces of artillery, a bridge equipage adapted for the paſſage of the Elbe, magazines filled with powder, a foundery in the beſt condition, and completely furniſhed.

According to the inventory of the pieces which were found in *La Place d'Hameln*, there were ſent to the French army more than five hundred pieces of cannon.

The park of field-artillery of the army of Hanover, which is at Zell, was delivered to general Dulauloy, commandant of artillery, and was compoſed of forty field-pieces, and two hundred caiſſons, all drawn by good horſes.

The infantry was ſtated at twenty-ſix battalions, of 500 men, including officers; making from 11 to 12,000 men, and the cavalry at twenty-two ſquadrons, forming in all more than 5,000 men.

The inventories arrived from the different places of Hanover, amounted to more than 409 milliards of powder, three millions of cartridges, and 40,000 muſkets, which were found in the different magazines.

The number of artillery was eſtimated about 700 men. The garriſon of Hameln was compoſed of three battalions of infantry, a ſquadron of cavalry, a regiment of veterans of 1,000 men, four officers of artillery, and an officer of miners.

General Leopold Brotheir, chief of the ſtaff-major, tranſmitted an account of the forced marches of the army, the leaſt day's journey of which amounted to ten leagues. Theſe rapid marches were performed through a marſhy country affording no reſource. The ſoldiers ſupported their fatigues and moſt painful privations with a confidence and courage of which they conſtantly received the example of the general in chief. The ſoldiers were recompenſed for their ten days of fatigue and privation, by their preſent ſituation, and particularly by the ſatisfaction of having fulfilled, with ſo much celerity, the intentions of the government *.

That the invaders were bent upon the violation of property; of juſtice; and of every trait of humanity, the following will be a convincing proof.

"General Mortier, in his diſpatches ſtated, that although he had found but little money in the cheſts, THEY WOULD, HOWEVER, FURNISH THE MEANS OF ASSURING THE PAY OF THE TROOPS, and that henceforth, the French army in Hanover, had ONLY TO RECEIVE THE ORDERS OF THE FIRST CONSUL." So that the country, to which this plunderer had aſſured every protection, provided it renounced its allegiance to its lawful ſovereign; and whoſe defenceleſs ſtate ought to have claimed protection rather than rapine, was reduced to ſubjection, miſery, and proſcription; by a plan of operations not exceeded by the ſavage barbarity of thoſe more diſtant powers, who are guided by no motive but revenge; and by no principle, but the dictates of the moſt malicious propenſities.

that there is *a particular kind of juſtice, a law of nations, of a perfectly new ſort*, calculated for the uſe and intereſt of the government of Great Britain.

They pretend that France has violated the Germanic conſtitution; and that the elector of Hanover ought to take no part in the quarrels of the king of England. Hiſtory and reaſon afford ſufficient anſwers to theſe miſerable arguments.

By virtue of the famous Golden Bull, the electors of the Holy Empire have, individually, a right to make peace or war, as formerly all the poſſeſſors of great fiefs in France. It is not the firſt time that an elector makes war on ſovereigns, or that ſovereigns make war upon an elector: of this the reign of Charles V. furniſhes ſeveral examples. In the ſeven years' war, the elector of Hanover, king of England, raiſed his ſtandard againſt the Imperial Houſe; and when the French army entered the electorate, as one of the dominions of the Engliſh monarch, no one pretended to diſcover that that meaſure was contrary to the *law of nations*. France has therefore, the indiſputable right ſtill to attack the king of England in his continental poſſeſſions.

Theſe complaints broadly betray the ſpirit of ambition and ill-faith, which characteriſes and directs the cabinet of that monarch. What? In his capacity of king of England, he finds that France endangers the liberty of Europe by her uſurpations: he flies to arms to eſpouſe the quarrel of the kings of the continent; and in his capacity of elector of Hanover, where he is more nearly intereſted, he diſcovers no cauſe of complaint in the conduct of France. He looks upon France as a good ally; he is not diſinclined to be at peace with her! This proves that the king of England acknowledges no other right than that of force, and that the elector of Hanover is ſilent only from the conſciouſneſs of weakneſs. Such is the golden rule, of juſt and unjuſt, which his majeſty adopts. But, doubtleſs, if he could rekindle the flames of war upon the continent, if Hanover could furniſh an army of two hundred thouſand men, king ****** would not thus plead his *neutrality!*

Beſides, the kind of warfare which France is now waging againſt Hanover, inaſmuch as it belongs to the king of England, and againſt the Hanoverian troops, inaſmuch as they are the troops of the king of England, but, in that point of view, Hanover has never been the inactive ſpectator of the quarrels of England. The blood of Hanover has been known to flow in all quarters of the globe, for the advantage of a deſpotic company. In the American war, the troops employed by England were Hanoverians. In India, in Egypt, every where have theſe brave ſoldiers been ſacrificed to the ambitious rapacity of the Engliſh. France has a right to wreſt from her enemy the means that may be employed againſt herſelf. She has the indiſputable right to ſtop the exportation of the gold, and of the ſoldiers of the king of England. That monarch does not acknowledge either treaty or law of nations, becauſe he imagines himſelf to be unaſſailable in his iſland; but let a favourable wind blow, and he ſhall be attacked wherever he can be reached.

* Moniteur.

In

In an uncultivated ſtate, ſuch proceedings would have been reprehenſible;—but when guided by the mandate of a power formerly eſteemed the moſt poliſhed in Europe, they appear monſtrous!

CHAP. VI.

Hiſtory of the Inroad into Hanover continued.—Reaſons aſſigned by the French Government for their Procedure.—Meaſures purſued in Paris and by the French Republic to invade England.—Fulſome Addreſſes to the Chief Conſul on this Occaſion.—Libellous Inſinuations againſt the Britiſh Miniſtry.

THE French army having ſucceſsfully made an inroad into Hanover, continued its depredations in the electorate. The city of Bremen was taught to expect no mercy from the hands of the invaders. On the evening of the 4th of June, a French general entered this city. He immediately waited on the chief burgomaſter, and deſired "that all Engliſh property, under whatever denomination it might be, ſhould be taken poſſeſſion of; and that all Engliſh ſailors in the place, as well as other perſons belonging to the Engliſh ſervice, ſhould be put under arreſt." As ſoon as this demand was made, the officer who had come with it, went away to general Mortier.

The anſwer given to this inſolent and audacious requeſt was, that the ſenate "begged to decline the execution of a meaſure ſo inconſiſtent with their intereſts." Upon this the republican commander threatened in perſon to carry his wiſhes into effect; to ſhew that this outrage was not to be confined to Britiſh ſubjects alone, a pretext was ſoon found to involve the native inhabitants in the propoſed confiſcation; and three ſhips belonging to the city were ſeized for the uſe of general Mortier and his brigands. The city of Oſnaburgh, and indeed every place where property was ſuppoſed to be treaſured, ſoon became a prey to rapacity and plunder; no regard was paid to promiſes of amity and fraternization. Hanover had been long an object of the firſt conſul's revenge; and he now embraced ſo apt an opportunity to put it in execution. It will be ſeen by the terms of the convention, by which the electorate was ſurrendered, that they were ſuch as French power and rapine, muſt be expected to extort from a fallen and feeble foe; but it was not the plunder of Hanover alone, that was to ſtop the progreſs of the French general; nor could it be ſuppoſed, that the firſt conſul looked to the electorate as a permanent acquiſition, any further than he could find it convenient to harraſs the inhabitants by levying contributions on them. He had another motive for this unprincipled invaſion, dictated by a mean, a perſonal hoſtility to the king of Great Britain; for, judging from his own ſelfiſh and narrow feelings, that the antient family connexion, would give to Hanover, from the Britiſh court, more importance, than it might probably deſerve; a propoſal was inſtantly made to the Engliſh government for its reſtitution on certain terms; but to ſhew the preſumption of ſuch an idea, when the propoſal was ſubmitted to his Majeſty in council; the honour and intereſts of his regal dominions, were paramount to every other conſideration; and to the firſt conſul's extreme mortification, the propoſals were rejected.

Diſappointed in his views, and thwarted in his projects, the firſt conſul now exhibited himſelf to all the ſtates of Europe, who dared to inveſtigate his meaſures, as a deſpoiler, a violator of thoſe intereſts and treaties which they were bound to protect, nor ought to betray without loſs of honour, and thoſe other great qualities belonging to leading powers.

Bonaparte, upon this diſappoinment, loſt the ſmall ſhare of moderation he had hitherto thought it convenient to cheriſh: he ordered all the Engliſh in Hanover, in Piedmont, and in all the powers which were under his controul, to be arreſted; he iſſued orders, that no merchandize ſhould be admitted into the electorate without a certificate from the commercial agent of the French republic at Hamburgh, atteſting that they were neither Britiſh productions nor manufactures, nor had paid Britiſh duties. This was a ſevere blow upon the Engliſh merchants, whoſe conſignments to the different parts of Germany, to Switzerland, &c. were ſent by Luneburg, and other cities of Hanover.

The ſhutting up the mouths of the Elbe and the Weſer, was the next ſtep purſued by the French government; thus all mercantile concerns were ſtagnated, induſtry was impeded, and thouſand of diſintereſted individuals reduced to diſtreſs and beggary. The mercantile communications were now converted to the North, by the way of Gottenburgh*; and thus the general commerce of Europe was

* Gottenburgh is ſituated on the German ocean, in the province of Bohus, and is the ſecond city in Sweden, both on account of its trade and population; with a fair wind, ſhips may ſail from Sunderland to Gottenburgh, in forty-eight hours; the entrance to its harbour is more eaſy than to that of Cuxhaven; and in the coldeſt winters, the navigation is ſeldom interrupted for a long time, the tide being ſo very ſtrong as to break and to carry away the ice.—From Gottenburgh to Copenhagen or to Stockholm, a courier may eaſily travel in ſeventy-two hours, and from Gottenburgh to St. Peterſburgh in ſix or eight days.

The roads in Sweden are better than thoſe of any other country upon the continent; the expence leſs than any where in Europe, and the people lively, polite, obliging, and hoſpitable. Sweden is a very romantic country. Nature is there ſeen every moment in its horror, in its beauty, and in its perfection;

was sacrificed to serve the iniquitous purposes of an individual.

The determination of the British government, to establish a direct communication with the Northern powers by way of Gottenburgh, was a wise step, and circumstanced as they were, it did great credit to their judgment; as it certainly is, both in peace and war, political and useful to the commercial part of the British nation.

By way of exoneration for their licentious proceedings, the French thought it necessary to give out, "that had not Hanover taken up arms, their government would not have treated that country with hostility;—they would merely have occupied it in the same manner as it had been held by the Prussians in former wars."

It would certainly have been more congenial to the feelings of the king and government of Great Britain, had the fall of Hanover been ennobled by a glorious defeat, or at least a shew of resistance; but when the executive authority of that country was inefficient—when the mildness by which the electorate was governed, had induced a spirit of lassitude among the people, and other contingent causes occurred to render the capture of the electorate a matter of no difficulty, we must not wonder at the success of an armed force, against a neutral and unoffending state.

A most bold and impudent article, which we have glanced at before, now made its appearance in the Consular Gazette *, at Paris: it stated that the first consul had not yet ratified the convention between the regency of Hanover and general Mortier, because—*he waited for the previous ratification of the king of England* †.

The absurdity of such an assertion, must be shocking to every man capable of truly estimating the high and generous sentiments of the British court, such a speculation it could not but spurn at, that this plunderer of Hanover, an unprotected country, should make it the foundation of a proposal for the surrender of Malta, may readily be credited, when the convenient conduct of the first consul is considered; but that Bonaparte should call upon the king of Great Britain to ratify his aggression, and become an accessary after the fact, would be to aggravate injustice to insult. Such a proposition would have been considered a flagrant abuse of the liberty of intercourse, subsisting between the two governments, and must have led it to a speedy and final close. It would have been pusillanimous and degrading to keep open a communication only used as a conveyance for insult and reproach, and not for the purpose of conciliation and humanity. Why, therefore, solicit the ratification of the king of England? His name never occurs as elector of Hanover in the capitulation. It stipulates for nothing in his favour, either to excite an interest or influence his consent. On the contrary, his name is studiously avoided, and the article expressly requires the ratification of the first consul, and nothing more. Indeed any other line of conduct would be inconsistent with the existing policy of France. The government of France contended that England must have nothing to do with the continent; that the king of England could not be the legitimate sovereign of Hanover, and that his continental subjects could owe him no allegiance. Would it not, however, have been an act recognizing his right to call upon him to ratify the convention concluded between the regency and general Mortier ‡?

We have thus far, we think, consistently with impartiality, stated the aggressions on one side, and the moderation on the other, respecting the subduction of Hanover, and shall proceed to view the measures transacted at Paris.

In this metropolis of intrigue, of vanity, and of infidelity, the fulsome gust of flattery was emitted at the shrine of slavery and despotism. The archbishops profaned the most sacred rites in what they thought proper to denominate "Forms of prayer," for the success of the First Consul against the power of Britain. In the mandate of the Archbishop of Rouen, brother of the Consul Cambaceres, the despoiler of Europe, the apostle of infidelity, the sacrificer of the human race, is stiled "*The Christ of*

tion; mountains and precipices, forges and mines, lakes and valleys, are in a continual succession in all its provinces.

From Yarmouth to Cuxhaven, the passage is as long, if not longer than from Sunderland to Gottenburgh, considering the winds during certain seasons; from Cuxhaven to the Russian frontiers, are the worst roads in Europe, the expence of travelling very great, and the people dull, rude, and inhospitable. It requires at least ten or twelve days to travel from Cuxhaven to St. Petersburgh, five days to Copenhagen, and nine days to Stocholm.

* The Moniteur.

† The capitulation concluded between general Mortier and the regency of Hanover, respecting the occupation of the electorate by the French troops, resembles, in almost all its features, that which mareschal Richelieu concluded on the 10th of September 1757, at Closterseven. It was then stipulated, under the guarantee of the king of Denmark, that the Hanoverian troops should not partake in any act of hostility during the course of the war; but after the battle of Rosback, the famous Lord Chatham, the father of Mr. Pitt, declared the capitulation to be null, as it was not ratified by the king of England; in consequence of that decision, the Hanoverians made a sudden movement, beyond their lines, and under the command of Prince Ferdinand, marched and gained the battle of Crevelt. It was, no doubt, in order to prevent a similar decision on the part of the British cabinet, that the French consul had not ratified the convention of general Mortier, and that he waited for the previous ratification of the king of England.

‡ The Hanoverian troops, after being disarmed, were ordered to the Lauenburg, a woody and sterile district, on the northern bank of the Elbe.

Providence !"* Let us not dwell upon the diſguſting ſubject; for without any illuſtration, every good and virtuous mind muſt be ſhocked at ſuch degradatory, ſuch horrid blaſphemy!

The adulation poured in from all quarters of the French republic, whilſt it buoyed up the ambitious vanity of the Firſt Conſul, more effectually furniſhed future means to rivet the chains of ſlavery on a deluded and thoughtleſs people; and it ſerved a preſent purpoſe to dignify, if poſſible, the warlike preparations carried on in every part of the nation. The military †, the members of the ſenate, the tribunate, the legiſlative body, &c. ſeverally addreſſed the Firſt Conſul, in terms of the moſt ſervile and diſguſting ſtrains of paraſitical compliment; entreating to accompany him in his projected expedition againſt England. The principal cities and towns voted men of war and frigates for this important ſervice, and preparations for this deſperate enterprize pervaded all claſſes of ſociety in France.

Chaptal, the miniſter of the interior, addreſſed a circular letter to the prefects, concerning the conſtruction of the veſſels to be employed in the invaſion, of which the following is a copy:—

"*Paris, June* 24.

"In the poſition in which France is at preſent, and with the kind of enemies whom we have to combat, the bravery of the French would remain fruitleſs on the ſhores of the ocean, if the means of reaching their enemy were not furniſhed to them by numerous veſſels. It is to the conſtruction of veſſels, therefore, that all your efforts ought to be directed: commerce, agriculture, and induſtry will ſuffer the leſs, the more ſpeedy the execution. A flat bottomed boat of the firſt kind will coſt 30,000 franks (1250*l.* ſterling); one of the ſecond, from 18,000 to 20,000; and one of the third from 4,000 to 6,000.

"Two feet of water are ſufficient to carry a flat bottomed boat not armed: there are few towns, therefore, that cannot execute an enterprize of this nature. Theſe boats will be diſtinguiſhed by the names of the towns, and the departments which have conſtructed them. The government will accept with ſatisfaction from a ſhip of the line down to the ſmalleſt tranſport. If each department, and each large town, by a general and rapid movement, put veſſels on the ſtocks, the French army will ſoon go and dictate laws to the Britiſh government, and eſtabliſh the repoſe of Europe, the liberty and proſperity of commerce, on the only baſes by which their duration can be enſured."

The Pariſian Journals, in the pay of government, now thought it neceſſary to pour forth invective againſt the Britiſh miniſtry, reſpecting the declaration of war againſt the Batavian republic:—

"If," ſay they, "his Britannic Majeſty had acted with regard to the Batavian republic, as he has acted with regard to Spain; if, without his having ſeized on any of the ſhips, either of war or of commerce, belonging to the Dutch, Holland had, in conſequence of the treaties which bind her to France, declared war againſt England, England might juſtly ſay that the calamities of war brought down upon Holland were the conſequences of her connection with France.

"But his Britannic Majeſty has engaged in a war with Holland, by acts of hoſtility, on the ſame day that he commenced hoſtilities againſt us; and at the very moment when the meſſage of the King of England contained a declaration of war againſt Holland, eighty Dutch ſhips were already in the Britiſh ports, into which they had been carried, not by privateers, but by brigs, frigates, and cruizers, belonging to the royal navy!

"And they will venture to appeal to the opinion

* The mandate of the Biſhop of Orleans contains this paſſage:—

"Let us, deareſt brethren, implore the aſſiſtance and ſupport of the God of Iſrael, proſtrate at the foot of his altars, let us recommend to his goodneſs thoſe immortal legions who victory has already ſo many times crowned. The leopard fled before them in the plains of Hoondſcote, under the walls of Dunkirk and Toulon. Holland has ſeen what French valour was capable of againſt the united children of Albion. The combats before Boulogne ſhould have taught them, that the perfidious element on which they flatter themſelves they reign may betray them.

"What ſucceſſes do not the juſtice of our cauſe, the protection of a God, the guarantee of treaties, and the bravery of the ancient triumphs—of our warriors promiſe us. What ought not France to expect from the vaſt genius of her deliverer? New Cyrus—the hand of God himſelf has traced his career, and directed his rapid courſe; "*Ego ante te ibo.*" The pride of nations is humbled before him—"*Glorioſos terræ humiliabo.*"—Cities hitherto deemed impregnable, have ſeen their gates broken down, and their ramparts deſerted, "*Apertam coram de Januos et portæ non claudenta.*"—The Po, the Adige, the Nile, the ſea, even have reſpected his paſſage, and before him the Alps have been ſmoothed, becauſe the Eternal willed it to be ſo. "*Ego Dominus accinxi,*" &c.—Ought not ſo many unheard of prodigies to inſpire the French with invincible courage? It does not belong to us to preſage future events—God alone knows them, and foreſees them; but when he ſignalizes in favour of a nation his mercy and his goodneſs in ſo ſtriking a manner, what may not be expected from his all powerful arm."

† After a dinner given by the generals on Wedneſday the 15th of June, at Paris, the following addreſs was drawn up, and inſerted in the papers of that city:—

"*To Bonaparte the Great, the underſigned Soldiers, Members of the Senate, the Legiſlative Body, and the Tribunate.*

"General, we are about to aſk a favour, which you will not refuſe to our zeal and our affection. Without deſiring to pry into the ſecrets of your wiſdom, in which we ſhall have always a full and entire confidence; and only, if ſuch be the order of your deſigns; and, in caſe that you ſhall not have diſpoſed of us otherwiſe, we entreat you to admit us on board the veſſel which is to carry you to England; and, with you, the vengeance and the deſtiny of the people of France."

Signed by KELLERMAN, and about forty other Generals.

of

of Europe, while they do not hesitate to commit every act calculated to excite the just indignation of all Europe! Their public law is enough to shame Tunis and Algiers; but it is worthy of them!"

Mr. Liston, the British ambassador, soon after took his departure from the Hague; but previously, he made overtures to the Batavian government, on the part of his court, by which Great Britain undertook to acknowledge the neutrality of Holland, upon condition, that the republic should refuse to join France in the war, or assist that power with troops. He was authorized to promise, besides, that the Batavian vessels, which had been taken as prizes, and were then in British ports, should be restored. Another demand was added, that the English agent arrested at Helvoetsluys, should be released.

It seems that the agent of the English Post-office at Helvoetsluys had been arrested, charged with sending information to the British commanders. Had this even been the case, no faith had been broken; because, at that time, Holland was at peace with Great Britain. The agent therefore could be no spy, consequently France had been guilty of a double crime by the arrest; for by such means, she had violated the independence of the Batavian republic, and imprisoned an individual who had committed no offence. But, unstable in her own measures, France did not approve that a tributary should enjoy certain pacific privileges to which she herself was a stranger; she wished that Holland should yet pursue the same course as though she were at war, so far as such a course might serve the French interest. Holland compelled to submit, had it not in her command to concede to the friendly overtures of Great Britain, and therefore could not redress the grievances complained of. Mr. Liston's other proposals were rejected, and the British ministry were fully authorized to declare war against so debased, so contemptible, so lost a power!

CHAP. VII.

Reflections on the Proceedings of the First Consul—State of the French Army, their Pay, Cloathing, &c.

IT is said of the Persian monarch Xerxes, that in his rage he threatened to chastise the tempest, and to fetter the ocean. The sea however spurned his correction, and he returned to his country discomfited and disgraced. Thus mental or corporeal inebriation observe a similar progress, and depend equally upon the operation of external powers; and whether it be the application of wine, or the infusion of flattery, the effect must be invariably the same.

Possessed, in the highest degree, of many of those bright talents which qualify a great general, and aided by a facility of repairing defeat, celerity and presence of mind in danger; the understanding of Bonaparte was not of that magnanimous cast, to withstand the influence of the success which it commanded. The torrent of praise, flattery, and adulation which constantly assailed him, since his victorious career in Italy, was irresistible. It was not however until the consulate for life, and all its dreadful chain of consequences, were entailed on him, that his mind was totally overthrown. The effects of this mental intoxication depraved the intellect of Bonaparte; his slaves shrunk before him as an idol, and the incense of their worship operated as pestiferous exhalations to paralize and consume the happiness of Europe.

"Universal empire," as a modern writer* very justly observes, in the present state of the world, must appear to any rational being utterly impossible to be attained: but a man intoxicated with power and adulation, is not rational. The object, however, becomes impossible to be attained, only because it is impossible the powers of Europe should remain insensible to their danger, and not adopt efficacious measures to stop the progress of usurpation.

But, without England, all the powers of Europe would be unable to frustrate the ambitious projects of Bonaparte. England may, therefore, be considered as the bulwark of the independence of Europe. Accordingly it is against Great Britain, as the sole obstacle to the completion of his views, that the First Consul of France harbours the most profound and inveterate animosity;—an animosity which, notwithstanding his power of dissimulation, he could, even before the war, on no occasion conceal.

Being the most consummate master of dissimulation that ever appeared on the great theatre of the world, it is evident that no confidence can or ought to be placed in any arrangements, which he might insidiously chuse to propose, merely for the purpose of leaving him the power of resuming projects, which he might for a moment relinquish, but would never abandon. His conduct in the treaty of Amiens sufficiently substantiates the fact, that though an honourable peace may be lasting; one that is dishonourable has no longer duration than till a crafty tyrant assumes power to violate it; the surest way then to preserve peace with such a power, is ever to be prepared for war.

Until, therefore, that his predatory measures can be curbed; until the French government shall be obliged to withdraw its forces, without the smallest qualification, within the territories of France, properly so called, there can be no security for the independence of Europe. Having the ports of France, Spain, Italy, and Holland at his devotion, in less than ten years, it has been supposed, he might form a navy equal, if not superior, to that of Great Britain.

These

* Dr. Maclean.

Theſe data being premiſed; let us produce facts to eſtabliſh them. Compelled ſooner than he wiſhed to a breach of the treaty with Great Britain, Bonaparte ſtrained every nerve to make his cauſe the cauſe of Europe. He applied to the great northern powers for this purpoſe; but the wiſe and moderate declarations he received convinced him moſt effectually that his foreign influence was not as yet, ſo extenſive as he vainly imagined. He could not but perceive alſo, that the other continental powers were far from entertaining ſo mean an opinion of the ſtrength and political ſituation of England, as the firſt conſul affected them to believe; ſince the advantageous peace which he had ſo eaſily obtained, and but too clearly betrayed by his contemptuous conduct. He had alſo ſufficient cauſe to be convinced that the opinion he had formed, of England's excluſion from all future concern in the affairs of the continent, was very far from being the opinion of the courts to which he had applied.

The extravagant propoſals of Bonaparte againſt England, as well as his extraordinary proceedings, rendered, alſo, the powers in queſtion more attentive to his inordinate pretenſions and arrogance, however plauſible his language might be. Indeed, ſuch arrogance, whilſt it naturally roufed the indignation and national pride of the Engliſh, was by no means agreeable to potentates who naturally felt themſelves very differently related and connected with the Britiſh court, than with the upſtart aſſumption of power of the firſt conſul, however glaring might apparently be the ſun-ſhine of his fortune.

As ſoon, therefore, as the firſt conſul perceived that the Engliſh had been provoked to an inevitable rupture, and that the ambaſſador was no longer to be detained by any pretexts, which the firſt conſul, or his miniſtry could ſuggeſt; he continued inceſſantly to ſolicit the mediation of thoſe courts, who might be expected to be averſe to the renewal of war. Not ſucceeding in this meaſure, his temper loſt all bounds; he inſulted count Marcoff, the Ruſſian ambaſſador, in a ſimilar manner to what he had formerly offered to Lord Whitworth. He told him roundly, that he had not been ſufficiently active in the mediation, before the departure of the Britiſh ambaſſador, and behaved ſo inſolently, that the count inſtantly wrote to his court, and demanded his recal.

It was whilſt the firſt conſul was ſtill ſoliciting the mediation of Ruſſia, that he took advantage of a promiſe by the Pruſſian court not to protect Honover; at the ſame time that he aſſured to the latter court, the perfect ſecurity of its own territories. This was an aſſurance, however, which a power that had an excellent army of two hundred thouſand men, did not ſtand much in need of; what kind of an underſtanding ſubſiſted between Bonaparte and Pruſſia, is not for us to analyze; but the chief conſul availed himſelf of the peaceable ſentiments expreſſed by the Pruſſian monarch, to the advantage of the French army, and the enrichment of his military cheſt. The twenty thouſand half-clothed and half-mounted French ſoldiery *, ſent into the electorate, were without artillery and deſtitute of ammunition; notwithſtanding

* Though the price of proviſions is doubled and tripled, the common French ſoldier ſtill receives no more than the old pay of *five ſous* (two pence half-penny) *per diem*, with a pound and a half of bread. The horſe and foot have the ſame trifling pay, and only the grenadiers, who are choſen from each battalion, have *ſix ſous*. The common ſoldier receives every five days, a very few *ſous* of his pay in money, his whole pay being received for him by his corporal, who provides for twelve or ſixteen in common, and pays the poor ſoldier what remains on the fifth day. Thus, the ſoldier is the worſt off with this ſmall pay, all rough and public work without doors being forbidden; a handicraft trade, ſhould he have learnt one, he may exerciſe at home, but this muſt be with the permiſſion of his ſuperior.

It is, however, not the trifling pay alone that makes the French foot ſoldier diſcontented, he is alſo ill-cloathed; and the horſeman is ſtill worſe mounted. Since their return from war, the infantry have repeated promiſes of new cloathing, and the cavalry being better mounted. The ſoldier feels himſelf the more neglected, as he daily hears and reads of the increaſing ſplendour of the court, and civil eſtabliſhment of the firſt conſul. He alſo ſees the generals, who commanded in the war, and who now live on their eſtates in the provinces, ſurrounded by a ſplendid retinue, and give into the moſt profuſe expence.

Univerſal alſo are the complaints of the ſoldiers reſpecting the bad ſtate of the military hoſpitals eſtabliſhed in all the conſiderable cities of France, where many of the ſick, and even dying, are often lying in one bed; and are ſaid to be ill attended, though two-thirds of their pay are deducted during the time they remain in the hoſpital.

The remounting of the cavalry, which ſince the peace was left to the regiment, is very ſlowly and ill provided. The ſum which the government has appointed for this purpoſe, every year, but which is even not regularly paid, but altered according to different circumſtances and regiments, is inſignificant to remount them tolerably; and the more ſo, as there is in France a ſcarcity of ſtrong tall horſes; and thoſe regiments which cannot provide themſelves with horſes from Normandy, Limouſin, or Auvergne, muſt often fetch them from Holſtein. It may be ſaid without exaggeration, that one half of the French cavalry is not mounted at all; and the other half for the moſt part ill mounted. The horſe ſoldier is therefore, obliged to perform his duty and exerciſe chiefly on foot, and is not a little diſſatisfied at it.

But what moſt of all excites the murmurs and envy of the ſoldiers is, the conſular guard, which poſſeſſes in abundance, and in high perfection, what the other part is in want of: The conſular guard, which conſiſts of 8,000 men, and continually increaſing, is very well paid, perfectly well and richly dreſſed, and alſo well mounted. The private has *twenty-five ſous per* day; and the officers are proportionably better paid than thoſe in the regular army. They are alſo equipped and mounted at the expence of the government.

To the conſular guard is attached alſo a company of flying artillery, and eight pieces of cannon. This company is quartered in the *Ecole Militaire*; and, with its cannon and powder waggons, and all its implements, ready to march at a moment's

notwithſtanding this, to the aſtoniſhment of all Germany, and even of the French troops, who were convinced of the bravery which diſtinguiſhed the Hanoverian ſoldiery, and had witneſſed their warlike appearance, the whole electoral army, all the artillery, rich magazines, warlike ſtores, and other royal property in Hanover, were ſurrendered without a blow!—The French troops were clothed with Hanoverian manufacture, and mounted on Hanoverian horſes. A multitude of the fineſt horſes from the royal ſtables, and from the country, were ſent to France for Bonaparte, his conſular guard, and family; and, as if the poor Hanoverian people, totally innocent of all the diſorder, and unconcerned in the diſputes with England, were not ſufficiently burthened by their unmerited oppreſſion, they were obliged to catch a number of ſtags, and to convey them in eight waggons, each drawn by ſix horſes to Paris, as furniture for the conſular parks.

With ſuch rapacity were the Hanoverian cannon tranſported to France, that pieces too heavy for conveyance, were ſawed aſunder, and ſent piece-meal to the republic to be re-caſt.

During all this, the republican proclamations and all the official papers in Paris, boaſted to the world, that Hanover and its army were only ſecured in order to cut off reinforcements of troops and money from England; the electorate, whoſe defenceleſs ſtates had peaceably yielded, in order to be ſecured from hoſtile treatment, was, however, plundered with every hoſtility. The country was obliged to raiſe a high pay for the French ſoldiery, though the men, it appears, only received a third part, and the officers, nothing of this ſpoil. The ready money was tranſmitted to the military cheſt in France; ſo that the officers and men were compelled to be ſupported by the oppreſſed Hanoverian citizens and peaſantry; whilſt all that could be of any utility, was conveyed from the country for the benefit of the invaders. The French troops were continually exchanged; for as one regiment was well-mounted and clothed, at the expence of the conquered, they were ſent home, and replaced by others who were to receive ſimilar advantages.

The exactions of the French government were at laſt carried to ſuch extent, that to ſupply the demands which ſhe conſtantly extorted; when the ſpecie of the electorate was exhauſted, its domains were offered as ſecurities for foreign loans, with which the neighbouring free Imperial cities were conſtantly alarmed and threatened.

The royal palaces, and the houſes left by the fugitive magiſtrates, were ſcenes of voluptuouſneſs and riot. The celebration of republican or deſpotic feſtivals were alternately exhibited, in mockery, and at the coſt of the inhabitants; and to fill up the catalogue of miſery, theſe free-booters, with the moſt wanton oſtentation, ſent for their wives, and all their family connections from France, that they alſo, might fatten and enrich themſelves at the expence of a poor invaded people!—What better treatment, however, could be expected from thoſe who had already glutted themſelves upon the property of the Dutch and the Flemings, already ſunk under the burthen of oppreſſion; and who, whilſt they were obliged to ſupport foreign armaments, and to feed foreign forces, ſaw, without a hope of relief, their own people periſh with neglect and famine on their ſhores!

A very ſolemn leſſon of inſtruction here preſents itſelf. The Hanoverians have loſt their property, health, and the comforts they formerly experienced; but they will regain a thorough knowledge of the gueſts they ſo pliantly admitted to a ſhare of their proſperity; the inhabitants of this, as well as other ſtates, will be better acquainted with the true nature of the French government and its army, than they probably were, when, diſpleaſed at individual inſtances of oppreſſion in their own reſpective conſtitutions, they ſuffered hordes of intereſted ſtrangers to interfere and puniſh them.

It is too well known, that many of the Hanoverians were not entirely diſſatisfied at the approach of the French troops; and that they were faſcinated by the deluſive propoſals which were held out to them; but it will be difficult to find a Hanoverian, who would not now regard the departure of the French, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the ancient Hanoverian government as one of its greateſt bleſſings; and would not at the ſame time rather hazard his

moment's warning. At every great public parade, it alſo files off with all its apparatus before the firſt conſul.

Beſide the above, the conſul is attended by a corps of Mamelukes, about four hundred ſtrong. This corps is compoſed of Greeks, Copts, Turks, and French, who have lived long in the Levant. It is alſo clothed, armed, equipped, and mounted in the Egyptian faſhion, and commanded by French officers, who ſerved in the Egyptian expedition. The privates in this corps receive *fifty ſous* each daily.

Finally, the conſul has near his perſon, *La Gens d'Armerie d'Elite*. This corps, ſix hundred ſtrong, is choſen from all the brigades of the *Gens d'Armerie de l'Interieur*, and has with it a ſimilar corps of ſix hundred men on foot. Both are in barracks near the arſenal, and ſerve to execute the commands of the *Haute Police*. The *Gens d'Armes* on horſeback receive *ſeve livres*, and thoſe on foot *three livres per* day; but they are obliged to clothe and ſupport themſelves; and the former alſo to furniſh and maintain their own horſes. The *Gens d'Armes*, who are ſpread over all France, and ſupply the place of the ancient *Maréchauſſée*, and are the armed force of the police of the country, and the courts of juſtice, muſt alſo be mounted; and, to fulfil all the above-mentioned duties, have only *three livres per* day. Theſe and the conſular guard are univerſally deteſted and deſpiſed by the troops of the line, and frequently get into quarrels with them. In caſe of new diſturbances, they would undoubtedly fight againſt each other like enemies.

life, than again ſee his country ſo totally ruined, merely for the ſake of a probable, a partial benefit. And, with indignation muſt thoſe to whom the care of Hanover was intruſted, now ſee their weakneſs, their error, their crime, in truſting the welfare of their country, to the perfidious promiſes, and the caprices of unprincipled invaders.

CHAP. VIII.

Decree againſt Engliſh Commerce.—Noble Conduct of Iriſh Emigrants at Paris—propoſed to be ſurrendered to the Britiſh Government—This indignantly rejected.—Conſcriptions deſcribed.—Account of the Garniſaries.—Afflicting Picture of Europe.

THE intemperance which the firſt conſul entertained towards the Engliſh, now broke forth in the moſt undiſguiſed manner. He fulminated the moſt violent and rigorous injunctions againſt the introduction or continuance of Engliſh commerce in his dominions, by enacting the following decree:

Paris, June 20.

The government of the republic, in conſequence of the report of the miniſter of the interior, decrees as follows:—

"1. From the date of the publication of this *arrete*, there ſhall not be received into the ports of the republic, any colonial produce from the Engliſh colonies; nor any merchandize that comes directly or indirectly from England. Conſequently, every kind of merchandize, or produce of Engliſh manufacture, or from the Engliſh colonies, will be confiſcated.

"2. Neutral veſſels, bound for the ports of the republic, muſt be furniſhed with a certificate, from the commiſſary or agent for the commercial concerns of the republic at the port from whence they ſailed; which certificate ſhall contain the name of the veſſel, and that of the captain; the nature of the cargo, the number of the crew, and deſtination of the voyage.—In this declaration, the commiſſary ſhall certify, that the veſſel was laden under his own immediate inſpection; and that the merchandize is not of Engliſh manufacture, and does not proceed from England or its colonies.—A counterpart of this declaration ſhall be addreſſed to the miniſter of the interior, by the commiſſary of the republic, on the very day of the veſſel's departure.

"3. All captains, who from a negligence of the neceſſary forms, or a change in the place of their deſtination, ſhall not be furniſhed with ſimilar declarations, will be refuſed admittance into the ports of the republic, but on condition that they ſhall reload their veſſels with the produce of the French manufactories, to an amount equal to the value of his cargo. The director of the cuſtoms ſhall ſend to the prefect of the departmeut, an account of the cargo, and the goods taken in return; and, having examined it, the prefect will deliver the permit to leave the port.

"4. The miniſters of the interior, and of the finances, are charged with the execution of the preſent *arrete*, which will be inſerted in the bulletin of the laws.

"The Firſt Conſul, (Signed) BONAPARTE."

A more groſs ordinance againſt neutral veſſels, that might chance to have Engliſh goods on board, could not be conceived.

The threat of invaſion, alſo, againſt Great Britain, aſſumed ſhape and conſiſtency. An army of reſerve was formed at Daventer, under the command of general Deſolles, this, with the number of troops already aſſembled between that place and Fluſhing, was eſtimated at nearly eighty thouſand men. To this force, by way of pre-eminence, was given the pompous title of "The Army of England!" A camp of ninety thouſand men was formed at Dunkirk, and another of ſixty thouſand men was raiſed at Calais, at which place the firſt conſul had arrived on his military tour into Belgium; having previouſly ordered that all the Engliſh ſhould be removed, as being obnoxious to his preſence.

A curious coincidence between the commercial and military ſpeculations of the firſt conſul was apparent in theſe proceedings. During peace, he had propoſed to inſpect all the manufactories between Paris and Bruſſels: in the time of war, he did not think it neceſſary to alter his deſtination or his courſe, for the purpoſe of reviewing his camps, or of ſuperintending the force which was to invade England. His commercial commiſſioners now were diſcovered to be ſpies; and the banks which he had oſtentatiouſly erected in every town, for ſuppoſed improvements, were now converted to the foundations of barracks.

The army was increaſed in all quarters. A number of freſh corps were marched to ſeveral parts of Holland. The Hague was furniſhed with a French brigade, in place of a Dutch regiment that had been removed, and general Victor, was declared by the Dutch government, commander in chief of the Batavian army.

Every method was now reſorted to that might facilitate the meaſures of the firſt conſul; and here let us pay a due reſpect to the miſled part of our fellow ſubjects, who had ſought an aſylum in France, after having offended the laws of their country. It ſeems that Ireland, from the various diſaffections ſubſiſting among the people, was the deſtination which the French government were willing ſhould be attributed to their armaments; they therefore offered commiſſions to the Iriſh emigrants at Paris,

to ſerve in their armies—But theſe unfortunate men, *nobly refuſed to fight againſt their country!*—This was no ſmall ſacrifice for ſuch, who were for the moſt part barely ſupplied with the means of ſubſiſtence, to refuſe employment *.

To ſhew alſo, that Bonaparte would ſtop at nothing diſhonourable to accompliſh his ends; he offered to give up all theſe brave men to the Britiſh government, provided that they would act the ſame part, by delivering into his hands all the Bourbon family and the French emigrants in Great Britain. The Britiſh miniſtry ſpurned at ſo infamous a propoſition—the offer was refuſed with indignation.

It appears, that the great object of Bonaparte was not ſo much the invaſion of England, though that was held to be the oſtenſible deſign, as the means of keeping employed a neceſſitous and diſſatisfied militia. The ſouth of Germany held out no temptation for plunder, as that unfortunate part of the continent had been already exhauſted, during the ten years' war; but thoſe princes in the north of Germany, as well as the Hanſe Towns, were in poſſeſſion of conſiderable treaſure, moſtly in ſpecie: theſe were, the king of Pruſſia, the electors of Hanover and Saxony. The firſt, with 200,000 men at his command, could not be immediately pillaged, therefore a good underſtanding was kept up with him. A pretext was ſoon found for a piratical war on the ſecond; and contributions, exactions, forced loans, were found indiſpenſible by the Firſt Conſul, as they enabled him not only to ſupport a numerous army, without encumbering the people more immediately around him; but occaſioned at the ſame time a vaſt circulation of foreign ſpecie in the French territory.

Conſcriptions † now took place through the republican territory; the utmoſt ſeverities were exerciſed in raiſing theſe conſcripts: and all that tyrannic cruelty could imagine was reſorted to. But if any proof were wanting of the military deſpotiſm under which France at this time groaned, the uſe its government made of garniſaires, affords an evident, undeniable example.

This revolutionary oppreſſion was invented by Robeſpierre, improved by the directory, and organized by Bonaparte.

When any *accuſed* or *ſuſpected* perſon has eſcaped the ſearch of the police, garniſaires are quartered on his parents, relatives, or friends, until he is found, or they can prove themſelves ignorant of his retreat.

When any young conſcripts conceal themſelves or deſert, garniſaires are ſent in the ſame manner to their parents, relations, and friends, and remain with them until they bring forward the perſons wanted, or others in their place.

Any requiſition made by the civil or military power, either of men or of property, if refuſed or neglected, is followed by garniſaires, quartered firſt on the principal citizens, and afterwards on every inhabitant of the city, town, or village.

The regulated pay of each garniſaire is three livres, or half a crown a day, beſides board and lodging; and ſeveral young invalids are attached to each office of police and of contribution, who are generally employed as garniſaires.

A land under ſuch oppreſſion muſt neceſſarily ſeek relief; or at leaſt a chance to divert its anxiety; this preſented itſelf in the invaſion of England. From 800,000 to a million of ſoldiers were raiſed, to attempt the overthrow of the liberties and the independence of Europe.

The terrible effect of ſuch proceedings was the withdrawing an immenſe proportion of the population of Europe from uſeful induſtry, in order to be trained in the calamitous occupation of warfare; a circumſtance which could not fail to occaſion an innumerable train of evils ‡.

The

* The aſſertion that many Iriſh officers were in command in the French army at Breſt, if true, muſt be only relative to ſome obſcure individuals, who had been obliged to leave their country. Thoſe among them, who have common ſenſe, are heartily tired of their new connection, to which nothing could induce them to adhere but the cruel neceſſity of their fate. *Maclean*, p. 303.

† No fixed ſyſtem of recruiting is eſtabliſhed in France, ſo that particular and proviſionary meaſures are adopted. The method principally followed, ſince the return of the army, is, that, according to a liſt of all young men in France capable of bearing arms, and others of all the ſoldiers wanting in different corps, is made out: theſe corps are ordered to the different departments, to levy a proportionate number of conſcripts. Thither the regiments ſend officers and ſubalterns, to procure their number of recruits. Of all the conſcripts aſſembled in the chief place of a canton, the cavalry are allowed the firſt choice. The reſt are for the infantry.

As the number of conſcripts is in the whole greater by much than that of the recruits required, repartition is made, according to the population of each department. The conſcripts then draw lots. Thoſe on whom the lot does not fall the firſt time, draw again for the army of reſerve, which, in fact, does not exiſt; but the young men who have drawn their lot for this imaginary army, are, from that moment, at the diſpoſal of the government, which can call them together in caſe of neceſſity. They are frequently exerciſed, without any fixed time as to the term of military ſervice.

In making the levies, and in ſupplying the places of thoſe diſmiſſed, many abuſes have prevailed. At every ſuch levy, a number of conſcripts eſcape and conceal themſelves. The recruiters, however, muſt have their numbers; others muſt therefore be taken who have already drawn for the army of reſerve. Notwithſtanding this, the regiments purſue thoſe who have eſcaped with all the ſeverity of the law. In the garriſons they generally ſerve to ſupply the place of thoſe who wiſh to leave the regiment, and can afford to pay for a ſubſtitute.

‡ Dr. Maclean has very ſenſibly deſcribed the enormities practiſed in the recruiting ſervice in France:—

"This law of conſcription has, particularly of late, from the manner of its execution, become extremely odious. It was at one time reſiſted with open force; but ſeveral hundred young men having fallen a ſacrifice to this reſiſtance, the reſt were

The aſpect of Europe at this time was rather ſingular; all was trepidation or apathy; the Germanic body was a chimera, formed of jarring intereſts; Ruſſia, and the powers of the north, ſeemed to fear the menaces of the Firſt Conſul; whilſt Naples, Portugal, and Spain, alike dreaded his friendſhip or his hatred: the latter, aware that if a rupture took place between England and France, ſhe muſt be inevitably drawn into the war, began to prepare for the worſt. Naturally allied to the French, ſhe conſidered their intereſts as congenial as their territories were contiguous; and a perpetual treaty of alliance againſt the common enemy could alone preſerve her rich poſſeſſions from the Firſt Conſul's rapacity. In ſhort, ſhe conſidered that if ſhe did not ſupport France in the conteſt, ſhe could expect no aſſiſtance when her turn ſhould come to ſuſtain the attacks of England. The ſtrict union of two powers, who poſſeſſed ſuch an extent of coaſt in the ocean and the Mediterranean, and who ought always to join in a common cauſe, would oblige the Engliſh to ſpread their maritime forces over a variety of points, by which diviſion they would be ſo weakened as to be incapable of offenſive operations, particularly as the conſiderable armies that muſt be kept to protect their own metropolis from the threatened attack of an enthuſiaſtic enemy, would prevent them from attempting diſtant expeditions. It however appeared that England would not leave to Spain the choice of peace or war, as, from the extent of her navy, ſhe was poſſeſſed with the opinion, that ſhe was capable of attacking the whole world, and that Spain was the firſt upon the liſt of her enemies. But the extreme anxiety of France to effect a reconciliation, by every plauſible method, had been of infinite ſervice, as it had enabled the Spaniſh ſhips from the colonies to arrive with an immenſe quantity of ſpecie, and afforded the means of defraying the expences of a long continued war.

Afflicting picture of the human race. How much more deſirable would it have been that the amelioration, rather than the deſtruction of mankind, had engaged the ſtudy of minds formed for the greateſt undertakings!

were obliged to ſubmit. They were forced to acquieſce in the moſt ſhameful partiality and injuſtice in the mode of drawing lots. At preſent it is regarded as a two-edged weapon, in the hands of the government, by which they can raiſe both ſoldiers and money. The ſon of a rich man may be exempted, if the father conſents to pay 1500 or 2000 livres, and is a friend of the government beſide. But it is in vain that a poor man ſolicits exemption, under any circumſtance, even if he has a wife and a large family of children. I recollect an inſtance which came within my own obſervation, of fatal effects from the lot falling upon a young married man. While viſiting a patient, laſt ſummer, in the Rue de Lille, I was informed that a woman in the neighbourhood, had that morning fainted away, upon hearing that the lot had fallen upon her ſon; and that ſhe never recovered. He was her only child; was married to a beautiful young woman, and had already a family of three children. Upon making particular enquiry, I found that the circumſtances, as they were related to me, were ſtrictly true. If theſe occurrences had happened in England, they would have been faithfully recorded in all the newſpapers, and known to the whole country; but if any Pariſian journaliſt had ventured to ſtate even the outlines of them, he would have been ſent immediately to Cayenne. I doubt whether any perſon in Paris, who did not happen to be in the Rue de Lille that morning, ever heard of this fact.

"The authoriſed murders committed laſt year, by the military on the conſcripts in the ſections of Paris, were ſo ſlightly mentioned in the newſpapers, as to conceal from the public an exact knowledge of the number of lives that were loſt upon the occaſion. A circumſtance that happened at Angers, an account of which I have copied from one of the departmental journals, ſhews that the oppoſition of the conſcripts had by no means ceaſed in conſequence of the ſeverity with which thoſe of Paris had been treated:—"Some young men of the depart-" ment des Deux Sevres, in the *arrondiſſement* of Chatillon, " *led by perfidious ſuggeſtions*, have dared to enter, armed, into " the commune of Iſernay, in the *arrondiſſement* of Beaupréau, " and to make an appeal to the conſcripts of the years 11 and " 12; but the inhabitants of Iſernay ſhut their houſes, and " were deaf to the voice of revolt. The lieutenant of *gendar-* " *merie*, Roſier, commandant at Beaupréau, being informed " of this rebellion, repaired to Iſernay with ſuch brigades as " he could collect. At his approach, the young men returned " to their department; ſixteen were arreſted, and the reſt " diſperſed. Lieutenant Roſier and his troop diſplayed the " greateſt zeal and activity. Upon the firſt intelligence, the " prefect himſelf, accompanied by the ſub-prefects of Beau- " préau and of Segré, went to Chemillé and afterwards to " Cholet, in order to take, on the ſpot, the meaſures that " might be rendered neceſſary by circumſtances, and to ſe- " cond the movements of the *gendarmerie*." (This was the official account.)

"Every man acquainted with the actual ſtate of France, will conclude, from the terms of the above ſtatement, that the moſt eſſential facts, ſuch as the number of lives that were loſt, and the number of perſons wounded, are very carefully ſuppreſſed. From ſome ſmall knowledge of their policy in this reſpect, I can aſſure thoſe who are not acquainted with it, that, in the preſent inſtance, the loſs muſt have been very conſiderable before the tumult was appeaſed.

"Many young men, particularly from the new departments, have left their country, rather than be ſubjected to the conſcription laws. Others endeavour to conceal themſelves, and to evade compliance. But their utmoſt pains are ineffectual; for they are ſure to be ſooner or later diſcovered. The number that has deſerted is almoſt incredible. I ſaw liſts of them, before the war, with deſcriptions of their perſons, amounting, at that time, to many thouſands; and, from theſe liſts, I conclude that the number of conſcript deſerters, from the whole republic and its dependencies, cannot amount to leſs than from 40 to 60,000 men. Such of them as had the misfortune to be diſcovered, were conſigned to certain depôts, from whence they were to be ſent, as a puniſhment, to the colonies.

"For ſeveral months previous to my quitting Paris, it was impoſſible to walk the ſtreets without meeting dozens of conſcripts, in their labouring jackets, as they had been forced from their occupations, hand-cuffed and dragged to priſon, each between two ſoldiers. They had all the appearance of men, who conſidered themſelves as going to certain ſlaughter, excepting ſuch as, in order to drown their ſorrow, had ſwallowed liquor enough to produce intoxication.

"Theſe facts indicate with ſufficient clearneſs the extent of miſery produced by military conſcription, as it is at preſent executed in France."

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Naval Capture—St. Lucia, a ſhort Hiſtory of its various Ceſſions — Surrendered to the Britiſh Forces.

THE naval regiſter of this period furniſhed ſeveral inſtances of the proweſs with which Britiſh ſailors might be ſaid to challenge the courage of their enemies.

Captain Pearſon of the Doris, whilſt cruizing off Uſhant, fell in with the French republican lugger L'Affronteur, commanded by Monſieur Morice André Dutoya, Lieutenant de Vaiſſeau, mounting fourteen guns and ninety-two men. In her endeavour to eſcape the Britiſh ſhip, the ſhot from the Doris killed her commander and eight men, when ſhe ſurrendered to Captain Pearſon, who had only one man wounded on board his ſhip.

His Majeſty's ſhip the Minotaur alſo fell in with the French republican frigate La Francaiſe, off the Dodman, which ſhe chaſed, in company with the Albion, and took. The French veſſel was pierced for twenty-eight twelve-pounders on her main-deck, and ſixteen nine-pounders on the quarter-deck and fore-caſtle, ten of which were in her hold; ſhe had on board alſo one hundred and eighty-ſeven men.

An equal mark of good fortune attended Captain Wallis, of his Majeſty's ſhip the Naiad. He captured the French national corvette L'Impatient of twenty guns and eighty men. This was a very fine veſſel, and eſteemed one of the ſwifteſt French ſailers. Captain Wallis was ſucceſsful likewiſe in capturing the French merchant-ſhip La Chaſſeur, laden with ſugar, cotton, coffee, &c. from St. Domingo to L'Orient, a very handſome veſſel, of 359 tons burthen, and newly coppered.

The various prizes taken by Lieut. Senhouſe deſerve notice here: this gentleman, in the Hind revenue cutter, captured La Felicité, a French cutter privateer, Le Charles, a merchant brig, laden with oak timber for conſtructing ſhips from Rouen to Rochfort; a Dutch galliot, laden with ſalt for Rotterdam, from the coaſt of Portugal; a Dutch Indiaman, with a very valuable cargo of cotton and coffee, from Surinam.

In fact, the prizes which conſtantly came into Plymouth, during this month, gave ſufficient proof of what the enemy had to expect from its unwarranted temerity in quarrelling with a ſtate, the friendſhip of which might have been one of the chief props of her eſtabliſhment, when conducted by honour and probity.

But the moſt prominent of the ſucceſſes by Britiſh valour, during the month of June, were the captures of St. Lucia and Tobago.

The firſt of theſe had formerly been in the diviſion of the four neutral iſlands, and had been alternately poſſeſſed by the Engliſh and French. The courts of both nations had however agreed, about the year 1722, that St. Lucia, together with St. Vincent and Dominica, ſhould be evacuated, till the right of them was amicably determined. This iſland however ſoon appeared inconteſtibly to belong to the Engliſh, in conſequence of which King George I. had granted it and St. Vincent to the Duke of Montague, who ſent thither, at a vaſt expence, Captain Irving, as deputy governor, &c. with planters, arms, tools, and all the neceſſaries for the purpoſes intended, on board ſeven ſhips; but after a ſhort ſtay, they were obliged, by a ſuperior force from Martinico, to reimbark, under colour that the iſland ſhould remain neutral, till the ſeveral claims on each ſide ſhould be decided. This was, however, a prelude to a breach of treaty; for the French ſoon afterwards, in defiance of every right, took poſſeſſion of St. Lucia, and erected fortifications.

It was taken by the Britiſh in the year 1762, by General Monckton, and with it the iſland of Martinique, but was reſtored to the French by the peace of 1763.

The laſt time it was taken was by the gallant Sir Ralph Abercrombie and Admiral Chriſtian, in 1796, after operations attended with conſiderable labour and fatigue, the roads having been every where to be made through a mountainous and rugged country; whilſt the artillery and ammunition were carried forward, and the line of inveſtment, extending ten miles, were ſupplied with proviſions, without the aſſiſtance of carriages, and with very few horſes.

The difficulties which the Engliſh had to encounter in this capture were great at this time. The natives had been intoxicated with the faſcination of revolutionary principles; ſo that the reduction was not eaſily accompliſhed, and being furniſhed with ammunition and arms, the brigands, thus ſupplied, carried fire and ſword into every part of the country that was undefended, and murdered all the whites who did not join them. But by means of the efforts of General Moore, the iſland was at laſt reſtored to a ſtate of order and tranquillity, in which it continued till it was again reſtored to the French by the treaty of Amiens.

The breach of this treaty, and the warfare carried againſt England, rendered repriſals neceſſary; orders were therefore ſent out to that purpoſe by the Britiſh miniſtry, and Lieutenant General Grinfield, commander in chief of his Majeſty's troops in the Windward and Leeward Caribbee Iſlands forwarded the following diſpatch to Lord Hobart:—

" My Lord, *St. Lucia, June* 22, 1803.

" It is with ſatisfaction I have the honour to acquaint your lordſhip, that this day the fortreſs of Morne Fortunée was carried by aſſault, and the iſland

of St. Lucia is in conſequence unconditionally reſtored to the Britiſh government.

" I have to ſtate to your Lordſhip, that in conſequence of his Majeſty's order, ſignified to me in your letter, dated the 16th of May, and received on the 14th inſtant, which I immediately communicated to Commodore Hood, he arrived at Barbadoes on the 17th; the troops, ſtores, &c. were on board, or embarked on the 19th; ſailed on the 20th. On the 21ſt, at day-break, they were off the north end of St. Lucia, in the courſe of the day the greateſt part of the troops were diſembarked in Choque Bay; about half paſt five the out-poſts of the enemy were driven in, the town of Caſtries taken, and a ſummons was ſent to the commander of the troops of the French republic.

" In conſequence of the refuſal of Brigade General Nogues to accede to any terms, and the expectation of approaching rains, it became neceſſary to get poſſeſſion of the Morne with as little delay as poſſible. It was therefore determined, this morning, to attack the fortreſs by aſſault, which was done accordingly at four o'clock, and it was carried in about half an hour, and with leſs loſs, conſidering the reſiſtance, than could have been expected; but the loſs has been chiefly among the higher ranks of officers, and thoſe the moſt truly valuable: but it is yet to be hoped moſt of them will recover, for the real benefit of his Majeſty's ſervice.

" I cannot omit a circumſtance which reflects ſo much credit, as well on the Britiſh nation, as on the conduct of the ſoldiers actually employed, that, notwithſtanding the ſevere and ſpirited reſiſtance of the French troops, yet, no ſooner were the works carried by aſſault, and the oppoſition no longer exiſted, than every idea of animoſity appeared to ceaſe, and not a French ſoldier was either killed or wounded.

" The return of the killed and wounded, excepting the number of officers of high rank, is not equal to what might have been expected, and, by far leſs than it would have been, in all probability, had a formal inveſtment of the fortreſs taken place *."

The diſpatch of Commodore Hood to Sir Evan Nepean was alſo expreſſive of the alacrity which the naval part of the expedition teſtified in co-operation with the military.

" On my arrival at Barbadoes (writes the commodore) on the 17th, late in the evening, having conſulted lieutenant-general Grinfield with reſpect to the intended co-operations of the army and navy, I inſtantly took meaſures to prevent farther ſupplies being thrown into St. Lucia, (the ſhips on this ſervice, under the orders of captain O'Bryen, of the Emerald, made ſome captures of trading veſſels) and every diſpoſition was ſettled for embarking the troops and light artillery on board the ſhips of war, and the neceſſary ſtores, &c. in ſmall veſſels for the expedition; by great exertions, the whole was effected on the 20th, and the arrangements completed: the lieutenant-general having embarked with the troops, I put to ſea with the ſhips Centaur, Courageux, Argo, Chicheſter, Hornet, and Cyane, and was joined the next morning by the Emerald and Oſprey, having brigadier-general Prevoſt on board, and were all anchored by eleven o'clock in the bay.

" There being a ſtrong breeze, the boats of the ſquadron had a heavy pull, with the firſt diviſion of the army, compoſed of the ſecond battalion of the Royals, and two field-pieces, under the command of brigadier-general Brereton; but, by the great energy and excellent diſpoſition made by captain Hallowell, were landed in good order about two *p. m.* and by the perſeverance of every officer and man employed in landing the remainder of the troops, the lieutenant-general was enabled to make an early arrangement for an attack on that very important and ſtrong poſt, Morne Fortunée, where the force of the enemy was aſſembled, which, on the commandant refuſing to give up when ſummoned, was ordered to be attacked with that deciſion and promptitude which has always been the characteriſtic mark of lieutenant-general Grinfield, and carried by ſtorm at half-paſt four this morning, with the ſuperior bravery which has ever diſtinguiſhed the Britiſh ſoldier;

* *Return of the killed, wounded, and miſſing of the troops in the aſſault and capture of the fortreſs of Morne Fortunée, in the iſland of St. Lucia, in the morning of the 22d of June*, 1803.

Royal Military Artificers—1 ſerjeant, killed.

2d battalion Royals—1 ſerjeant, 1 rank and file, killed; 1 field officer, 1 captain, 2 ſerjeants, 43 rank and file, wounded; 1 rank and file, miſſing.

64th regiment—1 ſerjeant, 5 rank and file, killed; 2 field officers, 1 captain, 1 ſubaltern, 2 ſerjeants, 31 rank and file, wounded; 1 rank and file miſſing.

68th ditto—1 drummer, miſſing.

3d Weſt India regiment—1 ſerjeant, 3 rank and file, killed; 2 ſubalterns, 23 rank and file, wounded; 5 rank and file, miſſing.

Staff—1 field officer, wounded.

Total—4 ſerjeants, 16 rank and file, killed; 4 field officers, 2 captains, 3 ſubalterns, 4 ſerjeants, 97 rank and file, wounded; 1 drummer, 7 rank and file, miſſing.

Officers wounded.

2d battalion Royals—Lieutenant Colonel Macdonald, ſeverely; Captain Chaloner, ſeverely.

64th regiment—Lieut. Colonel Pakenham, ſeverely; Major Sir George Richardſon, Captain Galway, Lieut. Frederick Rowan, ſlightly.

3d Weſt India regiment—Lieutenant Moultrie, ſlightly; Enſign Fagan, ſlightly.

Staff—Lieutenant Colonel Morden, Deputy Adjutant General, ſeverely.

N. B. Hoſpital Mate Haynes, attached to 3d Weſt India regiment, ſeverely wounded, not included above.

(Signed) W. TATUM, Capt. Aſſiſt. Adj. Gen.

The Attack of the Morne Fortune on the Island of St. Lucia

ſoldier: this placed the colony completely in our poſſeſſion*."

The commander in chief was ſo well ſatisfied with the behaviour of the troops under his command, that he iſſued the following addreſs to the troops:

Head Quarters, Caſtries, St. Lucia, June 22, 1803.

GENERAL ORDERS.

PAROLE, ST. LUCIA.

"The commander of the forces has the honour to congratulate the troops under his command, for the gallant attack and capture, by aſſault, of the fortreſs of Morne Fortunée, and the unconditional ſurrender of the iſland of St. Lucia.

"If any thing could reconcile to the officers and ſoldiers who have been wounded, and to the friends of thoſe who have been killed, it will be the reflection of their moſt extraordinary gallant and ſoldier-like behaviour.

"The commander of the forces ſhall have particular ſatisfaction in repreſenting to his king, the readineſs with which the troops, who formed the expedition, were embarked on the ſhorteſt notice; he muſt particularly ſpeak of the gallant behaviour of the ſecond battalion of the Royals, and the 64th regiment; and he is very ſorry that the 68th regiment, by its being in the reſerve, under brigadier-general Picton, was not in the action, otherwiſe there could have been no doubt but that the conduct of that regiment would have merited an equal report, as was evinced from a ſmall detachment of that regiment, in a *faint* attack under the command of lieutenant colonel Shipley.

"To the ready attention of commodore Hood, and to the accommodation afforded to the troops in the men of war, and to the exertions and arrangements of captain Hallowell in their embarkation and diſembarkation, may be juſtly attributed the ſucceſs of the expedition to this iſland.

"To the cool and determined conduct of brigadier-general Prevoſt and brigadier-general Brereton, who led the two columns of attack, may be attributed the ſucceſs of the action; but to brigadier-general Prevoſt muſt be acknowledged, that to his counſel and arrangements the commander of the forces attributes the glory of the day.

"To lieutenant-colonel Pakenham and lieutenant-colonel M'Donald (both ſeverely wounded), their reſpective corps are indebted for their ſpirited behaviour.

"To lieutenant-colonel Shipley, and the royal engineers, he is indebted in a high degree for aſſiſtance and profeſſional advice.

"To lieutenant-colonel Morden (ſeverely wounded) he is indebted for his ſpirited offer and good conduct, in leading the column to the aſſault; and the conduct of major Sir George Richardſon (alſo ſeverely wounded), was particularly noticed by brigadier-general Prevoſt.

"It would be of too great length to inſert the names of every officer whoſe courage and behaviour on this day has deſerved to be marked; the commander

* *Return of French Priſoners taken at the Conqueſt of the Iſland of St. Lucia, on the 22d of June,* 1803, *by the Troops under the Command of Lieutenant General William Grinfield.*

1 Brigadier-general, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 10 captains, 8 lieutenants, 12 ſecond-lieutenants, 1 ſerjeant-major, 1 ſurgeon, 1 aſſiſtant-ſurgeon, 13 ſerjeant-majors, 77 ſerjeants, 74 corporals, 18 drummers, 402 privates, 11 women, 9 children.—Total, 640.

N. B. One hundred and ſixteen of the priſoners included in the total, are returned ſick.

Taken from the Preſect's return,
W. TATUM, Capt. Aſſiſtant Adjutant General.

St. Lucia, 22d June, 1803.

Return of Ordnance, Ammunition, and Stores, at Morne Fortunée, and the Batteries adjoint.

Iron guns—7 thirty-ſix pounders, 4 twenty-four pounders, 1 twenty-two pounder, 13 eighteen pounders, 7 twelve pounders, 6 eight pounders, 2 four pounders. Braſs guns—2 four pounders. Iron mortar—1 thirteen inch. Braſs mortars—1 ten inch, 2 eight inch. Round ſhot—1,400 thirty-ſix pounders, 713 twenty-four pounders, 577 eighteen pounders, 104 twelve pounders, 31 eight pounders, 68 four pounders. Caſe ſhot—20 ſix pounders.—Round ſhot fixed to powder—32 ſix pounders. 10 caſe ſhot fixed to powder. Shells empty—268 thirteen inch, 85 ten inch, 126 eight inch. Flannel cartridges, filled—18 thirty-ſix pounders, 38 twenty-four pounders, 13 eighteen pounders, 45 twelve pounders, 6 ſix pounders. Paper cartridges filled—21 twenty-four pounders.—60 empty paper carriages.—2,000 muſket-balls.—72 portfires.—10 eight inch ſhells burſters.—1 gyn.—12 powder horns.—60 lbs. of ſlow match.—16 handſpikes.—Sponges without ſtaves and rammers—4 thirty-ſix pounders, 3 twenty-four pounders. Ladles without ditto—1 thirty-ſix pounder, 3 twenty-four pounders, 1 ſix pounder. Rammers without ditto—2 thirty-ſix pounders, 4 Twenty-four pounders.—Wadhooks without ditto—1 thirty-ſix pounder, 2 twenty-four pounders.—5 cwt. of muſket-balls.—18¼ lbs. of rockets. Fuzes—400 ten-inch,—550 eight-inch—150 five and half-inch.—86 barrels of powder.—1 Leather cartouch.—513 Muſkets.—400 Bayonets.—460 Pouches. 400 Belts.

(Signed) C. K. DU VERNET, Commiſſary, &c.

Note.—This return does not include the ordnance, &c. at the out-poſts, nor at Pigeon Iſland.

(Signed) W. WILSON, Capt. and Brig. Major Royal Artillery.

(A true copy.)
W. PLENDERLEATH, U. Mil. Sec.

St. Lucia, 22d June, 1808.

Return of Engineers' Stores taken at Morne Fortunée, the 22d June, 1803.

1,500 ſand bags—7 hammers—1 anvil—2 vices—2 pair bellows—5 pair tongs—25 ſpades—1 croſs cut ſaw—25 pair hinges—14 barrel, nails—6 pickaxes—1 iron crow—8 axes—3 rammers—1 ſtone cutter's ſaw—60 barrels lime—5 tons irons 1 cwt. ſteel—20 wheel barrows.

(Signed) CHARLES SHIPLEY, Lieut. Col. Commanding Royal Engineers, W. I.
C. K. DU VERNET, Commiſſary, &c.
(A true copy.)
W. PLENDERLEATH, U. Mil. Sec.

mander

mander of the forces can aſſure them that the ſatiſfaction expreſſed by brigadier-general Prevoſt and brigadier-general Brereton, does them the higheſt credit.

"The commander of the forces would be unpardonable was he not to expreſs that the general of brigade, Nogues, the commanding officer of the forces of the French republic, and the troops under his command, made a moſt gallant defence for their country, and highly honourable to themſelves.

"W. TATUM, Captain,
"Aſſiſtant Adjutant-General."

CHAP. X.

Intereſting Account of the Iſland of Tobago—originally belonging to the Engliſh—colonized by the Dutch—who were deprived by the French, in the moſt invidious Manner.—Colonized again by the Duke of Courland, under Engliſh Patronage.—Ultimately poſſeſſed by the French.—Its Calamities—Captured by the Britiſh.—Reſtored.—Again captured by General Grinfield and Commodore Hood.—Plan for the Protection of the Britiſh Coaſt.

ANOTHER heroic action graced the records of the month of June. The capture of St. Lucia having been ſo ſucceſsfully accompliſhed, the conquerors bent their progreſs towards Tobago.

This iſland had originally belonged to the Engliſh; for in 1628, Charles I. had granted it jointly with Trinity Iſland, Barbuda, and St. Bernard, to Philip earl of Pembroke and Montgomery; but it does not appear that his lordſhip made much profit of the grant, or that any ſettlement had been made on the iſland. In 1640, the Dutch from Fluſhing, ſent a conſiderable colony, who fixed themſelves in a very comfortable manner; and though at firſt the climate diſagreed with them, they were enabled to extend their poſſeſſions; but the Spaniards, from Trinity iſland, aſſiſted by the ſavage natives of St. Vincent, fell upon the Dutch ſettlers, murdered every individual, and deſtroyed the plantations, and again made the iſland a deſart.

M. Adrian Lampſin, a Dutch Eaſt India director, in 1664, had the courage, jointly with his brother Cornelius Lampſin, burgomaſter of Fluſhing, again to attempt the colonization of Tobago, at their joint expence; but to prevent future depredation, they applied for a licence from the States General, and gained beſides the ſanction of the court of France: Lewis XIV. was ſo pleaſed with the project, that he created M. Lampſin, baron of Tobago, beſides allowing him to introduce *fleurs-de-lis* into his armorial bearings.

Thus patronized, the brothers increaſed their plan, got ſettlers from Zealand, and raiſed a town and fortreſs, which they denominated Lampſinberg, beſides two good forts called Beverin and Belleviſte. The undertaking from this time flouriſhed in an amazing degree, an adminiſtration was ſettled, and twelve hundred whites ſucceeded in raiſing all the commodities peculiar to the Weſt Indies; they planted tobacco, ſugar, ginger, indigo, cotton, caſſia, cacao, fuſtick, citrons, oranges, ananas, &c. with the greateſt ſucceſs; and in addition, they were accommodated with articles, to which the neighbouring iſlands were ſtrangers, ſuch as an excellent kind of ſaſſafras, wild mace, nutmegs, and a vaſt quantitiy of gum copal. They raiſed alſo all ſorts of grain and proviſions, not only ſufficient for their own conſumption, but for exportation to their neighbours.

Such a thriving project, however, raiſed the jealouſy of the French monarch; and in 1678, marſhal D'Etrees, by the command of his maſter, ſailed with a conſiderable fleet to deſtroy the very ſettlement, he had protected and encouraged; and though its proprietors were nobleſſe of France, Lewis fought to beggar and deſtroy them; the Dutchmen, unwilling to give up their property without a ſtruggle, nobly defended themſelves, and it was not till after two hard-fought general engagements, in which they were overpowered by numbers, that the ſettlers ſurrendered, and the colony was a ſecond time totally ruined.

It was reſtored again by the treaty of Nimeguen—but from its late misfortunes, and the vicinity of the ſavages of St. Vincent, any further efforts towards a re-ſettlement were languid; it became again a deſart, and was ſeldom viſited by Europeans *.

The Dutch, in the ſeventeenth century, during the courſe of only eleven years, had rendered Tobago the moſt flouriſhing of all the Leeward Iſlands, and though they were driven off again, after they attempted to reſettle, after the peace of Nimeguen, the Duke of Courland was not diſcouraged from making another ſettlement; which flouriſhed to ſuch a degree, that the politic French, in 1748, formed alſo various ſettlements, and ultimately gained full poſſeſſion of the iſland.

It partook in the extravagances of the French re-

* It ſhould have been mentioned, that the Duke of Courland had, at a very great expence, formed another ſettlement here; and that he might have a clear title, procured a grant of it from Charles II. but was diſpoſſeſſed by the Dutch, in favour of the Zealanders as before mentioned, who for the ſake of being better ſupported, put themſelves likewiſe under the protection of the crown of France: and this was the ſource of the pretenſions of that crown.

volution, the garriſon revolted, burnt the chief town, and reduced the iſland to the greateſt diſtreſs. Indeed, the year 1790, was a memorable era in the annals of Tobago; it ſuffered three earthquakes, a revolution in the ſtate, the troops in revolt, port St. Louis burnt to aſhes, and one of the moſt terrible hurricanes it had ever witneſſed.

In 1793, it reverted to its antient owners, the Engliſh, after a brave action, under the command of general Cuyler and admiral Laforey; and to the honour of the Britiſh ſoldier be it related, that after the commanding officer called out, that the governor had ſurrendered, they ceaſed their warfare, and not another perſon was wounded. They were occupied in ſecuring thier priſoners, who, it ſeems, were more than the aſſailants; and general Cuyler, who had been wounded at the commencement of the attack, during the night, and had given up all hopes of ſucceſs, imagining the light companies as well as their commanders had been cut to pieces, was highly gratified in the morning, on ſeeing the Britiſh colours flying over the French. Even the vanquiſhed ſpoke in the higheſt terms of commendation, of the valour and humanity of the Britiſh; and in their diſpatch to France, mentioned with grateful ſentiments, "*That the general, his officers, and troops, treated them with a degree of generoſity above all praiſe!*"

This iſland continued in the hands of the government of Great Britain, till the treaty of Amiens reſtored it to its French owners, with whom it continued till the infraction of that treaty. The ſucceſs attendant upon the capture of St. Lucia, induced general Grinfield and commodore Hood to purſue their good fortune, and attempt the reduction of Tobago * again under the Britiſh dominions.

"The circumſtances which led to this fortunate and valuable conqueſt," ſays general Grinfield, were as follow:

"On the 25th of June, commodore Hood, with the fleet and troops, ſailed from St. Lucia, and on the 30th, at day-break, made the iſland of Tobago. About five o'clock in the afternoon, having landed the greater part of the troops, the two leading columns marched forward to Scarborough, and meeting no oppoſition in the defiles of St. Mary's advanced to Mount Grace, from which place I ſent a ſummons to the commandant general Berthier, who returned an anſwer, by propoſing terms of capitulation, which were finally ſettled about four this morning, and at eleven, poſſeſſion of the fortreſs was given the Britiſh forces; the French garriſon marching out with the honours of war, and laying down their arms, after paſſing the guard of honour, under the orders of brigadier-general Picton.

"The fort having ſurrendered without reſiſtance, I can only ſpeak, in general terms of the excellent diſcipline and good conduct of the officers and ſoldiers in this expedition; there is no doubt, had the French garriſon been ſufficiently ſtrong to have hazarded reſiſtance, they would have met as obſtinate an attack, as was experienced by the garriſon at Morne Fortunée.

"It is next to impoſſible for me to ſay too much in praiſe of the co-operation of the navy. The troops are in the higheſt degree indebted to commodore Hood, for the accommodation afforded to them on board, and to the judicious arrangements and execution in the embarking and diſembarkation of them by captain Hallowell.

"I take the liberty to encloſe a copy of the orders given to the troops.

"I likewiſe encloſe a liſt of the troops of the French republic who laid down their arms in conſequence of the capitulation; alſo the return of ordnance and military ſtores taken in the fort and other batteries in this iſland."

General Grinfield, upon making good his landing, iſſued the following ſummons to general Berthier, commandant of Tobago:

"The forces of his Britannic Majeſty, now landed in this iſland, being ſo ſuperior to thoſe of the French republic, that reſiſtance will only prove an unneceſſary profuſion of the lives of men:

"The ſuperiority of the Britiſh naval force over that of the French in thoſe ſeas, muſt preclude the hope of ſuccour:

"The commanders of the Britiſh army and navy being fully ſenſible of the decided ſuperiority, ſo fully evinced on the 22d inſtant, by the capture of Morne Fortunée, in the iſland of St. Lucia, by aſſault, offer to the French commanding officer to accede to any reaſonable propoſals for the immediate ſurrender of this iſland, as he may think proper to offer, premiſing only, that the garriſon muſt ſurrender priſoners of war, to be conveyed to Europe, and that all the public property is to be at the diſpoſal of the captors.

"The officer who will have the honour to deliver this, is to wait one hour, and no longer, for an anſwer."

This propoſal having been delivered, the French general Cæſar Berthier, captain-general of the iſland of Tobago, in the name of the French republic, offered the following terms:

"Art. I. To deliver up to the commander in chief of his Britannic Majeſty's forces, the fort of Scarborough, in the ſame ſtate in which it now is, together with the artillery and military ſtores.——Anſwer.—Agreed to.

"Art. II. The garriſon ſhall march out with all the honours of war; drums beating, and taking their arms and baggage, with one piece of field artillery.

"Anſwer.—Agreed to. The Britiſh troops being permitted, at eleven o'clock to-morrow morning, to have poſſeſſion of the fort of Scarborough; and the French garriſon, at the ſame time, is to march out with the honours of war, drums beating, arms and baggage, and one piece of field artillery, but the arms are to be laid down, and the field piece given up as ſoon as they ſhall have paſſed the glacis.

* The capture of Tobago was very agreeable to the coloniſts, who it ſeems were moſtly Britiſh.

" Art. III. The captain-general, his ſtaff, all the officers, all the perſons in military or civil employments, with all the ſoldiers, ſeamen, ſervants, and generally all the French attached to the ſervice of the republic, with their wives and children, ſhall be embarked within a month, and ſent back to France at the expence of his Britannic Majeſty.—Anſwer. Agreed to. And ſhall be ſent within the time, or as ſoon after as poſſible.

" Art. IV. A proper veſſel ſhall be furniſhed as ſoon as poſſible, for the conveyance of the captain-general, his family, ſtaff, and other perſons in his ſuite, with the goods and effects belonging to them.——Anſwer.—Agreed to.

" Art. V. The ſick and wounded ſhall be attended to in the military hoſpital of Scarborough, at the expence of his Britannic Majeſty, and ſent to France when cured.

Anſwer.—Agreed to. And they ſhall be ſent to France as ſoon as they may be recovered.

" Art. VI. The property of every kind belonging to the inhabitants of the colony ſhall be reſpected; their laws, cuſtoms, and uſages will be preſerved, as they have been by the French government.

" Agreed to.—The colony will have the laws exiſting when under the Britiſh government previous to its laſt ceſſion to the French republic.

" Art. VII. The captain general Cæſar Berthier, ſhall immediately diſpatch the national brig Souffleur, now at Scarborough, to apprize his government of this capitulation. The neceſſary paſſport for this purpoſe ſhall be given by the commander of the naval force of his Britannic Majeſty.

" Anſwer.—Agreed to by me: but ſubject to the commodore's opinion. An unarmed veſſel may be ſent to France, and if the Souffleur is diſarmed, ſhe may be ſent to France.

" Art. VIII. The French merchant veſſels now in Scarborough roads, under the batteries of the fort, ſhall be allowed to ſail for ſuch port of Europe or America, as they ſhall think proper.

" Anſwer.—Requires being referred to the commodore. Provided the property does not belong to perſons who have come to the iſland ſince its ceſſion to the French republic.

" Art. IX. None of the inhabitants ſhall be moleſted on account of the conduct they may have held, or opinions they may have profeſſed under the French government.

" Anſwer.—Agreed to.

" Art. X. During the ſpace of two years, to commence this day, it ſhall be permitted to ſuch inhabitants as are deſirous of quitting the iſland, to diſpoſe of their properties, and remove the amount to whatever place they pleaſe.——Anſwer.—Agreed to.

(Signed) W. GRINFIELD, Lieutenant General, commanding in chief.
SAMUEL HOOD, Commodore, and commander in chief.
(Signed) CÆSAR BERTHIER, Captain General, of the iſland of Tobago.
Accepted by order of general Berthier, by virtue of his full powers granted to us.
(Signed) L'ANUS, Firſt Aide-de-Camp.
BAINHOUSE GENTIL, Aide-de-Camp."

" Whereas the proviſion made in the eighth article of capitulation, did not appear to be clearly underſtood by the captain-general Cæſar Berthier, it is now agreed, that the captain-general ſhall take to him the William and Jenny merchant-ſhips, to tranſport the French troops and ſailors to France, as well as the property of the captain-general, independent of the unarmed brig ſtated; and that proper paſſports ſhall be furniſhed for the purpoſe, and for ſailing under the French flag with a cartel; and that all other veſſels are to be conſidered under the regulations and orders of the Britiſh commander in chief.

(Signed) SAMUEL HOOD.
CÆSAR BERTHIER, Capt. Gen."

After the capitulation had been completed, the commander in chief iſſued the following general orders to the forces under his command:—

" The commander of the forces has again the opportunity of congratulating the troops with the ſucceſs due to their zeal, diſcipline, and courage, by the ſurrender, by capitulation, of the fortreſs of Scarborough, and the reſtoration of the iſland of Tobago, without bloodſhed, to the Britiſh government.

" The commander of the forces hopes the commodore will permit him to impute the principal cauſe of their recent ſucceſs to his ſteady co-operation with the army, and to the judicious arrangements and execution of Captain Hallowell, in the embarkation and diſembarkation of the troops.

" The commander of the forces aſſures the officers and ſailors of the King's ſhips, and the officers and ſoldiers of the royal marines, that it will be with pleaſure he ſhall report to his royal highneſs the commander in chief their attachment and laudable perſeverance in the execution of thoſe duties the ſervice has required from them; and it will be next to impoſſible for the army not to ſucceed in its undertaking, when the ſailors give ſuch eſſential aid in the conveyance of the artillery, and the royal marines their ſupport wherever occaſion requires.

" The advance march of the firſt column, conſiſting of two companies of the 64th regiment, and five companies of the 3d Weſt India regiment, under Brigadier General Picton, which, in all probability, has been the cauſe of the ſpeedy ſurrender, is entitled to military commendation.

" The circumſtances of the capitulation not affording any occaſion for the diſplay of Britiſh valour, has fortunately prevented any loſs; but every commendation is due to the army for their ready obedience to the orders neceſſary on theſe occaſions.

" Great praiſe is alſo due to the alertneſs and readineſs of the royal artillery and royal artificers in their embarkation and diſembarkation, both of themſelves, ordnance and ſtores, and for their attention to their diſcipline and duties*."

* Among the ordnance captured at Tobago were—31,110 cartridges—690 cylinders—2 braſs guns, mounted—19 iron guns, diſmounted—3 braſs mortars—356 ſhells—665 caſe ſhot—104 grape ſhot—6744 round ſhot—326 muſkets—619 ſpikes—440 fuzees—and a great variety of leſſer articles.

The

The active co-operation of the navy in this tranſaction is related by Commodore Hood, in the following diſpatch to the ſecretary of Admiralty:—

"*Centaur, Great Courland Bay, Tobago.*

"Sir,

"Having ſailed from St. Lucia, on the evening of the 25th of June, accompanied by the ſhips Centaur, Argo, Ulyſſes, Chicheſter, and Hornet, with Lieutenant General Grinfield and troops for the attack of Tobago, embarked on board, and ſeveral ſmall ordnance and proviſion veſſels, we arrived off the iſland in the forenoon of the 30th of June, and were joined by his Majeſty's ſhips Venus and Port Mahon, neither of which having troops, I directed Captain Graves to anchor cloſe to the battery on the eaſt point of Courland Bay, and commence the attack, that the firſt diviſion of the army (compoſed of two companies of the 64th regiment, and five companies of the 3d Weſt India regiment, commanded by Brigadier General Picton, and conducted by Captain Hallowell of the Argo) might be covered in proceeding to land in the Bay, and Captain Nevill to run in with the Port Mahon cloſe to the back of the battery to cover the landing; and, as ſoon as the two companies of the 64th were in the boats, I bore up with the Centaur with an intention of ſupporting the ſhip and ſloop; but the ſteady and judicious conduct of theſe officers in the execution of this ſervice, was ſo completely effective, that the battery was ſoon ſilenced by the fire of the Venus, and the Port Mahon drove them from the back, landed and took poſſeſſion without any loſs, by which the troops were diſembarked unmoleſted.

"From the ſuperior energy of Lieutenant General Grinfield, the rapid movements of the army were ſuch as to cauſe General Cæſar Berthier to propoſe for the ſurrender of the fort of Scarborough the ſame evening, and the articles of capitulation, a copy of which I have the honour to encloſe, were completed by half paſt four this morning.

"I ſhould do great injuſtice to the lieutenant general, and the ſeveral officers and ſoldiers under his command, if I did not mention the moſt cordial good underſtanding which has ſubſiſted between us during the whole of our operations, as I ſhould alſo to the ſeveral captains, officers, petty officers, ſeamen, and royal marines of the ſeveral ſhips for their unremitted attention and good conduct.

"The royal marines and a body of ſeamen were landed to co-operate with the army, under the command of Captain Hallowell; and it is ſcarcely neceſſary for me to add, his zeal and exertions were equally conſpicuous as on the late expedition to St. Lucia.—He is charged with this diſpatch, and will give their lordſhips any further information they may deſire on the ſubject.

"I have the honour to be,

"SAMUEL HOOD."

The month of June cloſed with the publication of Lord Hobart's plan to the lords lieutenants of the maritime counties, for the protection of the coaſt: by this it was recommended, that

"I. The lords lieutenants of the maritime counties ſhould co-operate with the board of Admiralty in obtaining the enrollment of all ſea-faring men, not applicable to the ſervice of the navy, upon their reſpective coaſts, under the denomination of 'SEA FENCIBLES.'

"II. It was recommended to the principal ſea-port towns, to equip, at their own expence, a certain number of armed veſſels and hulks, to be ſtationed for the better ſecurity and protection of ſuch ports, and to be appropriated to and manned by *Sea Fencibles*, who ſhould take charge of them, and be exerciſed on board at the guns, as often as might be required.

"III. That when the proportion of Sea Fencibles, which any place could furniſh, might be greater than ſuch place could find ſhipping to employ; and likewiſe when any place was capable of providing men, but unable to procure veſſels; in both ſuch caſes veſſels ſhould be ſupplied by government.

"IV. That as colliers and coaſting veſſels were well adapted to be armed as gun-boats, it was recommended to the principal merchants and owners in every part of the kingdom, to fit their veſſels of that deſcription with ſlides* between decks, and loop-holes in the combings of their hatchways, for cloſe quarters; theſe veſſels to carry two guns forward and two aft, to fight on either ſide, as well as fore and aft.

"V. That when the veſſels were reported ready, guns and ammunition ſhould be put on board by government, free of expence to the owners; the maſters giving a receipt and voucher to return them when demanded, and to keep a regular account of the expenditure of the ſtores.

"VI. That theſe veſſels ſhould be fitted with ring and eye-bolts for guns, and that ſmall veſſels be prepared to receive large oars, that they might be able to act in a calm, if neceſſary.

"VII. That the veſſels ſhould be under orders to attend to and obey the ſignals and directions that might be made to them by the commanders of his Majeſty's ſhips, or from the ſignal ſtations on the ſhore, and when detained, that they were to be entitled to demurrage according to their regular tonnage, at the ſame rate as common tranſports; the time of detention to be certified by the officer who might order it.

"VIII. That the ſaid veſſels, on arriving at and ſailing from port, ſhould be ſubject to viſitation by the commanding officer of the Sea Fencibles of the diſtrict."

The recommendations of Lord Hobart were ſoon followed by ſeveral patriotic ſuggeſtions: each one

* The expence of ſuch a fitting was calculated at 54*l.* per veſſel.

one thought himſelf bound to give his aſſiſtance and the beſt information in his power towards repelling the threatened attacks of the enemy; and although the volunteer aſſociations, which were embodied about this time, gained univerſal and juſt applauſe; yet it was neceſſary that ſomething ſhould be promoted which might prevent the more immediate and ſudden preſſure of rapacious adventurers, upon men who were unuſed to the fatigues and hazards of military life; however the love of their country and its conſtitution might have placed them above every other conſideration. Ingenuity and experience, therefore, furniſhed various propoſitions for putting the kingdom into every poſſible ſtate of ſecurity.

The offers made by the cities and towns of France to build veſſels of various ſizes for the ſervice of their government, however, in compliment, given or received *, were far exceeded by the real marks of patriotiſm which diſtinguiſhed the ſubjects of the Britiſh iſles. Among others, a plan for the inhabitants of manufacturing towns to open ſubſcriptions for building gun-boats for their reſpective harbours, merited approbation.

By this plan it was proved, that the expence of an excellent boat would be but ſmall to an opulent ſea-port; it might be manned with the fiſhermen and boatmen of the place. The ſervices of ſuch gun-boats might be under regulations, ſimilar to thoſe which govern the volunteer aſſociations; ſo that they might be under the obligation to extend their ſervice from their own line of coaſt to any part, where the probable attempts of the enemy ſhould make their exertions neceſſary.

The adoption of this plan, it was ſtated, would ſoon be productive of a conſiderable flotilla of gun-boats, manned by effective and daring ſeamen, who, habituated to the element on which they were to ſerve, would, by their natural reſolution and activity, ſtrike terror into the puny, half-bred ſeamen of France; and by the ſuperior management of their veſſels, not only do conſiderable damage, but entirely defeat a ſuperior force. Another benefit was to be derived from this plan, gun-boats having an advantage over land batteries, ſo that by their removal, as occaſion ſhould require, they might protect or annoy; a few ſuch veſſels, carrying heavy guns, would make prodigious havock among thoſe flat-bottomed boats, uſually appropriated to the debarkation of ſoldiery.

After having been proved, that in many parts of England there are a number of aquatic labourers, who could ſerve in ſuch veſſels with peculiar advantage; it might with great certainty be added, that even the keelmen of the Tyne and the Wear would find ſuch an employment in the ſervice of their country, more congenial to their peculiar diſpoſition, and more ſatisfactory to the ſpirit which they would naturally evince in its protection; their amount being at leaſt to the amount of fifty thouſand able-bodied men, would do more eſſential duty than by being drilled as ſoldiers. To theſe might be joined the large body of fiſhermen, lightermen, and boatmen, from the various parts of the kingdom, which would furniſh a vaſt aſſemblage of hardy-bodied men, whoſe ſervices could not be any where ſo effectually exerted as on their own element. Theſe, and ſimilar recommendations, employed the talents of the generality of Britiſh ſubjects, who ſtrove to evince their willingneſs to benefit their country at ſuch a criſis, by every means in their power.

Such a meaſure of mutual confidence is not reſorted to in deſpotic countries; what then muſt be the feelings of enemies, who by *conſcriptions* and other harſh meaſures aſſemble the force of their country, compared to ſuch embodying for general ſafety! How different muſt be the ſentiments of a nation thus compelled, when put in compariſon with the generous ardour of Britons, united to repel invaders, who would rob them of their poſſeſſions, of their national virtue, and of their dear-bought conſtitution,—their inbred liberty!

CHAP. XI.

Parliamentary Proceedings—Obſervations on the Army Eſtimates—Clergy Reſidence, &c.

IN the commencement of this book, we were compelled, from their importance, to be copious in our report of the proceedings in parliament; the ſubſequent matter, we truſt, has relieved the reader from the peruſal of detail; and therefore we may, as coincidence requires, reſume the ſubject in ſubſtance, without particularizing, except when the opinion of a member is of ſuch a nature, that its excluſion would be injurious to our plan of accuracy.

In the debate on the Army Eſtimates, June 6, th Secretary at War produced the papers relating to ſome additional ſums for the ſupport of ſupernumerary officers, penſioners at Chelſea and Kilmainham; the erection of the royal military college and the military aſylum, for which, and other neceſſaries for the military eſtabliſhment, he moved, that 3,110,000*l.* might be raiſed, for the ſervice of Great Britain and Ireland.

Upon this Mr. Windham roſe, and after declining to enter into any detail of the ſeveral items alluded

* It muſt be recollected, that under the old government of France, this practice prevailed to a conſiderable extent. The Ville de Paris, captured by Lord Rodney, was a preſent from that city to Louis XV. as was the magnificent ſhip, the Commerce de Marſeilles, under ſimilar circumſtances, to his unfortunate ſucceſſor.

to,

to, took occaſion to repeat his objections to the ſyſtem purſued by the miniſtry, particularly with regard to the militia. He contended, that as the country was not ſufficiently populous to ſupply both thoſe deſcriptions of force, that the regular army ſhould have the preference. Miniſters did not appear to him to have duly conſidered the nature and character of the war in which the country was engaged, nor to have yet made up their minds as to the plan of operations they ought to purſue. Either they had not determined on any plan at all, or that which they adopted was exceedingly fallacious. They were evidently forced into war, and their reſolution was ſcarcely formed when they got into it; therefore they had not yet prepared their meaſures.—If defence alone even was intended, he did not think the ſort of force propoſed to be raiſed, that which ſound wiſdom would recommend; for, if invaſion ſhould take place, the militia was not the moſt deſirable force to employ; a regular army ought to be met by a regular army; it ſhould be "diamond cut diamond."

Mr. Windham expreſſed his decided conviction that, unleſs ſome very ſtrong meaſures were immediately taken, nothing effectual could be done. Miniſters ſhould adopt that vigour in the firſt inſtance, to which they muſt be, ere long, obliged to reſort, or the object could not be attained, and the country might be loſt. Proviſions ſhould be made to raiſe the people *en maſſe*, if neceſſary; for the period might ſuddenly come, when, without exertion, our fate would be precarious indeed.—It was come to this with Great Britain, that either ſhe muſt ſtrengthen herſelf materially indeed, or weaken the enemy conſiderably, or ſhe could not ſubſiſt. It was the wiſh of moſt men during the laſt war, and, in the opinion of many, it ought to have been the main object of that war, to attack the government of France, and a ſimilar plan of policy ought, in his judgment, to govern miniſters in the preſent conteſt. He confeſſed he did not ſee any good that could reſult from the hope of mediation; when he looked at the iron-bound coaſt which the continent preſented to us, not a creek or harbour to receive us, he could not hope for any effectual aſſiſtance from thence, however ſome gentlemen might talk of ſuch proſpects in language rather calculated to unnerve the public mind than to produce any benefit.

He again urged the adoption of a liberal and dignified plan of policy, which ſhould make a common cauſe, not only with the royaliſts of La Vendee, or any other part of France, but with the patriots of Holland, Switzerland, and Italy. This was the conſtruction which miniſters ſhould ſtudy to cultivate, and if ſo there would not be much reaſon to fear the government of France, however apparently formidable, for there was a very material difference between the ſtrength and durability, between the vigour and longevity of a government, as well as of an individual.—He was never inclined to deſpair, nor was ever very ſanguine in his hopes as to the event of war, though he ſometimes thought it preferable to peace: but that was from a conviction that ſuch peace afforded no ground for hope at all, while war afforded ſome; yet if, in the war which accorded with his wiſhes as neceſſary, he ſaw no reaſon to hope, from the plan purſued, that the ſecurity of the country could be improved, he of courſe would wiſh rather a relapſe into peace, with all its diſadvantages, than ſuperadd to theſe diſadvantages the calamities of war, and he confeſſed that he ſaw not that energy in miniſters which would juſtify expectation.—When gentlemen talked of the people of the country ſtopping an invading army, he confeſſed that, though he admired the ſpirit, and confided in the loyalty of his country as much as any man, he could not help ſmiling; for where, he would aſk, was the precedent of a populace, without diſcipline or arrangement, oppoſing with ſucceſs the progreſs of a regular army? An experienced officer would apprehend little from that kind of reſiſtance; a Turenne, or a Marlborough would laugh at it: and if miniſters were to rely on its power and go on declaiming about it, without taking effective meaſures of reſiſtance and attack, the country would be without means or minds to meet the dangers which threatened. He ſaid, *attack*; for he muſt repeat that he would not be underſtood to approve of the confinement of our reſources to mere defenſive operations. That would be to place us in a moſt unfortunate ſituation indeed; for it muſt be obvious that the aſſailant has always great advantage over the aſſailed, and the beſieger over the beſieged. He therefore deprecated the daſtardly and imprudent policy of keeping our forces locked up in our own iſland, waiting, as it were, until the French ſhould come over to attack us.

The Secretary at War thought that the queſtion between the two governments was now brought to a point, that it was high time we ſhould ſhow, not by words, but actions, that we were not to be inſulted by France; that we were not to be intimidated by any menace they might throw out; that it is not their ſhewing themſelves in large numbers oppoſite to our coaſts, which was to throw us into a panic. "That they might throw a body of men into this country was certainly practicable." "It might be done certainly under favourable circumſtances, that is, if they were not drowned in the attempt: but really, ſaid the right honourable ſecretary, it would not be long before they would be made priſoners; and that very few of them would ever return. He thought it was high time to ſhow that we were not to be taunted in this way with invaſion, or intimidated with the threat of it."

Mr. Pitt ſaid, it did not appear that it would have

been fortunate if miniſters had rather begun by eſtabliſhing in the opinion of parliament and of the country, the neceſſity of the thing to be done, by preparing the public mind by an adequate vote for that purpoſe; becauſe by commencing the courſe and purſuing the means which may be now deſirable to animate the public mind to the adoption of what may be thought eſſential either for the ſafety of the iſland, to what we ſhould couple with it, the vigorous proſecution of the war with France, that of carrying on war with a force which may be at once adapted either for offence or defence, the beſt effects may be expected; but we are not in a ſtate fit for war with France until we are in a ſituation to avail ourſelves of every opportunity which may occur for offenſive as well as defenſive operations. He would go further, and ſay, that as we wanted the means of offenſive, we ſhould have the more of defenſive war. He applauded every deſire which miniſters could manifeſt to labour with perſeverance to conſider of the beſt means for the ſafety of the ſtate; "But, ſaid he, do it---do it effectually! and to do it effectually, you muſt do it ſoon. Doing it ſoon will be better, though you do it with difficulty, than if you do it ſome time hence, and, after much deliberation, eaſily." The queſtion now was, would this ſave their country? Save it in the beſt and moſt prudent way, if they could; but ſave it! If any prejudice ſhould riſe againſt them; if any temporary odium ſhould attach to their meaſures; if it be for the ſafety of the country, or for its honour, let them purſue it; let them purſue it, although they might have to contend with prejudice; let them purſue it, although they may have to encounter odium; let them purſue it, although they may have to ſubdue reſiſtance! Let them do it! for the country muſt be ſaved! Mr. Pitt was ready to take his full ſhare of the inconvenience. If, therefore, gentlemen concurred with him, as indeed he believed the Houſe did, that the preſent force was inſufficient, he wiſhed them then to pledge themſelves; to pledge parliament; to pledge the nation too (in which they would have no difficulty, if they proceeded rightly); that a ſtrong meaſure ſhould be taken for the defence of the nation, without any loſs of time. His object by all he had ſaid, was, that the country ſhould be told at once, that it was to prepare for meaſures of an unuſual extent; that the people ſhould be impreſſed with a notion that extraordinary preparations muſt be made, that extraordinary means muſt be uſed. Whatever circumſtances of difficulty might occur in the detail of the means for carrying the matter into effect, which he believed to be eſſential to the public ſervice, he was anxious that at leaſt as early a day as poſſible ſhould be taken for that ſubject; that miniſters, inſtead of talking of what they would do, ſhould pledge themſelves, and that this Houſe ſhould pledge itſelf, that the thing ſhall be done. Let each perſon do his duty. Let miniſters bring the matter forward, and he was aſſured that every member in that Houſe would aſſiſt in it. Whatever degree of odium might be endeavoured to be caſt on them for not chooſing perhaps the mildeſt courſe that poſſibly might be found, if they had full leiſure to conſider it, they ſhould not mind—the thing muſt be done—muſt be done immediately. He thought that a large portion of regular troops might be added to the 70,000 militia, and muſt be kept at home, or we ſhould not have a ſufficient force for home ſecurity.

He then proceeded to make ſeveral obſervations on the numbers of the militia, &c. and then ſaid, he hoped that the additional force to be raiſed was not to depend upon a ſyſtem of tardy and precarious recruiting, and that the forces ſhould not be confined to ſerve at home, as a force neceſſary merely for home defence, and that at all events we ſhould ſecure the advantages of the forces being under officers regularly trained. He had given his opinion very much in the rough upon this ſubject, but he wiſhed the Houſe to benefit from recollection, and judge of what they could do from what they had done. They knew that they had raiſed by ballot, without interfering with the agriculture or the induſtry of the country, 100,000 men. He knew, from the concurring opinion of almoſt all militia officers, that they could not hope to have, on the militia plan, officers for more than 70,000 men. He ſaid he would not go beyond that, without engrafting on the militia officers from the regular force. Some means ought to be applied in aid of the army. If any better mode could be deviſed than what had been already ſtated, he ſhould be glad of it; he would engage to give it his ſupport. The country muſt be put in a proper ſtate of military preparation; the beſt means might, perhaps, not be readily ſeen—what he looked to was the thing. It muſt have as much time for its conſideration as was abſolutely neceſſary to underſtand it, but no more; for whatever was wanted for the public defence, ſome how or other muſt be obtained.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer ſaid, the miniſtry did not rely, in the preſent criſis, upon the militia conſiſting of 70,000 men, great part of whom were at preſent in arms; that they did not rely upon the regular force of the country, which was at preſent greater than at any other period, except when an embarkation was about to take place; that they did not rely upon the brave and loyal yeomanry of the country; but that they were prepared to bring forward meaſures for the purpoſe of providing a large ſubſidiary force, to be officered in the manner pointed out by his right honourable friend. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham) had complained of the large proportion of militia force, but that had been completely anſwered by his right honourable

honourable friend, at leaſt that part of the right honourable gentleman's argument which related to a ſyſtem entirely defenſive. In looking to the population of the country, and the means of conſtituting a large and effective force, it was not merely an option on the part of government, whether ſuch a force ſhould be called out; it was not becauſe the right honourable gentleman or government might think it poſſible to procure a large proportion of regular troops, but they muſt conſider how, conſiſtently with the feelings and opinions of the country, and the avocations of men of buſineſs, the largeſt and moſt effective force could be provided for defenſive and offenſive operations; it appeared to him, that thoſe means ought to be reſorted to which were calculated to provide ſuch a force with the greateſt public advantage, and the leaſt poſſible inconvenience. The right honourable gentleman had adverted to the danger ariſing from an invading enemy; that right honourable gentleman would do him (Mr. Addington) the juſtice to recollect that he never under-rated that danger, though he thought at the ſame time that it had been greatly over-rated: it was their duty, however, to provide againſt ſuch a danger, and that without delay. He begged leave to refer the right honourable gentleman to the conduct of government in the ſummer of 1801, and many individuals then in the Houſe, upon whoſe juſtice he confidently relied, would atteſt that there was during that period no want of exertion on the part of government. The country was not generally aware of the extent of the preparations in the French ports at that period, nor of the ſteps taken by government to meet the threatened danger. At the time when the ſhips which defended our rivers were ſent to the Baltic, then was the period of real danger. Government neither ſlumbered nor ſlept, but adopted all thoſe meaſures which the exigencies of the moment required, with a fixed determination to call forth all the exertions of the country to repel the danger which then threatened us, but which did not happen. He was therefore intitled to refer to their conduct at that period as a pledge of their diſpoſition. It had been ſtated, that a pledge ought to be given on the part of parliament, that it would make ſuch proviſion as circumſtances ſhould require. He conceived that parliament had given that pledge; he conceived, that when it carried to the foot of the throne the addreſs in anſwer to his Majeſty's meſſage, though there was no ſpecific pledge as to any particular meaſure, yet that a diſtinct and ſolemn pledge was given on the part of the country, that they would make every exertion which the exigencies of the caſe might require. If any obliquy was attached to any ſuch meaſures, he would cheerfully ſhare it; but he truſted, that on the part of the people there would be, on ſuch an occaſion, but one ſentiment and one opinion.

After ſeveral deſultory obſervations had been made, the motion for the ſupplies was agreed to.

In the Houſe of Lords, on June 7, the ſecond reading of the Clergy Farming and Reſidence took place.—The Lord Chancellor having left the woolſack, obſerved the neceſſity of amending the act of Henry VIII. concerning the regulation of the clergy, which went to enforce regulations upon each of the two diſtinct heads, to which different parts of the bill referred. The enactments of the act of Henry VIII. were in both points ill adapted to the preſent times; and in regard to the penalties to enforce reſidence, perfectly inadequate, and conſequently unjuſt. A bill having ſuch important intereſts as the eaſe, accommodation, and comfort of the clergy for its objects, intereſts involving the preſervation, diſcipline, and ſecurity of the church eſtabliſhment, was a bill fit at leaſt to go to a committee, in order to ſee if ſuch parts of it as might poſſibly be liable to objection, could be ſo amended as to render the whole of the bill fit to become a part of the law of the land.

The Earl of Suffolk ſaid, he was deſirous that the income of the clergy ſhould be ſuch as would enable them to live decently and comfortably. He underſtood that the livings of one half of the inferior clergy, at leaſt, did not produce ſeventy pounds a year, and many nothing like it. He had one particular proof of the poverty of ſome of the clergy, who held livings which he would ſtate. Many years ſince he viſited the Lakes, and at a particular place, he was told, there was a ſlate mine well worth his ſeeing. He aſked if he could have any accommodation there? He was told he might at the clergyman's. He replied, he could not obtrude himſelf on a gentleman, to whom he was a ſtranger. "Oh," ſaid the perſon, with whom he converſed, "you need not mind that, the clergyman keeps a public houſe!" He then aſked what his living produced, and the anſwer was "fourteen pounds a year, but he makes out a maintenance by playing upon the fiddle, and can play a country-dance, a jig, and a hornpipe admirably." Upon his hearing this, his lordſhip ſaid, he gave up going, as he did not wiſh to ſee a clergyman in ſo indecorous and unbecoming a ſituation. There were, he next obſerved, many prebenderies, the income of which had riſen to two, three, or four hundred a year; they he thought ought to give a firſt fruit and a tenth, in addition to Queen Anne's bounty, which had done a great deal of good, but only averaging about 15,000*l.* a year, was not equal to what was neceſſary to ſupport the inferior clergy as they ought to be. He deſired their lordſhips to call to mind that the clergy of France having joined the *tiers etats*, was one great leading cauſe of the revolution. They ought to be enabled to hold their ſtation as an independent and reſpectable body.

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The Duke of Richmond objected to the principle of the bill: it went to take away from the juries the right of trying the cauſes brought againſt ſuch of the clergy as were ſued for non-reſidence, and to lodge that power in the hands of the biſhops, for whom he begged to be underſtood to entertain a very high reſpect; but he could not but conſider that the laity, whether affluent, or only moderately able to keep houſe, paid the clergy of every deſcription for the religious duties they performed, and therefore he could not but be of opinion that the juriſdiction to enforce the reſidence of their rector or vicar ſhould remain in their hands, and ought not to be transferred to the right reverend prelates.

The Lord Chancellor read a clauſe from the act of Henry VIII. to ſhew the violent injuſtice that might be practiſed under it; and he remarked, that in trying a cauſe upon a penal ſtatute, no diſcretion was veſted either in a judge or jury. The judge muſt be bound by the expreſs letter of the law, and muſt in his direction lay down the rule of law for them to go by, without referring to, or obſerving upon, the hardſhip of the caſe, be it ever ſo great. He mentioned two cauſes which had been tried by himſelf in one week, that of the exemplary clergyman of Bow-church, for non-reſidence, altho' the parſonage houſe was the little pocket-book ſhop, the corner of the church-yard, a reſidence not fit to put a clergyman into, and therefore he was obliged to reſide in Ely-place: and the other cauſe that of a clergyman, who held two or more livings in the city, but had lived for nine years, ſporting and taking his pleaſure in Somerſetſhire. Both were obliged to be fined the penalty of 110*l.* though their caſes were ſo diſſimilar. He alſo mentioned a cauſe of non-reſidence, tried before a noble and learned lord now dead, who had been provoked to declare in court, that it was the moſt impudent cauſe he had ever tried. The cauſe was this:—A cunning attorney in a country town lived in a houſe rather too ſmall for his family, and obſerving that the parſonage houſe was much larger, and the incumbent a ſingle man, propoſed an exchange upon his paying rent. When he demanded his rent, the attorney ſaid, "Don't trouble me about rent, or I ſhall proſecute you for non-reſidence; and then there will be a conſiderable balance in my favour." He did proſecute the miniſter, and obtained the penalty.

The Biſhop of Norwich approved the bill in its principle, but he did not think it altogether faultleſs. Having gone through the law as it ſtood, he addreſſed his argument to the bill he held in his hand, and went through a ſummary ſtatement of the objects of each clauſe. The firſt part of the bill, he obſerved, referred ſolely to what was termed the farming facilities given to the clergy, and the latter to the reſidence. With reſpect to empowering the biſhops to exerciſe an undefined and unlimited authority, they could not deſire it, but if he himſelf were aſked, in what hands could that controul be moſt conſtitutionally placed? he would anſwer conſcientiouſly, in none that he knew of ſo fitly as thoſe propoſed by this bill; certainly under due reſtrictions, and with all that awful reſponſibility which did, as it always ought, attach to every public department, under the conſtitutional laws of this country.

This important bill was committed for Friday the 10th *, and, by ſeveral adjournments, poſtponed, till it finally paſſed on the 24th of June.

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* On the 10th, after the queſtion was put, "That the Houſe reſolve itſelf into a committee," the Biſhop of St. Aſaph (Dr. Horſley) delivered his opinion upon the duties of the clergy, and the neceſſity of reſidence; which, for beauty of expreſſion and ſtrength of argument, has ſeldom been excelled; we therefore ſubjoin the ſubſtance of it in a note, as being the moſt pointed in the courſe of the debate. He obſerved that the principle of the bill, as he underſtood it, embraced two points; firſt, to enforce the reſidence of the clergy; and ſecondly, to preſerve them pure and ſeparate in a proper ſtate of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, uncontaminated by ſordid occupations and purſuits. Reſidence he conſidered of firſt rate importance, and eſſentially neceſſary to the welfare of the church. Without it, it was impoſſible for any clergyman to diſcharge the duty which he owed his flock. The public performance of that duty, ſuch as attendance at church on Sunday, conſtituted but a very ſmall part of it.

The pariſh prieſt ſhould live among his flock, he ſhould watch over them, and be an example conſtantly before their eyes of rectitude, enforcing the precepts of virtue, which it is his duty to inculcate. He ſhould attend the bed of the ſick and the dying, and adminiſter to them thoſe comforts which alone they are capable at ſuch a moment of receiving, thoſe comforts which are adminiſtered to them through the ſacraments of the church. The mere enumeration of theſe duties was ſurely ſufficient to ſhew that reſidence is eſſential to their performance. Reſidence, at the time of the reformation, was a mere matter of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, and the civil power never interfered with it. It was objected to the preſent bill, that it takes the power of inforcing reſidence out of the hands of the civil authority, and places it under eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction. For his part, he was not anxious to take the queſtion out of the hands of judges and juries. On the contrary, were a propoſition made to repeal the act of Henry VIII. by which juries have that power, he would oppoſe it upon that very ground, unleſs it provided ſome regulation that might prove an adequate ſubſtitute in that particular point. The ſtatute of Henry VIII. with all its vices on its head, had done more good than harm. He admitted, however, that it was certainly defective, in as much as it inflicted equal penalties upon unequal degrees of delinquency, and alſo upon unequal means, the forfeiture not being proportioned to the amount of the living. It was alſo defective in not leaving a diſcretionary power to judges to reduce the penalty, in caſes where the letter of the law could not be inforced without peculiar rigour and hardſhip.

The preſent bill remedied that defect, as it had provided a ſcale of penalties proportioned to the means of the party, and the different degrees of delinquency. With regard to eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, the old act goes the length of depriving the contumacious clergyman of his benefices. From delay, expence, and a variety of other circumſtances, it was impoſſible, however, to carry the act into execution, and therefore, it

The 11th was the day on which Mr. Addington produced his budget; and in recapitulating the ways and means for providing for the exigencies of the current year, he obſerved the ſum of 26,000,000*l.* would be adequate to every exertion, and amply ſufficient for every national object; the only part of this budget which appeared obnoxious was the tax upon property, of which we have already mentioned ſome objectional points. On the reſumption of the ſubject, when the report was preſented, ſeveral objections were made by the members to the various taxes.

Lord Folkſtone reprobated the ſyſtem of *war taxes*. Such taxes might, he ſaid, be very proper and conſiderate, but the giving them ſuch an appellation was, he thought, the very means of creating a reluctance in the people to pay them. When people are very anxious for war, it was, no doubt, fair, not to burden their poſterity with a continuance of ſuch a mode of taxation; but as the inhabitants of this country ſeem rather willing to ſubmit to inſults, and bear with miniſters, who were willing not to remonſtrate, or when they did remonſtrate, to acquieſce with the ſilence and total inattention with which their remonſtrances were treated, he thought it was abſolutely wrong to lead people into a diſinclination towards that war, or to create ſelfiſh feelings to render it unpopular. This was the reaſon of his objecting to the principles of war taxes, as at preſent brought forward.

After much objection to the various articles of taxation in detail, Mr. William Smith obſerved, that he could not avoid mentioning his diſapprobation of the principle of the income tax; the inquiſitorial part of it particularly. He thought it the moſt oppreſſive and unjuſt that was ever ſuggeſted to a Britiſh Houſe of Commons; and if the right honourable gentleman had an opportunity of hearing the ſentiments of the various claſſes of the people as he had done, that right honourable gentleman would alſo be convinced how ſeverely it was reprobated by a vaſt majority of the people. He thought this tax might have been avoided, and a larger revenue raiſed by increaſing the duty on malt; and he wiſhed the Chancellor of the Exchequer had tried that experiment, as he was convinced it would have been found much more popular.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer ſaid, it was very much his wiſh taxes ſhould be raiſed with as much regard to the feelings of the people as poſſible. The honourable gentleman had ſaid, that by making an addition to the duty on malt, the inquiſition of the other tax might be avoided; but it would be a great injuſtice to the brewers to levy ſuch a tax, without admitting them to the right of raiſing the price of beer. The riſe could not well be leſs than a halfpenny a pot, or 4*s.* 6*d.* a barrel, which would be productive of inordinate profit to the brewers; and if you did not allow them to raiſe the price, you would be guilty of great injuſtice. He had taken every poſſible care, he ſaid, in modifying the tax, ſo as not to affect perſons poſſeſſed of that deſcription of property below 70*l.* a year. With reſpect to the diſcloſure, he regretted it; but if they had a tax of that kind, it was impoſſible to effect its chief purpoſes without examination, and they muſt therefore adopt one or other of theſe alternatives of having a diſcloſure, or exempting it altogether. If any gentlemen would turn their minds to the ſubject, and deviſe any other mode, he would be glad to adopt it. It had ever been his moſt ardent and anxious wiſh to carry public feeling and public

it was no more than a dead letter. In ſome old dioceſes, ſuch as Winchester, the proceedings of the eccleſiaſtical court were correct, and juſtice was adminiſtered as well as in Weſtminſter Hall. That, however, was not the caſe in the provincial courts. He remembered giving, when Biſhop of St. David's, a living of 700*l.* a year, the beſt in his dioceſe, to a clergyman who promiſed to reſide; the clergyman had, however, a living in Glamorganſhire, and did not change his place of reſidence; of this he complained, but at length conſented to admit of ſix months reſidence, which the clergyman promiſed. Even this promiſe, however, was not kept, and he proceeded to enforce the act to compel reſidence, or deprive him of the benefice, but, by the connivance of his own court, the party ſlipped through his fingers, and remains to this very day in poſſeſſion of the living, without having reſided upon it. This caſe ſhews the inſufficiency of the provincial courts in this particular. It became, therefore, neceſſary, that a power ſhould be placed in the hands of the biſhops; and as this was done by the preſent bill, that part of it alſo had his approbation. With regard to the other part of the act of Henry VIII. which reſtrains the clergy from having any thing to do with the low purſuits of the world, he ſhould beg leave to make a few obſervations.

When he ſpoke of the clergy being nothing but clergy, he did not mean to be an advocate for that puritanical cant that would entirely cut them off from all commerce with the world. To adviſe his flock required a knowledge of the world. The duty of a clergyman could not be adequately performed by any, but by a man of knowledge and information. To expound the bible he ſhould be acquainted with every ſcience. The clergyman, therefore, could not be conſidered as miſpending his time, who was ſtudying a mathematical propoſition, or calculating the proportions of a piece of architecture. No, the clergyman ſhould be reſtrained only from thoſe things that degrade him. He ſhould not be engaged in ſordid purſuits. Agriculture, he admitted, was of old ſaid to be the buſineſs of heroes and the gods. It did honour to Ceres and Triptolemus. It was a buſineſs worthy of men in the moſt exalted ſtations; but when a clergyman engaged in agriculture, he did not, like their lordſhips, engage in it for amuſement, or from public ſpirit, but from ſordid views. Now this was what he condemned. He could by no means allow of the profeſſion of a farmer as compatible with the grave dignity of the clerical character: it muſt lead the farming clergyman to aſſociate with the labourer in the field, to wield the ſickle and ſcythe, to carry his ſamples to market, and to chaffer and drive bargains about his commodities, incompatible with his character, and degrading to his ſtation. It was true, the ſtatute of Henry VIII. prevented this abuſe, but the proviſions in that particular were extremely ſevere. He feared, however, that the relaxation was carried too far in the preſent bill.

opinion along with him: for while he was determined to look all our difficulties fairly in the face, he was convinced that, with the public feeling in its favour, the arm of government, or rather the arm of this great country, muſt prove irreſiſtible.

The report was then brought up, the reſolutions read and agreed to.

The diſcuſſion of *naval abuſes* occupied the attention of the Houſe of Commons on the 16th of this month. For the purpoſe of inveſtigating circumſtances of ſuch vaſt national importance,

Mr. Whitbread moved for certain papers relative to the late viſitation of the dock-yards. It appeared to him abſolutely neceſſary, that all poſſible information ſhould immediately be laid before the Houſe on this ſubject; and he could ſee no objection which the noble lord at the head of the Admiralty * (who had hitherto ſerved his country with ſo much advantage, and honour to himſelf) could poſſibly entertain, relative to what he was about to propoſe. In proſecuting the naval inquiry, that noble lord had thought proper to viſit the different dock-yards in the kingdom, along with the commiſſioners. Since their report was made out and preſented to the Houſe, it had occaſioned much converſation, and much obloquy had been incurred. Theſe circumſtances, when properly brought to light, ought moſt undoubtedly to have great weight, in ſhewing the beneficial conſequences which muſt reſult from the noble lord's exertions for the public intereſt. It was certainly true, however, that ſome moſt groſs delinquencies had been found out in the courſe of that inveſtigation, and in his opinion it was moſt proper and expedient that the delinquents ſhould be brought to puniſhment.

This was oppoſed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the ground that as the inveſtigation was already before a committee appointed by the Houſe; the preſent motion would interfere with their juriſdiction.

After much converſation on the ſubject, Mr. Whitbread withdrew his motion. The miniſter, however, obſerved, that the delinquencies were ſo enormous, as to deſerve exemplary puniſhment, which he ſhould certainly think it his duty to promote at ſome future period.

On the ſame day alſo Mr. Corry moved, that the Houſe reſolve into a committee to take into conſideration the acts of the 39th and 40th of the King, reſpecting the reſtriction of iſſuing ſmall bank notes and bills of exchange in Ireland. His motive for going into this committee was to take into conſideration the pernicious practice which had long prevailed in Ireland, of iſſuing bank notes for ſmall ſums under 20*s.* value, upon a pretence of ſcarcity of ſilver coin. The reſpectable private provincial banks in Ireland had long diſcontinued this practice, as one infinitely leſs lucrative than troubleſome, and it had been taken up by a variety of perſons in different trades, for whoſe ultimate reſponſibility the public had no ſecurity whatever. So far from removing the evil which this practice profeſſed to remedy, it was, in his mind, the true cauſe of it. It had originated in conſequence of the bank reſtriction act, which ſtopped the iſſue of caſh from the bank of Ireland; and its effect had been to abſorb all the ſilver currency, in thoſe parts of the country where theſe notes were taken, into the hands of the perſons who paſſed them, which they diſpoſed of in ſome mode that took it completely out of circulation. He was the more convinced of this, becauſe in the province where he reſided (Ulſter) ſilver coin was as plenty as in London, and no ſuch notes were to be ſeen; whereas, in the ſouthern and weſtern diſtricts, there was no ſilver money, and the only ſubſtitute was, notes payable to bearer, iſſued by obſcure perſons, for three, ſix, and ten ſhillings Britiſh, which they continually circulated, and took the difference of change in ſilver from their cuſtomers, until they had got all the currency of the country into their hands. Under the facility of putting thoſe notes into circulation, they were iſſued to ſuch an extent, as to give ground for ſerious apprehenſion as to the ſolvency of a great many of thoſe perſons, and therefore he would move, as the ſenſe of the committee, that the chairman be inſtructed to move for leave to bring in a bill to reſtrain the iſſue and currency of ſuch notes after the firſt of January next. This, he ſaid, was to avoid the conſequences which might be apt to reſult from too ſudden ſtoppage of their currency, and to give the parties who had iſſued them time for a gradual recal, as well as to allow the gentlemen of Ireland time to examine and collect the real ſenſe of their reſpective counties upon the ſubject, preparatory to the meeting of the next parliament, when, if neceſſary, a meaſure might be adopted for extending the period of their circulation.

Upon theſe cogent ſuggeſtions, the motion was agreed to, and leave was granted to bring in the bill.

Lord Pelham, in the Houſe of Lords, on June 17, preſented the following meſſage from his Majeſty:—

"G. R.

"His Majeſty thinks it right to inform the Houſe of Lords, that from an anxious deſire to prevent the calamities of war being extended to the Batavian Republic, he communicated to that government his diſpoſition to reſpect their neutrality, provided that a ſimilar diſpoſition was manifeſted on the part of the French government, and that the French forces were forthwith withdrawn from the territories of the Batavian republic. This propoſition not having been acceded to by the government of France, and meaſures having been recently taken by them in direct violation of the independence of the Batavian republic,

* Earl of St. Vincent.

republic, his Majeſty judged it expedient to direct his miniſter to leave the Hague; and he has ſince given orders, that letters of marque and general reprisals ſhould be iſſued againſt the Batavian republic and its ſubjects.

"His Majeſty has at all times manifeſted the deepeſt and moſt lively intereſt for the proſperity and independence of the United Provinces: he has recourſe to theſe proceedings with the moſt ſincere regret, but the conduct of the French government has left him no alternative; and in adopting theſe meaſures, he is actuated by a ſenſe of what is due to his own dignity, and to the ſecurity and eſſential intereſts of his dominions. "G. R."

Lord Pelham moved, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, thanking him for his gracious communication." Ordered.

The ſame meſſage was read, and the addreſs moved by Lord Hawkeſbury, in the Houſe of Commons, on the ſame day.

Next day, in the Houſe of Lords, Lord Hobart read another meſſage from his Majeſty, as follows:—

"GEORGE R.

"His Majeſty thinks it proper to acquaint the Houſe of Lords, that for the more effectual defence of the united kingdom againſt the avowed deſigns of the enemy, and for the purpoſe of providing ſuch means as may be beſt calculated for a vigorous proſecution of the war, his Majeſty deems it important that a large additional force ſhould be forthwith raiſed and aſſembled.

"His Majeſty recommends this ſubject to the conſideration of their lordſhips, and relies with confidence on their zeal and public ſpirit, that they will adopt ſuch meaſures as upon this occaſion ſhall appear to them to be moſt effectual, and for carrying the ſame into execution with the leaſt poſſible delay.

"G. R."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer alſo delivered a meſſage from his Majeſty to the ſame purport, in the Houſe of Commons; which being read, he moved, that the meſſage ſhould be referred to a committee of the Houſe, which was agreed to *nem. con.*

CHAP. XII.

Parliamentary Proceedings continued.

IT became now a main object of conſideration, as the country had been threatened by invaſion, how to prevent the threats of the enemy taking place. For this end in the council it had been determined, that ſome ſpeedy meaſure ſhould be reſorted to, and to this purpoſe his Majeſty's meſſage had been ſent to parliament, who met on the 18th of June to determine on the moſt effectual means to repel the ambitious projects of the Firſt Conſul, by taking his Majeſty's meſſage into conſideration, for THE DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY.

In the Houſe of Lords, Lord Hobart deemed it his duty, in conſequence of the ſituation he held*; to throw out a general outline of the intentions of government with reſpect to the object of the addreſs, and the pledge he meant it ſhould contain. On the ſubject of invaſion, he had no difficulty in ſaying, that, looking to the population and reſources of the country, he was well aſſured that if we availed ourſelves of them, we had nothing whatever to apprehend. In adverting to the effect of the meaſure, or the induſtry of the country, by taking away ſo many perſons from labour, he did not conceive that any inconvenience would be felt beyond what had been experienced at former periods. In the laſt war, there were raiſed for the militia 114,386 men, including Scotland. The number of men now raiſed for the eſtabliſhed and ſupplementary militia, amounted to 72,963 men, to which it was propoſed by the preſent plan to add 40,000 for Great Britain: this would make the whole force for this country amount to 112,963 men, being 1,423 leſs than during the laſt war. With reſpect to the meaſure itſelf, it was the intention of his Majeſty's miniſters, that the army to be raiſed ſhould conſiſt of 40,000 men for Great Britain, and the iſlands of the Channel (Guernſey and Jerſey), and 10,000 for Ireland. The ſervice of the troops to be reciprocal, thoſe raiſed in England to ſerve in Ireland, and thoſe raiſed in Ireland to ſerve in England. Upon the ſubject of finding officers for theſe corps, he would ſtate what was in contemplation of his Majeſty's miniſters. It was propoſed that they ſhould be perſons who had held army rank, and had ſerved either in the fencible corps, or in the Eaſt India Company's ſervice. By this there would be at once adopted an effectual means of finding officers. It was intended the men ſhould be raiſed, on the principle of the militia, by ballot, and that they ſhould be taken out of the counties and diſtricts, with the addition of ſuch volunteers as thought proper to offer their ſervices, and enrolled for Great Britain, Ireland, and the iſlands in the Channel. The age of the perſons to be raiſed, from 18 to 45.

The Duke of Clarence could not approve of the principle even of the general outline of what the noble Secretary of State had propoſed; but he candidly owned, that it was leſs objectionable than what the public at large had reaſon to expect. The country was now entering upon a war with perfect unanimity. Every one was convinced of its juſtice. It was not Malta that was the cauſe; it was the reſtleſs and arrogant ſpirit of the tyrant that governed France, that had forced us to go to war. It behoved all who entertained a reſpect and veneration for

* Secretary of State.

for the laws and conſtitution, which had been handed down by our anceſtors, to meet the danger with courage and intrepidity. His royal highneſs reſtated the plan propoſed by the noble Secretary of State, after which he referred to the ſtate of the country with regard to its internal ſtrength in the reign of Elizabeth, when an invaſion was threatened by means of the Spaniſh armada, and the different periods when there exiſted a danger of invaſion, particularly after the expulſion of the Stuarts, at the different periods of 1713, 1742, and 1745. He entered into a warm panegyric of the ſyſtem of the militia, a ſyſtem to the operation of which, he ſaid, his family owed the throne—he ſtated the great increaſe that had been made to the militia in the courſe of the war, which commenced in the year 1783; it was no leſs an addition than from 32,000 to 114,000. He expreſſed his ſatisfaction at the increaſed ſtrength of the country. He ſaid, he ſhould always be attached to the militia ſyſtem, and he truſted, that in recruiting that force, reference would be had to that portion of the ſtrength of the country which was to be found in the highlands of Scotland. It was a part of the country in which the men were particularly qualified for ſoldiers. Thinking, as he did, the preſent meaſure could not obtain his ſupport. He had no wiſh or deſire to oppoſe his Majeſty's miniſters, for he was of opinion, that had his Majeſty's miniſters broke off the negociation ſooner, they would have done an improper act: but having at length broken it off, and commenced war, it was their duty to have adviſed offenſive and not defenſive meaſures.

The Earl of Carnarvon ſpoke in terms of the higheſt cenſure on the mode of recruiting, and the general plan of the meaſure propoſed by miniſters, and in concluſion obſerved, that when miniſters, unfit for their ſtations, haraſs the country with theſe abſurd projects, the intereſts of the nation muſt ſuffer, and diſcontents, and probably reſiſtance to their meaſures, might ariſe when nothing but unanimity ought to prevail. From the conduct of his Majeſty's miniſters in the negociation of the treaty of Amiens, and on all their ſubſequent adminiſtration of the public intereſts to that moment, much more danger was to be apprehended to the nation, than from the rancour, malevolence, and power of the enemy who aſſailed us.

The Earl of Suffolk was confident every thing had been done by his Majeſty's miniſters that ought to have been done, but he wiſhed to know whether their plan embraced the whole country, as well as Ireland. He had propoſed five years ago, that there ſhould be a military ſurvey, and that 20,000 men ſhould be raiſed and placed in the centre of the country. He was of opinion, a force ſhould be aſſembled, which, by means of carriages, might be at any point of attack in thirty hours. If this plan was adopted, we might always have a greater force than France could bring together at any one time. He had ſtated, that plans ſhould be arranged for enabling lords lieutenants to raiſe troops, and that an efficient deputy lieutenant ſhould be appointed, who ſhould give orders for every thing neceſſary to be done. His lordſhip obſerved, that the accidents of war were not in our power, Providence directed them; but it was our duty to adopt the beſt means of defence. He hoped there would be an army of reſerve commanded by an officer of whom the country had an high opinion. He would name that officer—it was Lord Grey. He knew he might be truſted with the command of the army of reſerve. He could name another noble lord near him (Moira) whoſe military conduct equally qualified him. It was a reflection on the country not to make uſe of the talents of ſuch men. He could mention another gallant officer who had ſaved the country by gaining poſſeſſion of Egypt from the French. His Majeſty's miniſters, ſince the peace, had been tearing the laurels from his brows; they had not given him any ſeparate command.

Earl Moira ſaid, the danger of the criſis was ſo great, that the energies of the people muſt be called out to enable the country to repel it, and not only act defenſively but offenſively. That the people were willing to ſtand forth, if they were properly called upon, but it was not by half meaſures, or common-place meaſures that any good could ariſe. A noble earl had alluded to him as a perſon fit to be employed. He thanked God he was ſatisfied with the ſituation in which his Majeſty had been pleaſed to place him; and upon ſuch an occaſion as repelling an audacious invader, he would as readily draw his ſword as a private in the ranks, as command at the head of an army; and he was ſure that the ſame ſpirit pervaded the whole country. With regard to the preſent motion, certainly no man could object to it; but as to the meaſures to be taken in conſequence of it, as opened by the noble ſecretary of ſtate, whatever his objections to it might be, he would not uſeleſsly waſte his time in detailing them at that moment. The urgency of affairs required action and not diſcuſſion. There had been too much tardineſs and procraſtination already, and it was wonderful that miniſters were now only commencing their career. They knew long ſince, that the aggreſſion and arrogance of the Firſt Conſul, would inevitably tend to war. On the 8th of March, they brought down his Majeſty's meſſage to call upon the country to war, and now it was the latter end of June, that they told parliament the outline, ſketch, or ſkeleton of a meaſure of conſiderable military importance. It was not a cauſe that could be maſtered in the night-gown and ſlippers of the dull routine of office. It required activity and vigorous conduct, or we had better give up the conteſt, and

conſent

conſent to periſh. He thought it would be much more manly and honourable to die like men fighting for our all. We had indeed been like men inſenſible to a danger that ſtared them in the face. Men ſleeping under a poiſonous tree, till the ſcalding drops from its leaves waked us from our ſlumber, which, if longer continued, would have been the ſleep of death. Now, therefore, that the country was rouſed and ſaw its ſituation, they ought to act like men who were awake. We ſaid that the enemy had been wiſe enough to purſue a very different line of conduct, and had been already ſuffered to ſtrike a blow, by ſtripping his Majeſty of Hanover and the whole of his electorate. This was an event painful in the extreme to the heart of every Engliſhman, to whoſe preſervation of his Majeſty's patrimonial dominions was anxiouſly deſired, as any part of the Britiſh empire. Nor was Hanover of inconſiderable importance to the intereſts of Great Britain, it ſecured to us an opportunity of attacking the enemy at the back, while we were annoying him in the front by ſea; beſides, it ſecured to us the important circumſtance of having Hamburgh open to our commerce. Theſe advantages had been ſnatched from us, without miniſters taking any one means to reſume and preſerve Hanover, which they might eaſily have done, as they muſt have long foreſeen that in caſe of a rupture the firſt blow that the enemy would aim at us, would be to ſeize upon his Majeſty's electorate, and thereby enable them to ſhut our commerce out from Hamburgh, the Elbe, and the Weſer. Means of retaliation ought to be found. There were openings to aſſail and injure the enemy, and deeply too, that yet remained. Let not a moment then be loſt in taking advantage; let government act vigorouſly. Call upon the people, and they had ſpirit enough, as he before ſtated, to come forth and aſſiſt, hand and heart, in defence of their country. Let Engliſhmen at leaſt be found "with harneſs on their backs." Let miniſters then make up for their erroneous ſyſtem, by adopting one of vigour and energy, proportionate to the urgency of the cauſe. Let them not waſte their precious time in dull deliberation, and diſcuſſion: the time for that was gone by, and all the energies of the country muſt be exerted with earneſtneſs, with promptitude, and with ſuch activity as would enſure ſucceſs. His lordſhip ſaid, he certainly ſhould vote for the addreſs, and give every aid to all ſuch vigorous meaſures as miniſters ſhould bring forward; and the more vigorous they were, they would be the better entitled to his ſupport, in ſpite of any hoſtile objections he might entertain to the detail or mode of carrying them into execution.

The Duke of Richmond recommended it to miniſters to employ a number of cavalry in the defence of the country. Our troops of horſe were very fine ones, and the horſes of this kingdom, of which we had great plenty, ſome of the fineſt in Europe, whereas the men to be raiſed were all infantry. Now, he thought cavalry the moſt efficient force that could be oppoſed to the enemy in ſuch a country as England, particularly where no invading general could derive ſuch fame as Dumourier did, from the tactics he diſplayed in the foreſt of Ardennes; or, Moreau, in the retreat which will immortaliſe his name. He would alſo ſuggeſt the propriety of augmenting the horſe artillery. It was a force too obviouſly uſeful to be neglected by government. With regard to the raiſing 40,000 men by ballot, his grace repeated it, that he doubed of its practicability. The laſt ſupplementary militia regiments were not yet completed. His own regiment was deficient two hundred men, and they were extremely difficult to be got. Other regiments, to his knowledge, were equally incomplete. He endeavoured to get eighty men, and ſixty of them paid the ten pounds per man for their exemption, ſo that in fact money was raiſed and not men, when a farther attempt was made to raiſe more men by ballot. In ſuch a war as we were engaged in, men's opinions and prejudices ought to be attended to. We ought to take the heart and good will of the country with us; but diſtreſſing the agriculture, for there the preſſure would be moſt felt, was not the beſt means of ſecuring that important object. The duke voted for the addreſs.

Earl Fitzwilliam obſerved, that the effect of raiſing ſo many militia, excluſive of the diſadvantage of their not being applicable to general ſervice, put an end to the regular recruiting ſervice of the army; it was impoſſible that the two ſervices ſhould go on together; and, upon the preſent occaſion, he ſhould have thought it a much wiſer and more effectual proceeding, to have ſuſpended the completing the ſupplementary militia, and applied themſelves wholly to adding to the regular army by every poſſible means. The army was a ſufficient diſpoſable force, and could be ſent any where. His lordſhip took notice of what the Duke of Richmond had ſaid, reſpecting the two hundred men being deficient in his regiment of militia; the ſame was the caſe, he ſaid, in the regiments for the north and weſt ridings of the county of York. The men held back in hopes that the price of ſubſtitutes would be raiſed, and therefore they would not come forward for the militia. His lordſhip ſaid, that recruiting and raiſing the militia in greater numbers could not be done at one and the ſame time.

Lord Grenville agreed with the noble duke, in his deſcription of the real and proper uſe of a militia. He could not but join with thoſe noble lords who had complained of the want of activity of miniſters in not coming earlier forward with this or ſome more efficient meaſure of defence. He then went over the ſame ground as Earl Moira, and concluded by obſerving, that with reſpect to what had fallen in de-

bate on the ſubject of conſcription, however unpopular the opinion might be, he was willing to bear his own ſhare in the unpopularity, in avowing that it was of the very eſſence of all governments and the very compact of all ſocieties, that the government had a right to call upon the whole, or any part of its ſubjects, for common defence againſt a common enemy, in return for the protection they enjoyed under that government. It was already the caſe with ſeamen, and was equally juſtifiable towards any other claſs of ſubjects, when public danger required it.

Lord Hobart ſpoke in reply to the accuſations againſt his Majeſty's miniſters, and retorted ſeverely upon Lord Grenville under whoſe adminiſtration the whole continent was ſeparated from Engliſh influence.

Lord Sheffield concluded the debate by ſaying, that in voting for the addreſs, he wiſhed not to be ſuppoſed to agree that the plan of defence propoſed was the beſt that could be ſelected; on the contrary, it appeared to him as inadequate to the object, and inexpedient as to the means; and if the ballot was to take place without any exemptions, it would be the moſt oppreſſive, provoking, and expenſive that could have been choſen. He conſidered that if the propoſition paſſed into a law, upwards of 112,000 men, for whom there had been a ballot, would be called out within three months; and if the number ſhould ever be complete, which he much doubted, that the wives and families of thoſe men muſt all fall on their pariſhes.

At length the queſtion was put, and the addreſs agreed to.

In the Houſe of Commons, after the Secretary at War, had in the courſe of a long, and intelligent ſpeech, propoſed the plan of defence, Mr. Windham, in the moſt pointed manner, combated every meaſure which miniſters had purſued. He ſaid, the meaſure now propoſed, in his opinion, would only aggravate our difficulties, and tend completely to cut up the recruiting for the regular army. The quantity of men now propoſed, was not in proportion to the neceſſity of the caſe, nor to the population of the united country. We had already an army of militia, and this meaſure was intended to augment it and make a ruinous competition between the two ſervices. The military ſyſtem, as the Secretary at War ſtated, ſtood in need of alteration. We ought not, however, to wait till a time of quiet, but immediately take all the neceſſary meaſures. He approved of the propoſed change in the footing on which the army ſtood at preſent, and make the term for years, inſtead of being for life, which was a great diſcouragement to the recruiting. He knew this to be the opinion of ſome of the moſt judicious and experienced officers in our ſervice. The grand difference between a regular and irregular army was, that the former may be appointed to general ſervice. He did not mean any impeachment whatever of the men or officers of the militia, when he aſſerted that they could not be as available or effective as regular troops. Though they were diſciplined in the ſame way, they had not the properties as thoſe who had ſeen ſervice, and had, in the ſailor's phraſe, got into deep water. The diſcipline of the militia was never in a high ſtate till they were removed from thoſe quarters of the country. Much was expected from the army of Egypt, and partly as they had already performed the moſt brilliant exploits; but no man, whatever reliance he might place on the valour of Engliſhmen, when fighting in their own defence, and that of their country, could expect from the militia, the ſame things that he might from an army, recollecting the renown it had already acquired. Was it nothing that this great force could not be ſent away to defend the country by offenſive operations? Was it nothing that the powers of the Continent, which might, in the courſe of the war, be diſpoſed to co-operate with us, ſhould know that, though we had all this force for home defence, we would not ſend any part of that army to afford them aſſiſtance on the Continent. He would rather ſee an augmentation of the yeomanry, the natural defenders of their country, than that of the militia, and yet the yeomanry were ſcarcely mentioned by the Secretary at War. The three ſervices of regulars, militia, and yeomanry, ſeemed to be conſidered as the maſculine, feminine, and neuter; but the worſt of it was, that the regulars were to be the feminine. They had entered with a bounty of almoſt ten pounds, while the militia, in the bounty or inducement to ſubſtitutes would be at leaſt fifteen guineas. He was ſorry to obſerve the ſyſtem of recruiting for rank again reſorted to; that was only by bidding high prices to make one party rob the other; for whatever might be his majeſty's regulations with reſpect to the ſum to be given as bounty, thoſe who recruited for rank would find means of evading them. He ſhould feel quite eaſy if our troops were to meet the enemy with equal numbers; but to make aſſurances doubly ſure, we ſhould be provided againſt ſuperiority of numbers, and artificial means of attack. The mere phyſical force againſt an invader muſt always be in favour of an iſland; but experience had ſhewn, that phyſical ſtrength did not always prevail; and if 100,000 Frenchmen were landed, which was by no means impoſſible, the population of this metropolis would be ſufficient to deſtroy them. They might, however, make their deſcent in ſome quarter of England or Ireland, where an equal army, inured to diſcipline, may not be readily aſſembled to oppoſe them; and in ſuch a caſe, the miſchief they might perpetrate, was not to be calculated. If phyſical force alone was effectual, the population of Hanover would afford a number of fighting men, infinitely ſuperior to the army that was ſent againſt it; and yet this electorate ſurren-

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dered to general Mortier, without even ſtriking a blow; for, reduce a fortreſs, and the ſurrounding country ſubmits.—He liked very much the ſpirit of the volunteers, but they were compoſed of a deſcription of perſons, who from their ſituation and talents of life, were not calculated to undergo the hardſhips that muſt be endured by ſoldiers. What he wiſhed was, that the country ſhould riſe, as it were, in a maſs, that we ſhould, on any emergency, be found an armed nation, and that every man capable of bearing arms, ſhould be taught and trained to ſhooting at a mark. He concluded by ſaying, I am ſorry to be under the neceſſity of thus objecting to the only mode of raiſing a force which miniſters have propoſed; and muſt enter my proteſt againſt it, ſo far as it tends to cut up the regular army. Upon the whole, it is the moſt impolitic ſtep that could be taken in the preſent ſituation of the country.

In reply to Mr. Windham, the Chancellor of the Exchequer obſerved, that as to the right honourable gentleman's reviſion of the militia ſyſtem, he would ſay that this was not the proper time for that diſcuſſion, could he ſuppoſe it poſſible to recruit a regular army to the number of 50,000 men without reſorting to means of compulſion.

With reſpect to the danger of the country, he had no heſitation in ſaying that he never underrated it—neither in public nor private did he ever attempt to diſguiſe it. He felt it to be of that nature which could be contemplated without diſmay, but which no rational man could contemplate with indifference. To the right honourable gentleman's ideas upon the propriety of raiſing men for the regular army for a limited time, there were many objections, the force of which he felt, particularly in conſequence of our colonial poſſeſſions; for, ſuppoſing men were enliſted for only five or ſix years, (and he doubted, whether recruits in general cared much whether the period was for life or for a limited period) what numerous inconveniencies would ariſe to the ſervice, eſpecially where regiments were ſtationed in America, the Weſt Indies, or any remote quarter of the empire. Perhaps in the event of a whole regiment being ordered home, or on any expedition, only the ſkeleton of ſuch regiment would be forthcoming. Returning to the meaſure before the committee, and to the obſervation of the right honourable gentleman, that it would create a difficulty and impediment, if not an inſurmountable obſtacle, in the way of recruiting the army, he would aſk of the houſe to conſider its character and object fully, and if any better ſhould be ſuggeſted, to prefer it. If any member could deviſe a plan for raiſing a force within the proper time by means more effectual and conſtitutional, he certainly ſhould embrace it. The right honourable gentleman always dwelt upon compariſons between the regular army and the militia, and overlooked that middle courſe between them which was preciſely the deſcription of the force now under conſideration; therefore his objections did not ſtrictly apply to this meaſure. He highly valued the ſervices of the regular army, but however he relied on the aſſiſtance, or upon the zeal and exertions of our other forces, he begged him, the houſe, and the country to underſtand, that government did not mean entirely to rely on theſe means, and that the propoſition now before the committee was not the limit of the arrangements in which they meant to confide for the attainment of thoſe objects which induced the commencement of the war; for, independently of the means already referred to, he had no doubt whatever, ſhould circumſtances render it neceſſary, the great body of the population of the country would, upon an appeal from their ſovereign, ſtand forward in defence of their rights and independence. Upon the prompt aſſiſtance of ſuch a voluntary force he confidently reckoned; ſuch a force as muſt render the country impregnable, and as muſt convince the perſon who now directs the government of France, that it would be abſurd to ſpeculate upon a ſucceſsful invaſion of this country. Perhaps it is happy for the future intereſts of this empire, that the occaſion now offers, of which we ſhould deciſively avail ourſelves, to ſhew that any projects of attack upon our finances and independence, ſuch as the French government ſeems to entertain, muſt be vain and futile. Without enquiring into the general ſyſtems alluded to by the right honourable gentleman, he begged the committee to conſider whether the plan ſubmitted to their judgment was or was not fit to be adopted in the preſent poſture of affairs, and calculated duly to ſecond the other arrangements made to meet the ſituation of the country. If it was ſo thought, he begged of gentlemen to turn it in their minds, and to recommend the beſt means which might occur to them of rendering it more effectual, and carrying it into complete execution.

Mr. Pitt expreſſed his ſincere concurrence in the laſt ſentiment of his right honourable friend (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), and his entire approbation of the principle of the plan before the committee, but that he diſapproved of ſome of its proviſions.

After ſome further obſervations from Meſſrs. Windham, Pitt, the Secretary at War, Sir W. Young, &c. the addreſs was agreed to.

The houſe next reſolved itſelf into a committee of Ways and Means, when Mr. Corry ſubmitted to their attention, the ſtate of Iriſh finance, and obſerved that the policy adopted by Great Britain, muſt be acknowledged by all perſons of diſcrimination in Ireland; and the newneſs of the war, with other circumſtances, rendered it neceſſary to demand thoſe charges on that country, which none could be inclined to refuſe; he ſhould only ſtate what had been

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adopted as the beſt meaſure that could be choſen. The charges conſiſted of thoſe which ſhe bore ſeparately, and which did not interfere with this country. He entered into a ſtatement of the ſituation of the financial concerns of Ireland ſince laſt December, and obſerved, that the trade had been conſiderably in favour of that country during the laſt year. He had pledged himſelf upon former occaſions, that the exports of Ireland would be increaſed; which had been the caſe. He ſtated alſo that the linen trade was liable to meet with great inconvenience, owing to the importation of foreign linens; it however appeared, that in the courſe of the preſent year, the whole ſtock which remained in that country for ſo long a time had been cleared out, and he truſted, that he had reaſon to congratulate that country on the article of proviſions. The demand for that commodity, he underſtood, laſt year, was 25,000l. Corn had alſo produced from 30,000l. to 50,000l. He truſted, that during the preſent year, the fleets and armies would be ſupplied with the articles laſt mentioned; however war might be diſliked, it was a happineſs to reflect that we had reſources in Ireland to ſupport it. There never had been ſeen ſuch a proſpect of flax as during the laſt year, nor ſo much pains taken to cultivate it. The revenues laſt year had increaſed ſince the year before conſiderably. He was ſorry to ſay, tobacco and ſugar had fallen off in the exports. He then ſtated, the means by which the charges on the preſent occaſion were to be raiſed, which after a ſlight oppoſition were agreed to.

The grand debate on national defence in the houſe of commons, took place on the 23d of June, when the whole force of each party ſeems to have been collected, and the greateſt effort of argument and elocution exerted on the ſubject.

When the Secretary at War moved for the ſecond reading of the bill for the Army of Reſerve: Mr. Calcraft roſe, and regretted that he ſhould in the leaſt degree delay a proceeding, the object of which was, the defence of the country; but, feeling that it was a meaſure not calculated to meet the exigency of our preſent ſituation, he ſhould be compromiſing his duty to the Houſe, and degrading himſelf in his own eſtimation, if he did not take the earlieſt opportunity of ſtating his ſentiments.—He thought, that when the right honourable gentleman brought forward a meaſure of this kind, which was inefficient, it would have been right for him to have explained the whole plan he had in view for offenſive operations, as far as regarded recruiting for the line. The mode by ballot, adopted with reſpect to ſencible regiments, ſhould be had recourſe to, to fill up the regiments of the line. The country required ſtrong meaſures, and if there was any odium attached to the recommendation of what he propoſed, he muſt be content to come in for his ſhare of it. We were now going to take 50,000 men from the ranks, for the ſame purpoſes that ſencible regiments were raiſed. It muſt be admitted, that in conſequence of this meaſure, it would be more difficult to fill up thoſe regiments that were now without their ſufficent number of men. It had been ſaid that the regiments of the line could not be recruited by giving bounties; why then not fill them up by ballot? This meaſure would have the effect of drawing from the fund uſed for the ſupply of the line, 50,000 of the moſt effective men of the country. He was perſuaded, that the propoſed meaſure would be found not ſufficiently ſtrong; that it would prevent recruiting for the line; and, therefore, that it would be neceſſary to have recourſe to ballot.

Mr. Sheridan obſerved he was as much for ſtrong, bold, and vigorous meaſures as his honourable friend; but when he talked of ballotting for the line, and having recourſe to compulſory ſervice, he could not poſſibly agree in ſentiment with him. No man, who wiſhed to proceed upon conſtitutional principles, could ever reconcile his mind to ſuch a meaſure. The whole power and property of the country were in the hands of government, for its defence; but it would be a moſt unconſtitutional ſtretch of authority to ſend people abroad againſt their conſent. We were all bound to exert ourſelves for the defence of the country, and were liable to be called upon, even by the ſheriff ſo to do, if the neceſſity required; but the government had no right to force a man, by ballot, into a regiment of the line; ſuch a plan would be reverſing every principle upon which the Britiſh conſtitution and government were founded.

Mr. William Elliott oppoſed the bill, and referred to the ample means the northern parts of Scotland afforded of providing troops for the line, and cenſured a ſyſtem adopted ſome years ago, of raiſing five thouſand militia in that country, locking them up, and not ſuffering them to advance beyond the borders. He next obſerved, that little good was to be expected from the mode of raiſing ſoldiers by ſuch officers as recruited for rank. In the firſt place, the regulations with reſpect to recruiting were diſregarded; and, in the next, the promotion of the officers did not depend, as it ought to do, upon merit, but upon wealth and intereſt.

The Secretary at War obſerved, it would be found, that in the courſe of the laſt year, and particularly within the laſt five or ſix months, there had been an infinitely larger number of recruits for the regular army than uſual, although the recruiting for the militia had been going on during the whole of that time. He could ſtate, that during the laſt year there had been obtained as many recruits as from one thouſand to one thouſand two hundred a month. Adverting to the laſt war, he maintained that the army was in a much worſe ſituation than it was at preſent.

preſent. In the year 1796, there were one hundred and twenty-five regiments of foot; and previous to Sir Ralph Abercrombie's going to the Weſt Indies, it was found neceſſary to make a reform in the army, and have the number cut down to ninety-ſix; and notwithſtanding this, there was not a ſufficient number of men to complete thoſe regiments. It was with the greateſt difficulty that army was completed, and when it was, it only formed one garriſon battalion. The queſtion to be here conſidered was, what was neceſſary to be done at the preſent time, when the country was hard preſſed on many points? He denied that we could either, by enliſting or by bounties, obtain at this moment any number of men we might want for the regular army. The honourable gentleman * ſeemed to conſider Scotland as the *officina militum*. On that ſubject he wiſhed to ſet him right: Ireland might juſtly be ſo conſidered; but, with regard to Scotland, from the increaſed ſtate of its manufactures, and from its opulence, it was pretty much upon a par with this country. It was a well known fact, that in thoſe highland regiments, whoſe brave exploits had been ſo juſtly the theme of admiration and applauſe, there were full as many Engliſhmen and Iriſhmen as there were Scotchmen. Upon the whole he truſted it would be conſidered that this bill was *the beſt meaſure that could, under the preſent ſtate and circumſtances of the country, be adopted.* It was the moſt effectual meaſure, becauſe it was calculated to raiſe the greateſt number of men within the ſhorteſt time, and becauſe he could not, for the conſtitutional reaſons he had already ſtated, think of reſorting to any compulſory meaſure for the purpoſe of recruiting the regular army.

Mr. Pitt ſaid, he conſidered this bill as not only being that which appeared to furniſh the moſt prompt and efficacious mode of giving us that which we firſt wanted, a defenſive army againſt projected invaſion, and for laying the foundation of a diſpoſable force, by which we might avail ourſelves of any opening that might preſent itſelf of ſtriking a blow againſt the aſſailing enemy. He ſhould wiſh to ſee the ſpirit of the country rouſed to ſuch a pitch, that not only the attempts of the enemy ſhould be repelled, but the preſumption that dictated them chaſtiſed; the ſpirit that prompted them repreſſed, and the means of continuing them curtailed; but at ſuch a moment as the preſent, we ought to take counſel of prudence as well as of ſpirit; and, therefore, to ſhield ourſelves from attack, was, in point of order and reaſon, prior to the infliction of vengeance on the enemy. If we were to ſay, that a defenſive force, which ſhould have the effect of diſappointing the proud expectations of the enemy, was ſomething below our notice—that to be ſafe againſt an enemy, which had ſubdued half Europe, was to humble ourſelves, and that we had better add to the liſt of its victims, than not conquer, ſuch a ſentiment was certainly heroiſm—but puſhed to an extent which prudence could not juſtify. He was one of thoſe who would be content with the humble means of defenſive warfare, if the other was not at hand, and was therefore a friend to the general principle of the bill. This was a ſubject on which he had deeply reflected, and without retroſpectively conſidering what had been the conduct of government. He was led to the opinion that this meaſure was the beſt that could be framed, not only for the preſent defence, but for the raiſing hereafter a force for general ſervice. The firſt object, in order of time, was that of being ſafe; the ſecond was to be ſtrong. The preſent meaſure was therefore to be preferred, becauſe a force for limited ſervice was ſooner raiſed than a force for general ſervice. It was ſuppoſed that our having a large militia was inconſiſtent with our having a large military force, and that we thereby chained down our politics to this iſland. Now, the period when the preſent ſyſtem of the militia was introduced, was that in which, with the exception of the period of the wars of the Duke of Marlborough, this country was embarked fartheſt in continental warfare, and when their operations were crowned with glory and ſucceſs. He was at a loſs then to conceive upon what principle it was ſaid, that there was an alliance between the increaſe of the militia, and the deſtruction of the army. Whatever were the objects at which offenſive war pointed, the neceſſity for defenſive meaſures was augmented. It was not to be ſuppoſed that the offenſive operations of this country were to be on a ſcale with the army which Bonaparte might bring into the field. He admitted that a force which had had experience in foreign wars, had been inured to laborious campaigns, and was commanded by officers who had acquired ſkill and diſcipline by long ſervice, was more likely to repel a foe, than a force differently conſtituted; but ſuch a force was not ſo ready to be found. With regard to the queſtion of recruiting corps of the line out of the militia, being injurious to diſcipline, it might be true, if that ſyſtem was carried on by recruiting parties, or by that moſt infamous practice called crimping; but it would not have that effect, if it was done by muſtering the men at different and uncertain periods, allowing them at ſuch muſters, to declare their intention of entering the regiments of the line; and, as doubtleſs there would be thrice as many offer their ſervices as would be wanted, allowing the commanding officer to ſelect ſuch as he ſhould think proper. The time of muſter not being known beforehand, no ſoldier would know at what period he could withdraw himſelf, and conſequently the diſcipline could not be affected. He thought that we ought to look to a defenſive force firſt, and an offenſive force when the other was ſufficient to inſure our ſafety. He wiſhed the Houſe to

inconvenicence of individual branches of commerce from accidental cauſes.

It is well known, that the ſhort ſtoppage of communication in 1801, was productive of immenſe confuſion on the continent, whilſt the productions of Britiſh ingenuity and induſtry, from their goodneſs, their worth, their taſte, and their cheapneſs, became abſolutely requiſites to every claſs of ſociety; whilſt coffee, ſugar, &c. beſides the productions of Britiſh colonies, were unequivocal neceſſaries in every part of Europe.

The bad policy of cutting off ſuch a beneficial communication, was ſurely then apparent; more eſpecially when it is conſidered, that the near and cheap commerce being prevented; the active mind purſued another courſe, and though this might, by its being more circuitous, have made the commodities much dearer to the inhabitants of the continent, Great Britain could not be a ſufferer in proportion.

During the laſt war, this was very evident; for though apparently the Cantons of Switzerland furniſhed the northern, weſtern, and ſouthern provinces of France with coffee, &c. it was plain that Great Britain was the ſource of this commerce, which had made the tour of Germany, before it had arrived in the Cantons: ſo that the French nation, through the criminal ignorance and impolicy of their then rulers, proved to be the only loſers; and this muſt ever be the caſe with the other continental powers, ſo long as the French ſhould be allowed to continue revolutionary modifications.

Thus, concluſively, though the conduct of France, conſidered in a commercial point of view, might cauſe a temporary ſtagnation in a few branches of the Britiſh articles of trade; its effects would be moſt ſeriouſly felt, where probably it was leaſt intended; for, on the continent, it would certainly be productive of confuſion, ſcarcity, bankruptcy, wretchedneſs, and ruin; and inſtead of producing, as was intended, a commercial revolution againſt Britiſh trade, it would only be productive of commercial anarchy on the continent.

A meaſure like this, was therefore only neceſſary to be aſcertained in its principle, and be proved, as it ſoon muſt have been, to exiſt in caprice, conſequently it could not but be juſtly execrated. It was pregnant with miſchief, without the ſolitary reſult of benefit to its projector.

But the intriguing policy of France did not confine itſelf to the mere diſturbance of Europe, the object of its miſchief was of greater extent, where the diſtant powers of the eaſt could not eſcape its ruinating ſyſtem of juggle and fallacy.

When the Briſſotine revolutioniſts thought it their intereſt to propagate their principles, to embroil empires, to excite ſubjects to revolt, and to undermine governments, they pitched upon a proper inſtrument for their purpoſe, in the *ci-devant* Marquis de St. Croix, ſince better known by his revolutionary name Deſcorches. This man, apt at miſchief, and willing to undertake any miſſion which had for its object anarchy, diſcontent, and rebellion, was deputed to Poland, which he did not quit, till it ceaſed to be a kingdom.

So fit an inſtrument of miſchief was too uſeful to his employers, not to be entruſted with another ſimilar commiſſion, and as he was ſo ably prepared to effect the deſtruction of one power, it was deemed highly proper that he ſhould be choſen as a fit perſon to promote the ruin of another. He was of courſe commiſſioned to Turkey, and was received by the impolitic Muſſulmans, with the moſt flattering diſtinctions.

Buſy in intrigue, this able miniſter plenipotentiary ſoon found means to inſtitute Jacobin clubs at Conſtantinople, Smyrna, Cairo, Alexandria, Mecca, Suza, and in every city where a French agent or conſul reſided, even as far as Seringapatam. But Deſcorches and his revolutionary diſciples having failed in their endeavours to eradicate Turkiſh religious fanaticiſm; the only advantage they gained, was the diſturbance of the empire, by the rebellion of Paſwan Oglou, and the Egyptian Beys. The French directory openly diſavowed theſe meaſures; though privately they not only approved them, but propoſed their example to the ſucceeding agent, Vernignac.

One of the firſt acts of Vernignac's miſſion was to cauſe all the emigrants to be expelled the empire. Theſe unprotected fugitives, proſcribed, and without means of ſubſiſtence, were compelled to make the ſecret offers which this emiſſary of revolution aimed at; they were enrolled under Paſwan Oglou's rebel ſtandard. The preſence of the French in the rebel army could not eſcape the notice of the Turks; but when they complained, the anſwer was ready—"Thoſe officers were not French citizens, but emigrants protected by England, Auſtria and Ruſſia, who, no doubt, had their views in ſending them there!"

Profeſſions of amity ſeduced the Porte to ſanction a meaſure, the effects of which have been of moſt ſerious conſequence to its government. The contrivance of the French cabinet determined the invaſion of Egypt, and Talleyrand propoſed the famous Jacobin St. André, as a fit aſſiſtant to Vernignac. This conciliatory decemvirate blinded or bribed the members of the Divan, and thus propoſed Egypt to their employers as an eaſy conqueſt. The conſequence is in every one's remembrance:—had it not been for the vigorous and ſucceſsful interference of Great Britain, not only Egypt, but the very baſis of the Turkiſh government, would have been ſhook to its foundation by implicitly relying on the unprincipled and dangerous negotiations by which

which the leaders of France have been, and unhappily continue to be actuated.

Turkey, however, forgetting her ineſtimable obligations to Great Britain, and ungratefully forſaking the benefactors who had reſcued her from deſtruction, after the peace of Amiens, was again prevailed on by French promiſes and French preſents, to court her own ruin, though ſhe was ſo much indebted to Britiſh valour for defeating and chaſtiſing the treachery by which her very exiſtence as an empire had been threatened.

But this infatuated power could not perceive the miſchief that awaited its dereliction of principle—it did not conceive that Bonaparte, when he created a corps of Mamelukes, had other objects beſides an oſtentatious diſplay of conſular pageantry; it could not but imagine, that theſe Mamelukes were to riſe an organized band of native emiſſaries, propagators, and ſpies, ever inſtructed and always ready to embroil Turkey and Egypt, as the plans or intereſts of France might determine.

That this was the caſe was very evident; for admiral Leſſeignes, who had ſailed into the Levant about this time, with a cargo of French commercial agents, carried with him ſeveral young Mamelukes, who having been pampered with four years French education, were devoted to its intereſt and policy, and being fitted to future miſchief, as circumſtances might occur, were debarked, and colonized in Upper Egypt; proper inſtruments to execute any rebellion their political tutors might invent.

In addition to the provident manœuvres of the Firſt Conſul, in his plans of diplomatic arrangement, he deputed general Le Brune, as his ambaſſador at the Porte*; this man, cunning in low intrigue, though ignorant of diplomatic accuracy, ſucceeded effectually in undermining the intereſt of the Engliſh at Conſtantinople; and with a retinue of two hundred French, Corſicans, Italians, Arabians, Coptics, and Mamelukes in his train, were fit inſtruments, ſhould opportunity ſerve, to head any hordes of rebels or aſſaſſins, and indeed, more than ſufficient to aid in giving the finiſhing ſtroke to the expiring Ottoman empire. Bonaparte by this contrivance, had two objects in view; by means of theſe emiſſaries, he could keep the Porte in conſtant apprehenſion, from the malignity of his power; or ſhould occaſion ſerve, he might furniſh to himſelf reſources in his long projected plan of injuring the Britiſh intereſts in India, by the opening a paſſage through the territories of Egypt.

Equally inveterate and miſchievous againſt the government of England, the firſt conſul, thinking it might ſuit his purpoſe to parry off the juſt cauſes which the Britiſh had to complain of, by attempting at repreſentations in which he wiſhed to be eſteemed the aggreſſed party, commiſſioned his agents under the denomination of miniſters plenipotentiary to the different German courts, who were at the ſame, to complain of the infraction of treaties by Great Britain. It was thus that the courts of Caſſel, of Saltzburgh, and of Berlin, were duped by ſpecious promiſes and fallacious repreſentations.

But to ſhew more effectually how well he underſtood the powers to whom he made his varied proteſts, and to whoſe diſpoſitions he wiſhed to conſort his humours, we ſubjoin a copy of the note tranſmitted by the French chargé d'affaires to the Landamman of Switzerland.

"The underſigned chargé d'affaires of the French republic, has received orders from his government, to communicate to that of Helvetia, the new provocations of England, in hoſtile proceedings, and the motives of defence and honour which have directed the conduct of the French government. The treaty of Amiens was ſcarcely ſigned, when the Engliſh government already meditated its infraction. The conduct it has held ſince that epoch, clearly announces ſuch intention. It has ſuffered the French government to be daily inſulted by its periodical writers, and in pamphlets, the authors of which, for the moſt part foreigners, were conſequently under the controul of government. It has continued to give an aſylum and protection to dangerous individuals particularized by the French government. Of theſe, ſome formed hoſtile aſſemblages at Jerſey, while others were thrown upon our coaſts by the Engliſh themſelves, without their government doing any thing except eluding the complaints made to it upon that occaſion. The more France manifeſted good faith and diſpatch in executing the treaty of Amiens, the more did England affect evaſion and ſlowneſs. Ten months had elapſed, without the ſmalleſt diſpoſition appearing on the part of the Engliſh government to cauſe the iſland of Malta to be evacuated, though, in the terms of the treaty, the evacuation was to have taken place at the end of three months. This clauſe was too important for the French government to neglect inſiſting upon its

* General Le Brune, in 1792, was a journeyman printer to Marat, and is the ſame perſon who, in 1798, cauſed, by his intrigues, though not by his valour, the ruin of the Helvetic republic, and eſtabliſhed French tyranny in countries where French arms had never before penetrated; he is repreſented to be unprincipled and ambitious; to Marat and Robeſpierre, he owes his firſt military promotion. His conduct in Switzerland, raiſed him in the favour of the French directory; and by betraying his benefactors, the directors, he was made a favourite with the conſul, and an ambaſſador at Conſtantinople.

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Equally inveterate and miſchievous againſt the government of England, the firſt conſul, thinking it might ſuit his purpoſe to parry off the juſt cauſes which the Britiſh had to complain of, by attempting at repreſentations in which he wiſhed to be eſteemed the aggreſſed party, commiſſioned his agents under the denomination of miniſters plenipotentiary to the different German courts, who were at the ſame, to complain of the infraction of treaties by Great Britain. It was thus that the courts of Caſſel, of Saltzburgh, and of Berlin, were duped by ſpecious promiſes and fallacious repreſentations.

But to ſhew more effectually how well he underſtood the powers to whom he made his varied proteſts, and to whoſe diſpoſitions he wiſhed to conſort his humours, we ſubjoin a copy of the note tranſmitted by the French chargé d'affaires to the Landamman of Switzerland.

"The underſigned chargé d'affaires of the French republic, has received orders from his government, to communicate to that of Helvetia, the new provocations of England, in hoſtile proceedings, and the motives of defence and honour which have directed the conduct of the French government. The treaty of Amiens was ſcarcely ſigned, when the Engliſh government already meditated its infraction. The conduct it has held ſince that epoch, clearly announces ſuch intention. It has ſuffered the French government to be daily inſulted by its periodical writers, and in pamphlets, the authors of which, for the moſt part foreigners, were conſequently under the controul of government. It has continued to give an aſylum and protection to dangerous individuals particularized by the French government. Of theſe, ſome formed hoſtile aſſemblages at Jerſey, while others were thrown upon our coaſts by the Engliſh themſelves, without their government doing any thing except eluding the complaints made to it upon that occaſion. The more France manifeſted good faith and diſpatch in executing the treaty of Amiens, the more did England affect evaſion and ſlowneſs. Ten months had elapſed, without the ſmalleſt diſpoſition appearing on the part of the Engliſh government to cauſe the iſland of Malta to be evacuated, though, in the terms of the treaty, the evacuation was to have taken place at the end of three months. This clauſe was too important for the French government to neglect inſiſting upon its

* General Le Brune, in 1792, was a journeyman printer to Marat, and is the ſame perſon who, in 1798, cauſed, by his intrigues, though not by his valour, the ruin of the Helvetic republic, and eſtabliſhed French tyranny in countries where French arms had never before penetrated; he is repreſented to be unprincipled and ambitious; to Marat and Robeſpierre, he owes his firſt military promotion. His conduct in Switzerland, raiſed him in the favour of the French directory; and by betraying his benefactors, the directors, he was made a favourite with the conſul, and an ambaſſador at Conſtantinople.

execution. At this period it was that the meſſage took place, in which the king announced to the parliament, that formidable armaments were going on in the ports of France and Holland, and that there ſubſiſted between the two governments important diſcuſſions, of which the reſult was uncertain. All Europe was acquainted with the object of thoſe armaments; and as to the alledged diſcuſſions, they were evidently ſuppoſitions, ſince the French government had no knowledge of them. It was undoubtedly neceſſary that it ſhould demand explanations with regard to theſe falſe aſſertions, and it did ſo, with that coolneſs and dignity which are conſiſtent with reaſon. The Engliſh miniſtry, on the contrary, has ſhewn as much arrogance in its ſtyle, as injuſtice in its pretenſions. Such is the uniform difference which may be eaſily remarked in the notes reſpectively tranſmitted during the courſe of this diſcuſſion; in which it is difficult to decide, which is moſt aſtoniſhing, the indecent urgency of the Engliſh government, or the patient moderation of the Firſt Conſul. The iſſue of ſuch a negociation was eaſily foreſeen. On the 16th of May, the Engliſh government publiſhed a declaration of war. His Britannic Majeſty prohibited his ſubjects from entering the French and Batavian ports, or any which may be occupied by the French armies.—He has ordered a general embargo on all French and Dutch veſſels which are or may arrive in his ports; and on the crews and cargoes of the ſaid veſſels. He has authoriſed the fitting out of cruizers againſt every veſſel belonging to Frenchmen or inhabitants of France; and previous even to any declaration of war, two Engliſh frigates captured two French merchantmen, at a ſhort diſtance from Breſt. The French government, diſappointed in its efforts for the preſervation of a general peace, muſt therefore adopt thoſe meaſures which its dignity, and the intereſts of the republic preſcribe. The official papers of all its negociations with England are publiſhed, from the firſt overtures which led to the preliminary treaty, to the moment when England refuſed to conform to her own engagements; and compelled once more to refer the deciſion of the moſt important intereſts to the fortune of arms, the French government has replied by a frank expoſition of its conduct, to the pretexts which England advances in juſtification of her aggreſſion.

" The Helvetic government muſt doubtleſs perceive, in this communication, a new proof of the deſire of the French government to maintain the relations of amity which have for ſo long a period united France and Switzerland; and the underſigned is happy to ſeize this opportunity of renewing to the Landamman of Switzerland, the aſſurance of his moſt reſpectful conſideration.

" M. G. GANDOLPHE."

So groſs a piece of arrogance and injuſtice we ſeldom meet with; and though it is diſplayed in all the glowing colours of miſrepreſentation, aſſumed in a ſtyle of complacency, and dilating on the dignity, moderation, and pacific diſpoſition of France, the aſſertions of breach of faith and deſertion of honour attempted to be attached to the Britiſh, are eaſily controverted by the genuine acts which diſtinguiſhed the moderation and love of honour of its government, and which contented itſelf by plain and honeſt ſtatements of facts, without embelliſhment, both at home and to the world, whilſt on the contrary, the Firſt Conſul uſed every embelliſhment to miſrepreſent his conduct at the different courts of Europe, and within his own government; iſſued manifeſtos without truth, and employed even the ſacred characters of his biſhops to forfeit their ſuppoſed inviolability, in ſanctioning ſuch decrees throughout the various departments.

CHAP. II.

Flattering Addreſſes to the Chief Conſul, conveyed in malicious Terms of England.—The Britiſh Miniſtry order the Blockade of the Elbe.—Miſchief of a War on Trade conſidered.—Capitulation of the Hanoverian Army.

WHILST the governor of the French republic was endeavouring to effect the diſorganization of the world, the premeditated dramatic flattery offered by the victims of his ſlavery, was beyond compariſon.

Thus the members of the council general of the department of the Seine and Oiſe conveyed their ebullitions:

" Citizen chief conſul and preſident, the Engliſh government, the violator of treaties, the tyrant of the ſeas, the plunderer of commerce, ſtill wiſhes for war! To this perfidious provocation the French people will reply only by ſhouts of honour and the vengeance of victory. *You are the chief of the great nation, to which nothing is impoſſible.* Our legions opened a paſſage through the Alps, to conquer at Marengo. A ſtrait cannot prevent them from conquering Albion. One day will be ſufficient to convey them to its aſtoniſhed ſhores. The means of reaching them, France preſents to you by unanimous concert. This offer has no other principles or rules than the moſt complete devotion, and the deſire of peace, of that peace ſworn to and violated by the enemy, and which you will not reſtore to them till you have reduced them to ſuch a ſtate, that they ſhall never in future be able to break it.

Such

Such are the wiſhes of the council general of the department of the Seine and Oiſe, who, to ſecond your glorious projects, have unanimouſly voted the offer of 1,200,000 francs, (50,000 *l.*) which we have the honour to addreſs to you."

The Britiſh miniſtry, notwithſtanding the thunders and ſtorms which were ſo diffuſely levelled againſt them, were not in the leaſt neglectful of their duty, they conſidered, that as the firſt conſul had in an unprovoked manner, invaded Hanover, and occupied the ſhores of the rivers, by hoſtile meaſures, to injure the mercantile concerns of their government, they were fully juſtified in uſing every means to counteract his intentions, and therefore, ſtill attending to the rules of moderation, on the eighth of July, iſſued the following proclamation for blocking up the mouth of the Elbe:

"*Downing-ſtreet, June* 28.

"The King has been pleaſed to cauſe it to be ſignified by the right hon. Lord Hawkeſbury, his Majeſty's principal ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs, to the miniſters of neutral powers reſiding at this court, that the neceſſary meaſures have been taken by his Majeſty's command, for the blockade of the entrance of the river Elbe, in conſequence of the forcible occupation of parts of the banks of that river by the French troops; the ſaid river is declared to be in a ſtate of blockade; and that from this time, all the meaſures authorized by the law of nations, and the reſpective treaties between his Majeſty and the different neutral powers, will be adopted and executed with reſpect to all veſſels which may attempt to violate the ſaid blockade.—Lord Hawkeſbury has been further commanded by his Majeſty, to ſignify to miniſters of the neutral powers, that whenever the French troops will evacuate the poſitions which they now occupy on parts of the banks of the Elbe, and will remove to ſuch a diſtance from them, as to leave the courſe of that river perfectly free and ſecure to the veſſels of his ſubjects, as well as of other nations, his Majeſty will immediately direct his ſhips of war, which may be ſtationed at the mouth of the river Elbe, for the purpoſe of blockading the ſame, to be withdrawn."

This meaſure of retribution on the part of the Britiſh miniſtry proved, that though they did not fear the menacing projects of their enemy, they promiſed every ſatisfactory explanation to neutral powers; they were compelled to ſeek redreſs by ſuch means only; and though they felt the decreaſed value of their Hanoverian alliance, they did not make it a conſideration, in compariſon with the welfare of Europe.

"If an unconcerned ſpectator, of the tranſactions, which paſs in review before his eyes, on the great theatre of Europe," ſays a modern writer, "cannot refrain from reprobating the conduct of the French government, in thus raſhly precipitating itſelf into another war, as inimical to its own intereſts, and to the general tranquillity, every Engliſhman muſt applaud the provident ſagacity of the Britiſh cabinet, in ſo quickly penetrating, and ſo effectually counteracting the deſigns of the enemy. To the prompt and deciſive meaſures of adminiſtration, Britain owes her ſafety, her independence, and the continuation of her national exiſtence. In ſuch an emergency, irreſolution and procraſtination muſt have been fatal.

"The annihilation, or, at leaſt, the diminution of our trade, is one of the principal views of the Gallic cabinet, and one of the great ends to be obtained by the war. If the ſubverſion of the Britiſh government, and the conqueſt of the country be the primary, the extinction of its commerce is a ſecondary object of the politics of St. Cloud. To this end all the meaſures of the French government have a direct and uniform tendency. In this view it has exerted all its influence to procure the ports of Europe to be ſhut againſt our veſſels and our manufactures, and has in part ſucceeded. A war againſt commerce and manufactures, however, is different from a war with armies, and requires a different management, ſuch as will perhaps prove too difficult for the military ſkill of the chief conſul, and baffle the efforts of his numerous legions. Trade flouriſhes, and forces its way, by the ſilent but continual efforts of perſevering induſtry, and not by enterpriſing violence. It does not depend on political ſchemes, and military operations, as on the induſtry and commercial genius of the people. So long as the Britiſh workmen maintain their ſuperiority of ſkill, and conſequently their manufactured goods their ſuperior value, nothing can prevent thoſe articles from finding a market. Commerce may meet with temporary checks and impediments; but it makes its way at the laſt, ſurmounts every obſtacle, and falls into its accuſtomed and natural channel *."

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, the ſtates of Europe ſtood ſtill, aſtoniſhed and confounded!—they might be inclined to reſent; but were afraid to act: they, therefore, ſuffered what they did not dare to reſiſt—and ſilently beheld the injury of their neighbours, to whom they dared not give the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance, leſt the chief conſul's mercenaries ſhould levy ſimilar contributions on their dominions, and thus reduce them to an equally pitiable ſituation.

The Hanoverian army, however, finding that the faith of their French intruders was of no duration; and probably experiencing contrition for ſo eaſily exchanging a mild government for one that was rapacious and arbitrary, began to ſhew ſigns of reſiſtance to the invaſive depredations of Mortier's army; but their repentance was too late; their fate was determined, and they were compelled to ſubmit to the hard conditions impoſed by their conquerors and maſters. They were conſidered as priſoners,

* *Bigland's Letters on the Modern Hiſtory and Political Aſpect of Europe*, p. 135.

ſoners, on the condition of not ſerving againſt France during the war; they were ſuffered to go to their ſeveral homes, but all their arms, ammunition, &c. were given up to the enemy. The Hanoverian ſoldiery, with reluctance, yielded to ſuch humiliating conditions, and general Walmoden, to uſe the words of Mortier, "ſigned the inſtrument with a heart torn with grief!"

We have before mentioned, that application had been made on the part of Bonaparte to his Britannic Majeſty, that he would conſent to the depredations in his electoral dominions, by a ratification of the convention between that government and general Mortier; for this Talleyrand had tranſmitted to Lord Hawkeſbury the following letter:

"*The Miniſter of Foreign Affairs to Lord Hawkeſbury.*

"*Paris*, 21 *Praireal, (June* 10.)

"*My Lord*,

"After a ſlight engagement with the troops of his Britannic Majeſty, the French army occupies the country of Hanover.

"The firſt conſul having had nothing in view, but the procuring of pledges for the evacuation of Malta, and the completing the execution of the treaty of Amiens, did not wiſh to make the ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty experience all the rigours of war. The firſt conſul, however, cannot ratify the convention concluded between the French army and his Britannic Majeſty, until it ſhall be ratified by his Britannic Majeſty, and in that caſe, the firſt conſul charges me expreſsly to declare, that it is his intention that the army of the King of England be, in the firſt inſtance, exchanged for all the ſailors or ſoldiers his Majeſty's ſhips may have made, or may be in ſituation of making priſoners.

"The firſt conſul would ſee with pain his Britannic Majeſty, by refuſing to ratify the ſaid convention, by obliging the French government to treat the country of Hanover with all the rigour of war, and as a country which, left to itſelf, abandoned by its Sovereign, would be conſidered as conquered without capitulation, and given up to the direction of the power occupying it.

"I ſhall wait with impatience, my Lord, for your making known to me his Britannic Majeſty's intentions.

"Receive, my Lord, the aſſurance of my higheſt conſideration.

"(Signed) C. M. TALLEYRAND."

It appears that orders had alſo been ſent to Mortier, to announce to the Hanoverian general, that the firſt conſul would make no difficulty to ratify the articles of the convention which had been held at Suhlingen, as ſoon as the King of Great Britain ſhould do the ſame on his part. But from the conſiderations formerly ſtated, his Majeſty, with a patriotic ſelf-denial, refuſed to accede to propoſals derogatory to the dignity of his crown, or profeſs himſelf an aggreſſor, when it was plain to every underſtanding, that he was the aggreſſed. Lord Hawkeſbury, therefore, remitted this reply:

"*Reply of Lord Hawkeſbury to the Miniſter of Foreign Affairs.*

"*Sir*, *Downing Street, June* 15, 1803.

"I have laid before his Majeſty, your letter of the 10th inſtant. His Majeſty has directed me to inform you, that as he has always conſidered the character of Elector of Hanover, as diſtinct from his character of King of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, he cannot conſent to acquieſce in any act which might eſtabliſh the idea that he is juſtly ſuſceptible of being attacked in one capacity for the conduct he may have thought it his duty to adopt in another. It is not the firſt time that this principle has been advanced. It has been recognized by ſeveral powers of Europe, and more particularly by the French government, which in 1795, in conſequence of the acceſſion of his Majeſty to the treaty of Baſle, acknowledged his neutrality in his capacity of Elector of Hanover, at the moment they were at war with him in his quality of King of Great Britain. This principle has been moreover confirmed by his Majeſty's conduct with reſpect to the treaty of Luneville, and by the arrangements which have lately taken place relative to the German indemnities, which were to have for their object the providing for the independence of the empire, and which have been ſolemnly guaranteed by the principal powers of Europe, but in which his Majeſty, as King of Great Britain, took no part.

"Under theſe circumſtances, his Majeſty is determined, in his character of Elector of Hanover, to appeal to the empire and to the powers of Europe who have guaranteed the Germanic conſtitution, and conſequently his rights and poſſeſſions in quality of prince of that empire.

"Until his Majeſty be informed of their ſentiments, he has commanded me to ſay, that in his character of Elector of Hanover, he will ſcrupuloufly abſtain from every act which might be conſidered as contravening the ſtipulations contained in the convention which was concluded on the 3d of June, between the deputies appointed by the regency of Hanover, and the French government.

"I requeſt you to accept the aſſurances of the high conſideration with which I have the honour to be, Sir, your very humble and obedient ſervant,

"HAWKESBURY."

So pointed a refuſal to comply with what the chief conſul had ſo much at heart; and "which," as their own journals ſtate it, "not a ſingle man of ſenſe in Europe,

Europe, who could have doubted for one moment, that the king of England would have ratified," affected the chief conful's temper of mind very forcibly. After what he called his "aftoniſhment," had given full ſcope to the other humours, his petulance aſſumed the ſuperiority; he remitted orders to Mortier, that the proceedings of the convention at Suhlingen were null and void, and commanded him to act accordingly. Thus inſtructed, Mortier communicated to general Walmoden the commiſſion he had received:

"*Copy of the Letter written by Lieutenant-general Mortier, to Marſhal Count Walmoden.*

Luneburg, 11 *Meſſidor*, (*June* 30.)

"I had the honour to inform your excellency, that the firſt conſul would fully approve of the convention of Suhlingen, if the King of England would conſent to ratify it himſelf. It is painful to have to acquaint you, that Lord Hawkeſbury has made known to citizen Talleyrand, that his Britannic Majeſty has ſolemnly refuſed that ratification.

"Your excellency will recollect, that in 1757, a ſimilar convention was concluded at Cloſter-Steven, between M. de Richelieu and the Duke of Cumberland, and that the King of England not having choſen to adhere to it, he gave orders to his army to recommence hoſtilities.

"It is to avoid the renewal of the ſcenes that took place then, that my government directs me to inform your excellency, that the refuſal of his Britannic Majeſty renders the convention of Suhlingen null.

"It is evident Marſhal, that England ſacrifices unworthily your troops, whoſe bravery is known to all Europe; but it is not leſs notorious, that every plan of defence on your part would be illuſory, and would only draw down new miſeries upon your country.

"I have deſired general Berthier, chief of the etat-major, to make known my propoſals to you. I muſt inſiſt upon a categorical reply from your excellency, in twenty-four hours. The army I have the honour to command is ready, and only waits for the ſignal of battle. I beg your excellency to believe in my very diſtinguiſhed conſideration.

"(Signed) EDWARD MORTIER."

General Mortier, in a few days, ſent the following diſpatch to the firſt conſul, in which he ſtated the particulars of his proceedings:

"*Letter from General Mortier to the Firſt Conſul, dated Head Quarters, Luneburg, July* 6.

"*Citizen Firſt Conſul,*

"I wrote on the 30th of June to marſhal Walmoden, the letter of which I ſubjoin a copy. Baron de Bock, colonel of the regiment of guards, came to me from him on the following day. He told me, that the propoſition for his army to lay down their arms, in order to be ſent priſoners of war into France, was of a nature ſo humiliating, that they preferred periſhing with their arms in their hands; that they had made ſufficient ſacrifices for their country by the capitulation of Suhlingen; that it was now time for them to do ſomething for their own honour; that the officers and the army were reduced to deſpair. M. De Bock then repreſented to me the extreme ſincerity with which the Hanoverians had ſcrupulouſly fulfilled all the articles of the convention of Suhlingen, ſo far as they concerned them; that their conduct with reſpect to us was free from any kind of reproach, and that it ought not to draw upon them the misfortunes with which I threatened them. I, on my part, exclaimed againſt the —— of the King of England, who had refuſed to ratify the convention of the 3d of June; that it was the Machiaveliſm of England alone which they ought to blame, and that it was the conſtant practice of that government to ſacrifice them, as it had ſacrificed its friends on the continent.

"M. De Bock is a man full of honour and ſincerity. He told me, that if I could make any acceptable propoſitions, ſuch as to ſend back a part of the army in ſix months, to keep a detachment of five or ſix thouſand men at Lauenburg, &c. he believed the Marſhal would conſent to the arrangement. My anſwer was in the negative, and we parted. I had before made all my diſpoſitions for paſſing the river. A number of barques collected, as well on the Elbe as on the Elmeneau, had afforded me ample means. The enemy occupied a poſition between Steknitz and Bille.

"It was on the night of the 4th, that the general attack was to have taken place. The enemy had procured heavy artillery from Ratzburg, and had mounted all their batteries on the Elbe with it. I had cauſed counter-batteries to be erected on my ſide; my troops were well diſpoſed, and every thing announced a happy iſſue, when marſhal Walmoden ſent to offer me new propoſitions.

"Citizen firſt conſul, the Hanoverian army was reduced to deſpair, it implored your clemency. I thought you would wiſh to treat it with goodneſs when abandoned by its own King. In the middle of the Elbe I made the ſubjoined capitulation with marſhal Walmoden. He ſigned it with an afflicted heart. You will perceive by it, that his army has laid down their arms, that his cavalry is diſmounted, and ſurrenders to us near 4,000 excellent horſes. The ſoldiers returning to their homes are to apply themſelves to agriculture, and are not to ſuffer any obſtruction. They will no longer be under the command of England. Health and profound reſpect.

"(Signed) EDWARD MORTIER."

"*P. S.* It would be difficult to paint to you the ſituation of the fine regiments of the King of England's guards, at the moment of diſmounting."

This letter fixed the reſolution of the firſt conſul: he found himſelf obliged, he ſaid, to regard the convention as void, and in conſequence, he commanded Mortier to ſign articles of capitulation immediately, without being ſubmitted to ratification by either of the two governments. The articles were,

I. "That the Hanoverian army ſhall lay down its arms. Theſe, with all its artillery, ſhall be delivered up to the French army.

II. "All the horſes of the Hanoverian troops of cavalry, and the artillery horſes, ſhall be delivered to the French army, by a member of the ſtates of Hanover. A commiſſion ſhall be ſent from the general in chief to take the ſtate and diſtinctions of thoſe horſes.

III. "The Hanoverian army ſhall be diſſolved. The troops ſhall again paſs the Elbe, and retire every one to his own home. They ſhall engage on their honour not to bear arms againſt France and its allies without being exchanged for French ſoldiers of the ſame rank, who have been made priſoners by England in the courſe of the war.

IV. "The Hanoverian generals and officers ſhall retire on their honour to the places which they may reſpectively chuſe for their reſidence, but ſhall not leave the Continent. They ſhall retain their ſwords, horſes, effects, and baggage.

V. "There ſhall be delivered, with as little delay as poſſible, to the French commander in chief, a liſt of all the names of the individuals in the Hanoverian army.

VI. "The Hanoverian ſoldiers, after their return home, ſhall wear no uniform.

VII. "Subſiſtence ſhall be allowed to the Hanoverian troops, till the times of their return to their own places of reſidence. Forage ſhall be equally allowed for the horſes of the officers.

VIII. "The ſixteenth and ſeventeenth articles of the convention of Suhlingen ſhall remain applicable to the Hanoverian army.

IX. "The French troops ſhall, conſequently, occupy that part of the Electorate of Hanover, which is ſituate in Lauenburg.

"Done in two copies, on the Elbe, the 5th day of July, 1803.

"(Signed) EDWARD MORTIER,
"Commander in chief of the French army.
"Marſhal Count WALMODEN."

Thus was an act of injuſtice coloured over with the appearance of probity; though the motive for ſuch proceeding, had its ſource in falſehood, malignity, and miſchief.

CHAP. III.

Unanimity of Great Britain exemplified by the Encouragement given to the Volunteer Syſtem.—Reſolutions of the Merchants and Traders of London at this Criſis.—Regulations of the Corps of Sea Fencibles.

THE ſituation of England at this time was as proſperous as it was enviable; all ranks flocked to enſure the ſafety of their country; and it was a gratifying proſpect to behold with what energy, and patriotiſm they formed themſelves into a national guard to repel the audacious menace of invaſion. The citizens of London ever ready in ſchemes of national ſafety, as well as in every ſpecies of benevolence and humanity, ſtood forward at this criſis, in a diſtinguiſhed manner. The volunteer ſyſtem received every encouragement; there was no houſe or apartment that did not furniſh its hero to defend the inſulted rights of his country. The government gave every aſſiſtance to ſo great a plan; and like the genuine efflux of pure ſanguification, the virtuous example of the metropolis was tranſfuſed into the remoteſt parts of the empire.

To give vigour to ſo pleaſing, ſo gratifying a diſpoſition, as well as to afford a further incitement to the ſpirit of the country, which had ſo eminently manifeſted itſelf by the efficient manner in which the volunteer corps of cavalry and infantry was conducted, Lord Hobart tranſmitted circular papers of regulations, to the lords-lieutenants of counties *.

Indeed, every meaſure which the Britiſh government adopted at this time, proved that they were neither inactive nor ſpiritleſs. Their plans for raiſing the ſupplies, their mode of defending the country muſt be allowed bold, vigorous, and daring; whilſt the recent blockade of the Elbe, very evidently proved to all the ſtates of Europe, what the power of Great Britain might be, when fully exerted.

How

* As in the courſe of the hiſtory, we may frequently have occaſion to refer to Lord Hobart's papers we here inſert copies of them.

Regulations, during War, for the Pay, Clothing, and Allowance for Contingent Expences, for Corps of Volunteer Infantry.

1. Every corps claiming pay, to engage to ſerve in the military diſtrict to which it is ſituated.

2. Every officer, non-commiſſioned officer, and private man, to take the oath of allegiance and fidelity to his Majeſty.

3. To a battalion of ten companies, or a corps of from 250 to 300 private men and upwards, conſtant pay to be allowed for an adjutant and ſerjeant-major; and to a corps of from 150 to 250 private men, conſtant pay for a ſerjeant-major.—*Per diem*, adjutant 6s. ſerjeant-major 1s. 6d. and 2s. 6d. *per* week in addition.

4. A company claiming pay to conſiſt of not leſs than 50, nor more than 100 private men, with 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 enſign, (2 lieutenants to the flank companies, and to ſuch as conſiſt of 80 private men) together with 3 ſerjeants, (including

How ably then was this "*sea-girt isle*" to give defiance to the "*wall of iron*," as it was pompously denominated; and how greatly superior must *the wooden walls of old England* appear under such auspicious circumstances, though opposed to the first consul's *invincible* flotillas. It was curious also, to perceive, with what indifference and contempt the threat of invasion was received by the whole mass of the people of England.

But the natives of Britain did not shew their unanimity to support the cause of their nation, by merely arming in its defence; their treasures were opened not only to assist the exigencies of government; but to establish funds for the relief of the relatives of such as might unfortunately suffer in the protection of all that was dear to them.

The following resolutions entered into at Lloyd's Coffee House, were convincing proofs of the patriotism blended with humanity, which pervaded all ranks:

cluding the drill serjeant) 2 corporals, and 2 drummers, *per* company.

5. Serjeants receiving constant daily pay, and all drummers receiving pay, either at a daily or weekly rate, to be attested, and to be subjected to military law.

6. One officer in each company, not above the degree of captain, if taken from the half-pay, having served at least eighteen months on full pay as a commissioned officer in the regulars, marines, embodied militia, fencibles, or East India company's service, to have the constant pay of his volunteer commission, during his service in a volunteer corps, or one officer in each company not above the degree of captain, if not on half pay, but having formerly served two years on full pay as a commissioned officer, in any of the above-mentioned military services, to have constant pay equal to the half-pay of his volunteer commission, during his services in a volunteer corps.—Captain 9s. 5d. lieutenant 5s. 8d. second lieutenant or ensign 4s. 8d.—The other captains, lieutenants, and ensigns, to have pay for the like number of days as the men; but no officer to receive pay for two commissions.—Captains 4s. 10½d. lieutenant 2s. 3½d. second lieutenant or ensign 1s. 9½d.

7. When a charge of constant full pay, or constant half-pay is made for an officer, his former services must be particularly stated in the pay-list wherein the charge is first made.

8. When not called out on actual service, constant pay to be allowed for 1 serjeant and 1 drummer *per* company, at the same rates as in the disembodied militia; the pay of the drummers to be distributed at the discretion of the commandant: pay (as disembodied militia) for the rest of the serjeants and drummers, and for the corporals and private men to be allowed for two days in the week, from 25th February to 24th October, and for one day in the week from 25th October to 24th February, both inclusive, being eighty-five days *per annum*, but for effectives only present under arms, on each respective day. Pay may, however, be charged for persons absent by sickness for a period not exceeding three months, on the commanding officer's certificate to that effect.—Serjeants 1s. 6d.; corporals 1s. 2d.; drummers and privates 1s.

9. If a corps, or any part thereof, shall be called upon in cases of riot or disturbance, the charge of constant pay to be made for such services, must be at the rates before specified, and be supported by a certificate from his Majesty's lieutenant or the sheriff of the county; but if called out in case of actual invasion, the corps is to be paid and disciplined in all respects as the regular infantry, the artillery, the artillery companies excepted, which are then to be paid as the royal artillery.

10. The whole to be clothed in red, with the exception of the corps of artillery, which may have blue clothing, and rifle corps, which may have green with black belts.

ALLOWANCE FOR CLOTHING.

£.	s.	d.	
3	3	9	for each serjeant.
1	12	0	for each corporal.
2	3	6	for each drummer.
1	10	0	for each private man.

And to be repeated at the end of three years; the serjeant-major, and 1 serjeant and 1 drummer *per* company to have clothing annually.

11. An annual allowance to be made for each company in lieu of every contingent expence heretofore defrayed by government, viz. 25l. for companies of fifty private men, with an additional allowance of 5l. for every ten private men beyond that number.

12. Field officers and adjutants to be allowed the tax or one horse each.

13. The pay-lists to be made up quarterly, viz. from the 25th December to the 24th March following; from 25th March to 24th June; from 25th June to 24th September; and from 25th September to 24th December, and to be transmitted by post, under cover, addressed to the Secretary at War.

14. A general agent will be immediately appointed by government to act for the whole of the volunteer corps receiving pay, and the necessary instructions on that head will be circulated from the War Office to the respective commandants.

Regulations, during War, for the Cloathing, Appointments, and the Allowance for Contingent Expences, of Corps of Yeomanry and Volunteer Cavalry.

1. Every officer, non-commissioned officer, and private man, to take the oath of allegiance and fidelity to his Majesty.

2. Every troop to consist of not less than forty rank and file, which comprehends corporals and privates only.

3. Three pounds *per* man for effectives, will be allowed annually for cloathing and appointments, and issued for three years at once, if required; and the sum of 120*l. per* troop, *per annum*, at the disposal of the commandant, to be in lieu of the pay of serjeants and trumpeters, and of every other charge of whatsoever description, heretofore defrayed by government.

4. Constant pay, at the rate of 6s. *per diem*, to be allowed for an adjutant to corps of three troops and upwards.

5. Serjeants receiving constant pay, and all trumpeters (or bugle men) receiving pay, either at a daily or weekly rate, to be attested and made subject to military law, until they shall be regularly discharged by the commandants.

6. If a corps, or any part thereof, shall be called upon in cases of riot or disturbance, the charge of constant pay to be made for such services, must be at the rate specified below, being the pay of the regular cavalry, and be supported by a certificate from his Majesty's lieutenant, or the sheriff of the county.—Captain 14s. 7d.; lieutenant 9s.; cornet 8s.; quarter-master 5s. 6d.; adjutant 10s.; serjeant-major, including 9d. for a horse, 3s. 11d.: serjeant ditto 2s. 11d.; corporal ditto 2s. 4½d.; trumpeter ditto 2s. 4d.; private ditto 2s. *per diem.*

Such troops as have received the reduced cloathing allowance of 2l. *per* man, for the years 1802 and 1803, may, upon the application of the commandants, receive the difference between that allowance and the augmented rate above specified.

"*Lloyd's, London, 20th July*, 1803.

"The merchants, underwriters, and other ſubſcribers to this houſe, having this day met for the purpoſe of ſetting on foot a general ſubſcription on an extended ſcale, for the encouragement and relief of thoſe, who may be engaged in the defence of the country, and who may ſuffer in the common cauſe; and of thoſe who may ſignalize themſelves during the preſent moſt important conteſt.

"And feeling confident, that when our very exiſtence as a great and independent nation is at ſtake, it only becomes neceſſary to point out any means by which the exertion of our native ſpirit, and the application of our powerful reſources, may receive an additional ſtimulus; they beg leave to ſubmit to the liberal conſideration of their fellow-ſubjects the following reſolutions, which have been unanimouſly paſſed at this meeting, and preſume to hope, that the object of this ſubſcription will be ſo promoted and ſanctioned by public bodies in general—by the higher ranks, and opulent claſſes of ſociety—and by individuals of every deſcription, that the mite of the labourer, combining with the munificent donation of the noble and wealthy, ſhall be the beſt pledge of our unanimity—ſhall inſpire our ſeamen, our ſoldiers, our countrymen at large, with a well-grounded confidence in the liberality and gratitude of the community; and ſhall impreſs on the minds of our enemies the appalling conviction, that the energies of this great empire are irreſiſtible, as its reſources are incalculable.

BROOK WATSON, Eſq. in the chair.

"On a motion made, the following reſolutions being produced, were read, and paſſed unanimouſly.

"Reſolved, That in a conjuncture when the vital intereſts of our country, when the peculiar bleſſings which, under our beloved ſovereign and happy conſtitution, endear our ſocial ſtate, are involved in the iſſue of the preſent conteſt, when we are menaced by an enemy, whoſe haughty preſumption is grounded only on the preſent unfortunate poſition of the continental powers, and when we ſeem to be placed, for the moment, as the laſt barrier againſt the total ſubjugation of Europe by the overbearing influence of France—it behoves us to meet our ſituation as men—as freemen—but, above all, as Britons. On this alone, with the Divine aid, depends our exemption from the yoke of Gallic deſpotiſm—on this alone depends, under the ſame protecting power, whether this empire ſhall remain what it has for ages been, the ſtrenuous ſupporter of religion and morals, the aſſertor of its own, and the guardian of the liberties of mankind, the nurſe of induſtry, the protector of the arts and ſciences, the example and admiration of the world—or whether it ſhall become an obſequious tributary, an enſlaved, a plundered, and degraded department of a foreign nation.

"Reſolved, That to give more effect and energy to the meaſures adopted by government for the defence of our liberties, our lives, and property—to add weight to thoſe perſonal exertions we are all readily diſpoſed to contribute, it behoves us to hold out every encouragement to our fellow-ſubjects, who may be in any way inſtrumental in repelling or annoying our implacable foe, and to prove to them that we are ready to drain both our purſes and our veins in the great cauſe which imperiouſly calls on us to unite the duties of loyalty and patriotiſm, with the ſtrongeſt efforts of zealous exertion.

"Reſolved, That to animate the efforts of our defenders by ſea and land, it is expedient to raiſe, by the patriotiſm of the community at large, a ſuitable fund for their comfort and relief—for the purpoſe of aſſuaging the anguiſh of their wounds, or palliating in ſome degree the more weighty misfortune of the loſs of limbs—of alleviating the diſtreſſes of the widow and orphan—of ſmoothing the brow of ſorrow for the fall of their deareſt relatives, the props of unhappy indigence or helpleſs age—and of granting pecuniary rewards or honourable badges of diſtinction, for ſucceſsful exertions of valour or merit.

"Reſolved, That a ſubſcription, embracing all the objects of the foregoing reſolution, be now opened: and to ſet an example to the public bodies throughout the united kingdom and its dependencies, and to our fellow ſubjects of every claſs and denomination, that, independently of our individual contributions, the ſum of twenty thouſand pounds three *per cent.* conſolidated annuities, part of the funded property of this ſociety, ſhall be appropriated to this purpoſe.

"Reſolved, That on Friday the 29th inſtant, at twelve o'clock preciſely, a general meeting of the ſubſcribers to this fund be held at this houſe, for the purpoſe of appointing their committee, and that the committee of the houſe be requeſted to become, and they are hereby conſtituted a committee, *ad interim*, for the receipt and management of the ſubſcriptions, and other purpoſes expreſſed in theſe reſolutions.

"Reſolved, That the committee of this houſe, and the bankers in the metropolis, and in the cities and towns of the united kingdom, be requeſted to receive ſubſcriptions, and that ſuch part of the fund as ſhall not be uſed for the purpoſes now intended, be returned in proportion to the ſums ſubſcribed.

"Reſolved, That all ſums, however ſmall, which ſhall be offered by the patriotiſm of the poorer claſſes of our fellow-ſubjects, ſhall be accepted—the cauſe affecting equally the liberties and lives of perſons of every deſcription."

To the laſting honour of ſuch a reſpectable body be

be it recorded, that the subscriptions at this place only, amounted in the course of ten days to ninety-four thousand two hundred and twelve pounds four shillings and sixpence, exclusively of what was collected in the different wards, and the other parts of the metropolis.

This also proved the important discovery, that the fund of public spirit was inexhaustible; it had been justly roused; and therefore for an enemy, however powerful, however *invincible*, to conquer a nation so politically, so mentally strong, argued a rash hazard, without a distant hope of success. They would find to their cost, that the energy and activity of a great and prosperous empire, would be exerted to the last degree in preventing the subjugation they so ardently, so desperately wished.

A very excellent establishment of the sea fencibles now took place, and being intended to comprize all fishermen, and other persons employed in the ports and on the coast, who, from their occupations, were not liable to be impressed for government service: forty-eight post captains, and a proportionate number of lieutenants, were appointed to conduct this important service, from which, and from its arrangement, the most beneficial purposes were expected. The different rendezvous of this force were disposed in the following order: Shoreham, four captains; Hastings, New Romney, Dover, Ramsgate, Margate, Maldon, Harwich, Aldborough, Yarmouth, Lynn, Boston, Barton, Hull, Whitby, Hartlepoole, Berwick and Leith, three captains each; Breding, Stokes Bay, Poole, Weymouth, Exmouth, Dartmouth, Fowey, Falmouth and Haverford West, three captains each; St. Mary's, Scilly, Minehead and Swansea, two captains each.

When we contemplate the wisdom of the plans brought forward, and the zeal and activity with which they were executed, the threat of invasion must appear a sort of machine, employed merely to distract, if possible, the operations of the British ministry; and ultimately alarm the imbecility of old age or infancy. "Thus the prudent precaution, and sound policy of the British nation, in making timely preparations to meet an evil that appeared unavoidable, was not less conspicuous, than the impudent rashness of France, in precipitating herself into a ruinous war, in expectation of an issue which may be classed among improbabilities of the first magnitude *."

But the advantages which France might derive from the conquest of Britain, and the junction of the naval force of this country with her own military strength, were so obvious, and of such unparalleled magnitude, that it was no wonder her governor should form the vast design. The project was consistent with his enterprising character, and its success would be the consummation of his plan. The conquest of Britain would have placed the name of Bonaparte above the names of Alexander and Cæsar, as well as all the heroes of antient and modern times.

The most adventurous projector must, however, be well aware, that the conquest of a country possessing an insular situation, and covering the surrounding seas with a naval force beyond comparison, superior to any the enemy can ever display upon that element, must be an enterprize almost too hazardous to be admitted into political speculation, and certainly too difficult to be attempted, except by a rash and desperate enemy, who should be determined to hazard every thing, and to sacrifice fleets and armies in an expedition which could not promise any other than an unsuccessful issue.

The display of British courage and patriotism which we have already noticed, formed a system in which was involved numberless advantages of the greatest magnitude; among others, it exhibited an unequivocal proof of the attachment of Britons to the monarch, the government, the laws, and the essential parts of the constitution of this country; whilst it extinguished the hopes of the disaffected, and annihilated the expectations which might be formed of rising on the ruins of their country.

A pointed instance of such a disposition was shewn at a very numerous meeting of merchants, bankers, traders, and other inhabitants of London and its neighbourhood, held at the Royal Exchange †, in consequence of public advertisement, when the following declaration was proposed and unanimously resolved upon:

"We the merchants, bankers, traders, and other inhabitants of London and its neighbourhood, deem it our bounden duty, at the present momentous period, to make public our *unanimous* determination to *stand* or *fall* with our *King and Country*.

"The independence and existence of the British empire—the safety, the liberty, the life of every man in the kingdom are at stake. The events, perhaps, of a few months, *certainly* of a few years, are to determine whether we and our children are to continue *freemen* and *members* of the most flourishing community in the world, or whether we are to be the *slaves* of our most implacable enemies—*themselves* the *slaves* of a foreign usurper?

"We look on this great crisis without dismay. We have the most firm reliance on the spirit and virtue of the people of this country. We believe that there exists a firmer as well as nobler courage than any which rapine can inspire, and we cannot entertain such gloomy and unworthy apprehensions of the moral order of the world, as to think that so admirable a quality can be the *exclusive* attribute of freebooters or slaves. We fight for our *laws* and *liberties*—to defend the *dearest* hopes of our *children*—to maintain the unspotted glory which we have inherited from our ancestors—to guard from

* *England's Letters*, p. 99.

† July 26th, 1803.

outrage and ſhame thoſe whom nature has entruſted with our protection—to preſerve the honour and exiſtence of the country that gave us birth.

" We fight for that conſtitution and ſyſtem of ſociety, which is at once the nobleſt monument and the firmeſt bulwark of civilization!—We fight to preſerve the *whole earth* from the barbarous yoke of military deſpotiſm!—We fight for the independence of all nations, even of thoſe who are the moſt indifferent to our fate, or the moſt blindly jealous of our proſperity!

" In ſo *glorious* a cauſe—in the defence of theſe dear and ſacred objects, we truſt the God of our fathers will inſpire us with a *valour* which will be more than equal to the daring ferocity of thoſe who are lured, by the hope of plunder, to fight the battles of ambition.

" His Majeſty is about to call upon his people to arm in their own defence. We *truſt*, and we *believe*, that he will *not* call on them in *vain*—that the freemen of this land, going forth in the righteous cauſe of their country, under the bleſſing of Almighty God, will inflict the moſt ſignal chaſtiſement on thoſe who have dared to threaten our deſtruction—a chaſtiſement, of which the memory will long guard the ſhores of this iſland, and which may not only vindicate the honour, and eſtabliſh the ſafety of the Britiſh empire, but may alſo, to the lateſt poſterity, ſerve as an example to ſtrike terror into tyrants, and to give courage and hope to inſulted and oppreſſed nations.

" For the attainment of theſe *great* ends, it is neceſſary that we ſhould not only be an *unanimous*, but a *zealous*, an *ardent*, an *unconquerable* people—that we ſhould conſider the public ſafety as the chief intereſt of every individual—that every man ſhould deem the ſacrifice of his fortune and his life to his country, as nothing more than his duty—that no man ſhould murmur at any exertions or privations which this *awful* criſis may impoſe upon him—that we ſhould regard faintneſs or langour in the *common* cauſe as the baſeſt treachery—that we ſhould go into the field with an unſhaken reſolution to *conquer* or to *die*—and that we ſhould look upon nothing as a calamity compared with the ſubjugation of our country.

" We have moſt ſacred duties to perform—we have moſt invaluable bleſſings to preſerve—we have to *gain* glory and ſafety, or to incur indelible diſgrace, and to fall into irretrievable ruin. Upon *our* efforts will depend the triumph of liberty over deſpotiſm—of national independence over projects of univerſal empire—and, finally, of civilization itſelf over barbariſm.

" At *ſuch* a moment we deem it our duty ſolemnly to bind ourſelves to each other, and to our countrymen, in the moſt ſacred manner, that we will employ all our exertions to *rouſe* the *ſpirit*, and to aſſiſt the reſources of the kingdom—that we will be ready with our ſervices of *every* ſort, and on *every* occaſion, in its defence—and that we will rather periſh together, than to live to ſee the honour of the Britiſh name tarniſhed, or that *noble* inheritance of greatneſs, glory, and liberty deſtroyed, which has deſcended to us from our forefathers, and which we are determined to tranſmit to our poſterity.

" JACOB BOSANQUET, Chairman."

The aſſembly that voted the above patriotic declaration, conſiſted of between four and five thouſand of the moſt opulent and reſpectable of the mercantile intereſt.

This was a manifeſtation degrading to the arrogant threat of the enemy; at the ſame time that it proudly expreſſed what was poſſible to be effected, in more inſtances than one, by, as they were indignantly called, " A NATION OF SHOPKEEPERS!"

CHAP. IV.

General Reflections on the Situation of Ireland.—Strictures on the Oppreſſion of its Inhabitants.—Particulars of the Riot in Dublin—and the Murder of Lord Kilwarden.

IT is with great regret, after exhibiting ſo intereſting a ſcene, ſuch a lively and pleaſing reſemblance of the harmony, happineſs, and vigorous exertions of the ſubjects of Great Britain, that we are compelled to reverſe the picture, and contemplate objects repugnant to our feelings, only proper for execration, and of that cruel and malignant nature, of which to think appals humanity.

In the latter Chapters of our Firſt Book, we have, in as conciſe a manner as poſſible, drawn an outline of the political œconomy, the manners of the people, and the general intereſts of Ireland; it is neceſſary in this place, preparatory to the relation of thoſe circumſtances which engage our preſent attention, to make ſuch deductions from hiſtorical facts, as may be eſſential to illuſtrate the ſubject of the narrative.

A ſyſtem of degradation and grievance, whatever the oſtenſible pretenſions to the contrary, has certainly been the prevailing policy of the Engliſh government towards the Iriſh, from the time of their conqueſt by Henry II. to a very recent period.

The unhappy conſequence has been a jealouſy of the power that illiberally excluded, inſtead of affording equal protection; and a fear originating from the harſh treatment adminiſtered upon the leaſt ſymptom of a juſtifiable diſaffection. A violation of public faith, a contempt for all decency and right, and a marked indifference for the comforts, the prejudices, the property, and very lives of the great

The Attack upon Lord Kilwarden in the late Insurrection

great bulk of the Iriſh nation, had been manifeſted, with very few exceptions, by thoſe who had been entruſted with the management of its general concerns.

Surely then a people ſo circumſtanced, ſo oppreſſed, could not but be affected by a ſenſe of their depreſſed ſituation. An immoderate paſſion for theoretical ſyſtems, fomented by the French revolution, was introduced and entertained, and, like an epidemic malady that ſpares no country, inflicted in Ireland its moſt cruel ravages.

This malady, however deplorable as was the ſtate of the country, affected only the lower claſſes; thoſe of more exalted ranks in life, though they regretted the aggravated inſult beſtowed on their country, only hoped for better times, and exerted their influence in maintaining the loyalty of their oppreſſed fellow-ſubjects, and in conciliating to their feelings, thoſe acts of legiſlation to which they were compelled to yield.

Among the other orders of people, the indiſcretion of the governing powers, had permitted the introduction of publications, derogatory to the real intereſts of ſociety; and though deluſive in their poſitions, and proved to be fallacious and ruinous; yet operated to excite doubt, to countenance diſaffection, and to rouſe that doubt and diſaffection into revolt and rebellion.

But inſtead of uſing the prudence and management which might have reclaimed the inſurgents, and reſtored to their government the miſled populace of a diſtracted country; the meaſures purſued were unjuſt, revolting to the dictates of humanity, and rigorous without reſtriction.

Martial law, indiſcriminate puniſhments, and inquiſitorial means, were uſed to extort confeſſions, which had probably no ground, but in the torments of the ſufferers; theſe proceedings hunted the Iriſh into wilds and mountains, whence, aſſuming the demeanour of their anceſtors, they burſt forth in parties of deſperadoes, and ſcoured the country where they could truſt to no ſecurity, and were excluded every hope of pardon.

Had ſuch of theſe proſcribed beings as were caſually ſeized, been treated with magnanimity, ſuch a conduct might have operated, at leaſt, to have excited gratitude, and returning loyalty; but, on the contrary, they were loaded with ignominy, whipped like ſlaves, and immolated like ſavage beaſts. Conduct like this, irritated beyond reparation; and though the rebellion was ſubdued by ſuperior force, the tempers of the relatives to the ſlain were fixed in diſaffection; and when to this was joined what they were taught to imagine the religious and civil rights of their country, they only waited an opportunity to wreak their vengeance, and again hurl their country into horrid confuſion and maſſacre.

A circumſtance has been mentioned *, not very eaſily to be accounted for, on any other ground than that of a negligence as inconceivable as it is reprehenſible, which had nearly deprived the crown of its moſt valuable appendage, and Great Britain of its beſt ſupport.

A rabble promiſcuouſly aſſembled, of little account in point of numbers, and of leſs in talents and diſcipline, threw the metropolis of Ireland into the utmoſt confuſion; if they had been better marſhalled and leſs impetuous, had the conduct and arrangement of the enterprize borne any proportion to the boldneſs of the deſign, the condition of ſubject and ſovereign might probably have been reverſed, and government felt the neceſſity of ſubmiſſion to a revengeful populace who had experienced oppreſſion; but happily the execution was as pitiful as the plan was gigantic; and to this circumſtance alone, the ſalvation of Ireland at this time, is to be attributed. The good effects of the Union had not yet been underſtood—its benevolent principles had not been inveſtigated; and as it would be unjuſt to attribute to any one cauſe, the evils which Ireland in general had ſuffered, we muſt generally aſcribe thoſe calamities to a concatenation of occurrences, as inexplicable in themſelves, as their conſequences were horrible.

Be theſe circumſtances as they may, they were productive of a riot in Dublin, which exhibited the moſt ſavage atrocity.

On Thurſday, the 21ſt of July, and the day following, it had been obſerved, that the roads leading from the county of Kildare into Dublin, were frequented by more than an ordinary proportion of travellers of the lower claſs of people. On Saturday morning, the diſtrict of the city upon that ſide called the Liberty, wore a very ſuſpicious appearance. Thomas Street and High Street, which are upon the line directly leading to the Caſtle, were, in a manner, crowded with a great number of ſuſpicious characters. Information having been ſent to Major Sirr, of theſe extraordinary circumſtances, he diſpatched a party of the police, for the purpoſe of preſerving the peace in that quarter: but the police being reſiſted in the execution of their duty, and finding a diſpoſition to riot, which they were unable to quell, they returned for aſſiſtance †.

* *Miles's Letter to the Earl of Wycombe, on the preſent State of Ireland.* Introd. p. xxiv.

† It ſeems to have been the intention of the rebels, to have lain in wait until night—and then, ſallying forth, to ſtorm the Caſtle, to take poſſeſſion of the magazine in the Phœnix Park, carry the barracks by aſſault, and to poſſeſs themſelves of the artillery at Chapelizod. Theſe points once carried, the whole city of Dublin would be completely in their power; and a more judicious place could not be choſen for the purpoſe, than Thomas Street, which is in the centre of all theſe points. The Caſtle is diſtant from it about a furlong; the barracks about a quarter of a mile; the magazine in the park, half a mile; and Chapelizod, about a mile and a half.

From

From the viſit of the police, it appears the rebels ſuſpected their plan was diſcovered, and that a ſuperior force might be immediately expected to attack them, and prevent its execution. Judging, therefore, that no time was to be loſt, they reſolved upon immediate action. At this critical moment, about a quarter before eight in the evening, Lord Kilwarden's poſt-chaiſe had reached the Market-Houſe *, a large detached ſtone building, ſtanding at the end of Thomas Street, next the Caſtle. In the carriage were Lord Kilwarden, his niece, Miſs Wolfe, and his nephew, the Rev. Richard Wolfe. His Lordſhip was ſoon recognized; and, juſt as the carriage came along the Market-Houſe, a mob, hitherto concealed, ruſhed upon it in every direction, armed with guns, blunderbuſſes, pikes, ſwords, &c. Some ſeized the horſes by the head, and dragged the poſtillion from his ſeat; while others ruſhed to each ſide of the carriage, and opened the doors; Miſs Wolfe ſat between her uncle and brother, who were dragged out by the inhuman fiends from her ſide, one from each door. In a ſtate of diſtraction, and terrified by the horrid banditti who ſurrounded the carriage, Miſs Wolfe jumped out, and was received in the arms of one more humane than the reſt, who carried her through the crowd unhurt, to an oppoſite houſe, where ſhe remained ſecreted until four o'clock on Sunday morning, ſhe was then conveyed to the Caſtle, where ſhe remained. While ſome of the moſt ferocious were dragging Lord Kilwarden and Mr. Wolfe out of the carriage, others were employed in murdering them. Lord Kilwarden was carried to the watch houſe in Vicar Street, where Major Swan ſaw him lying on the guard-bed, dreadfully lacerated. His Lordſhip, although nearly expiring at the time, knew the Major, and appeared perfectly in his ſenſes. He eagerly enquired as to the fate of his nicce, and being aſſured by the Major of her ſafety, he exclaimed, with an emotion of gratitude to Heaven—"Thank God!" A military gentleman preſent, naturally filled with indignation, obſerved, that every man taken with a pike in his hands, ought to be inſtantly hanged, which Lord Kilwarden overhearing, with that humanity which diſtinguiſhed him through life, turned to Major Swan, and moſt impreſſively exhorted him "to let no man be hanged without being brought to trial."

The alarm being immediately given, the drums beat to arms through the city, and the military marched in all directions to the ſcene of riot. A party of ſoldiers from the Caſtle came up, and charged the rebels with great ſpirit; but, being overpowered by numbers, and the rebels keeping up a ſtrong and well-directed fire, they were repulſed with loſs. This party conſiſted of a detachment of the twenty-firſt regiment, under the command of colonel Brown and major Stewart; the remainder of the regiment coming up at this moment, and being further aided by a ſtrong detachment of yeomanry, the whole rallied, and charged the rebels again, but were again repulſed. The military, taken by ſurprize, had brought but a few rounds of ammunition, conſequently, as ſoon as that was expended, they were obliged to reſort to the bayonet. The rebels, on the other hand, being well armed with pikes, ſtood this charge with firmneſs, and repulſed the ſoldiery a ſecond time. Freſh forces, however, continually pouring in, the army rallied, and made a third vigorous charge. A moſt deſperate fight now commenced. The rebels were driven back the whole length of Thomas Street; but, in the mean time, rebel ſuccours were coming up from various parts of the Liberty, on the rear of the army, who, to avoid being ſurrounded, fell back again towards the Caſtle. The rebels preſſed upon them, until they came into a narrow ſpace, where they could not bring their whole force to bear with effect, while a terrible fire was kept upon them by freſh forces of the army and yeomanry. The rebels, unable to make head, at length retreated in all directions, leaving behind a great number of their dead in the ſtreets. The battle laſted from a quarter after eight, until nearly eleven; during all which time, the King's forces had not only to contend with the rebels in the ſtreets, but alſo with great numbers who were ſtationed in the houſes, and fired upon them from the windows; while others fired or threw down bricks and ſtones from the roofs. It is thought more of the military were killed by the rebels from the houſes, than by their opponents in the ſtreets. In the number of killed, was colonel Brown of the twenty-firſt, which regiment bore the brunt of the action, and, of courſe, ſuffered moſt. During the remainder of Saturday night, all the principal ſtreets of Dublin, and the principal avenues leading to it, were guarded by the military, conſiſting of the troops of the line, militia, yeomanry, and volunteers. A double guard was placed upon the Caſtle, and ſeveral pieces of artillery were ſtationed at the ſeveral gates. A ſtrong force alſo continued to parade through Thomas Street and other parts of the Liberty. Several men were killed or wounded by ſhots from the windows or tops of the neighbouring houſes, but no farther riot took place, and ſeveral rebels were ſecured. In this manner paſſed the remainder of Saturday night. On Sunday morning, the dead bodies of the rebels were taken up in the ſtreets, and a great number of carts were employed in carrying them to the Caſtle-yard, for the purpoſe of having them identified. In the number were ſeveral

* Lord Kilwarden had, a few hours before, ſet out for his country ſeat at Newlands, but was overtaken by an expreſs, recalling him; and had reached Thomas Street, upon his return, ſhortly after the party of police had retired.

veral women, who were found with pikes and ſtones in their hands. One corpſe particularly attracted attention. It was the body of an old man, upwards of ſeventy, a ſhoe-maker, well known in the Liberty. He was bare-footed and bare-legged. He had been ſhot through the body, and lay upon the ground with a large knife in each hand. The dead bodies appeared to be of the loweſt orders of ſociety, a mixture of low mechanics, inhabitants of the Liberty, and labourers from the counties of Dublin and Kildare, without any perſon of decent appearance among them. The whole body of the rebels, it is ſuppoſed, were of the ſame deſcription. As the charge of the rebels was irregular and tumultuous, it does not appear that they had any commander. The rebels who had been taken and lodged in the various priſons and watch-houſes were then examined, and in conſequence of diſcoveries made by ſome of them, pikes to a great amount, were found in an extreme part of the Liberty, called Dolphin's Barn, and alſo in ſeveral parts of that diſtrict of the Liberty called the Coombe.

CHAP. V.

Account of the Atrocities in Dublin continued.—The Riots ſubdued.—Concluding Reflections.

IT appears extraordinary, that the government of Ireland ſhould have been ſurprized by an ill-armed mob; and if, as it ſhould have been, it was well apprized of the temper of a people, whoſe rebellious ſpirit had been ſmothered but not extinguiſhed; ſuch an outrage, does not allow any compliment to the executive power, either for its capacity or vigilance.

We will not enter into the probability of what might have happened, had the rebels ſucceeded, but return to the recital of the meaſures which the imperative circumſtances of this time demanded.

The privy council was immediately aſſembled, and ſat a conſiderable time, when additional precautions were taken for the preſervation of the city; and the yeomanry appeared every where in great numbers, ready to act with ſpirit and alacrity, in defence of their country and conſtitution, againſt the atrocious attempts of a lawleſs banditti.

The conſequence of the deliberations of the council, was the publication of the following ſpirited proclamation, which was diſperſed next day:

"*By the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland.*

"*Hardwicke,*

"Whereas divers perſons, engaged in a treaſonable and daring inſurrection againſt his Majeſty's government, did, on the evening of yeſterday, the 23d of July laſt, ſuddenly aſſemble in the liberties of Dublin, with fire arms and pikes, and did there commit ſeveral outrages, and particularly in Thomas Street, in the pariſh of St. Catharine, within the ſaid liberties, did aſſault the carriage of the right honourable Arthur Lord Viſcount Kilwarden, chief juſtice of his Majeſty's court of King's Bench, and one of his Majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, and did drag the ſaid Arthur Lord Viſcount Kilwarden, together with his nephew, the Rev. Richard Wolfe, Clerk, from his ſaid carriage, and did there baſely and inhumanly murder the ſaid Arthur Lord Viſcount Kilwarden and Richard Wolfe, by ſtabbing them reſpectively with pikes in various parts of their bodies, of which wounds they both ſoon after died.

"Now we, the Lord Lieutenant and council, in order to bring ſuch enormous offenders to condign puniſhment, do, by this our proclamation, publiſh and declare, that if any perſon or perſons ſhall, within ſix calendar months from the date hereof, diſcover any of the perſon or perſons who committed the ſaid inhuman murders on the ſaid Arthur Lord Viſcount Kilwarden and the ſaid Rev. Richard Wolfe, or either of them, or who aided and aſſiſted therein, or who adviſed, encouraged, inſtigated, moved, ſtimulated, or incited the perſons concerned therein to commit the ſame, ſuch perſon or perſons ſo diſcovering, ſhall receive as a reward, the ſum of one thouſand pounds ſterling, for each and every of the firſt three perſons who ſhall be apprehended and convicted thereof.

"And we do likewiſe publiſh and declare, that if any of the perſons concerned in the murders aforeſaid, ſave and except the perſons who actually ſtabbed the ſaid Lord Viſcount Kilwarden and the Rev. Richard Wolfe, or either of them, as aforeſaid, ſhall diſcover any other of the perſons concerned in the ſaid murders, or either of them, ſo that ſuch perſon or perſons ſo diſcovered, ſhall be convicted thereof, ſuch perſon or perſons ſo diſcovering ſhall, over and above the ſaid reward, receive his Majeſty's moſt gracious pardon for ſaid offences.

"And whereas it has appeared to us, that the daring and rebellious outrages aforeſaid, were committed in proſecution of a rebellious conſpiracy againſt his Majeſty's government, and that divers other enormities were at the ſame time committed in Thomas Street aforeſaid, and in the neighbourhood thereof, in proſecution of the ſame treaſonable purpoſe, and that divers of the perſons engaged therein, did come to Dublin, with intent to commit ſuch outrages and enormities, in order to induce and perſuade his Majeſty's peaceable and loyal ſubjects in the city of Dublin and its neighbourhood, by the terror thereof, and by apprehenſions for their own perſonal ſafety, to join in the treaſonable conſpiracy aforeſaid.

"Now we the Lord Lieutenant and council do hereby ſtrictly enjoin and command all his Majeſty's ſubjects, in their ſeveral ſtations, and according to their ſeveral duties, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs all ſuch rebellious inſurrections and treaſonable practices, and to apprehend and bring the perſons engaged therein to the puniſhment due to their crimes; and more eſpecially, we do ſtrictly enjoin and command the Lord Mayor of the city of Dublin, and all the juſtices of the peace of the ſaid city of Dublin, and of the county of Dublin, and all ſheriffs and other magiſtrates and officers within their ſeveral juriſdictions, and all other his Majeſty's loving ſubjects, to do all acts in their power to ſuch purpoſes.

"And, we do hereby further require and command all officers commanding his Majeſty's forces, to employ the troops under their command in the moſt ſpeedy and effectual manner, for the ſuppreſſion of all rebellious inſurrections and treaſonable practices, wherever the ſame may appear, and particularly to diſarm all rebels, and recover all arms forcibly and traitorouſly taken from his Majeſty's peaceable and loyal ſubjects, and take up and ſeize all arms and ammunition, which may be found in the cuſtody of any perſon or perſons, not duly authoriſed by law to have and keep the ſame.

"Given at the council chamber, in Dublin, the 24th of July, 1803.

"(Signed) Redeſdale, C. Cha^{s} Dublin, W. Tuam, Drogheda, Ely, Arran, Anneſley, Tyrawley, Her. Langriſhe, Denis Browne, Henry King, S. Hamilton, St. George Daly, D. La Touche, James Fitzgerald, M. Fitzgerald, H. E. Fox, M. Smith, Standiſh O'Grady."

The magiſtracy of Dublin were equally vigilant; they immediately called a board, and publiſhed a reſolution, purporting, that from the recent diſturbances which have diſgraced this city, the magiſtrates felt it a duty incumbent on them to put the inſurrection acts in force as during the late rebellion, and therefore thought proper to apprize the inhabitants thereof; and required them not to be out of their reſpective habtations, after eight o'clock, as preſcribed by ſaid acts.

In conſequence of theſe ſpirited exertions, the moſt prompt aſſiſtance was afforded to government. A party of military and yeomanry, under the command of colonel Brown, attacked a body of rebels in Francis Street, whom they drove before them down the Coombe, with great ſlaughter; but colonel Brown and two members of the Liberty Rangers, Mr. Edmiſton and Mr. Parker, were unfortunately killed in the conflict; two others were dangerouſly wounded. Nor did the rebels diſperſe till many of them were killed, wounded, and taken priſoners.

By the activity of government, *depots* of various kinds were now diſcovered: in one was taken thirty thouſand pikes; in others, ammunition to a great amount, and made up for various purpoſes, all after French patterns.

Many ſuſpected perſons were taken into cuſtody; and among others, a decent dreſſed perſon, at the corner of Angleſea Street, in College Green, who appeared to be a French ſpy.

Whatever may have been the intentions of the French government, whether by ſpies to foment diſſention, or by more open hoſtility to endeavour at the ſeparation of Ireland from the mother country, their inſidious purpoſes providentially failed. The ranks of loyalty ſtrengthened every moment; the treaſon of murderous depredators was vanquiſhed, and tranquillity was reſtored to a metropolis ſeemingly devoted to deſtruction.

It appears, however, that immediately previous to the inſurrectionary exploſion, many printed papers were circulated by the rebels; one a ſhort declamatory exhortation, in the ſtyle of Sheares's addreſs in the late rebellion, but not ſo well written; the other large as the page of a newſpaper, containing five columns, and entitled, "THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND," ſo that though the inſurrection was happily ſuppreſſed, the conſpiracy was moſt deeply and miſchievouſly contrived; the leaders of the faction only waited their opportunity to have involved their country in incalculable devaſtation and miſery. This was evident from the conduct of the rabble at the Manſion Houſe, they attacked the building with fire arms, and having ruſhed violently in, they threatened to murder every opponent to their plunder of fire arms, halberts, &c. which they were in ſearch of.

Mr. Wilſon, a juſtice of the peace, and brother to Mr. W. Wilſon, a bookſeller, had been wounded in the belly in Dirty Lane, by a villain, whom he, however, ſhot dead upon the ſpot. The ſame gentleman, with Mr. juſtice Bell, apprehended ſeven perſons armed with pikes, in New Street, and notwithſtanding his wound, to his credit be it read, he could not be perſuaded by his friends to deſiſt from the diſcharge of his public duty.

A number of the rebels attacked the guard-houſe near juſtice Drury's, on the Coombe, but by the exertions of the ſame magiſtrate, aided by a party of the military, many of them were killed or wounded, and a number taken priſoners. On the retreat of the remainder, they threw down a great many pikes, which they left on the ground.

Thus, as in all other inſtances, the traitorous aſſaſſins became cowards. The iniquity of their cauſe could not afford them ſufficient courage to uphold their villainy; and they precipitately receded before the government they had ſo wantonly offended.

The ſcene which preſented itſelf after this exhibition

hibition of indiſcriminate carnage, was of the moſt melancholy appearance, all was terror and confuſion; and many of the deluded miſcreants were ſeen dead in the different ſtreets. The privy council continued ſitting, when additional precautions were taken for the preſervation of the city; and the yeomanry appeared every where in great numbers, ready to act in defence of their country, againſt the perfidious deſigns of a foreign enemy, or the more bold and aſſuming menace of a miſguided, though inveterate part of the ſubjects of their own country. Such patriotiſm merits that commendation which it would be unjuſt for the pen of the hiſtorian to deny.

It does not appear that any atrocities were committed out of the city bounds, except that a party of the rebels attacked the guard of the mail, between Dublin and Naas, and being reſiſted, two ſoldiers unfortunately loſt their lives.

The ſituation of Ireland might have been unſatisfactory; the defects in its political organization might have been obvious to all, but not ſo the means of their removal; and it is matter of little ſurprize, that men ſhould form very oppoſite ideas reſpecting the remedies which an infirm ſyſtem required. The firſt endeavour ſhould be directed to reconcile different opinions, and unite them in a common object. Should theſe endeavours prove unſucceſsful, it were reaſonable to guard, by every juſt precaution, againſt deſigns which might endanger the general ſafety. But ſhould the laſt fatal neceſſity occur—if the ſword alone were doomed to decide national differences,—ſhould, alas! the clangor of war aſſume ſuch a deciſion—ſtill let that war be open, manly, and honourable!—much rather ſo, than that fellow countrymen ſhould be perſecuted and ſlaughtered—that countries ſhould be ravaged—or that the ſolemn ties of nature ſhould be violated or forgotten!

"It well behoves the people of Ireland, whom madneſs and revenge have endeavoured to ſeduce from their allegiance, their happineſs, and their intereſts, ſeriouſly to conſider what their civil and political condition would be under the ſanguinary and licentious dominion of a ſoldiery, long habituated to rapine and to murder, and whoſe unreſtrained fury would be to tear, to ſever aſunder, two kingdoms that have been connected for a ſeries of ages, who reciprocally ſuſtain and vivify each other, and who are irrevocably bound, by an union of national intercourſe—by an union of intereſts—by an union of internal as well as external appreciation—to ſhare each others deſtiny—whether it be of ſplendor or of adverſity!—whether of ſlavery, or that boundleſs of all benefits—of Freedom!"

CHAP. VI.

Various Meaſures uſed for internal Defence.—Plan for protecting the Metropolis.—Duke of York's Regulations, &c.

HAVING performed a melancholy part of our duty, by the retroſpect drawn of the Iriſh metropolis, and aſcribed to her that due ſhare of loyalty, which ſhe had ever ſhewn, interrupted only by an unaccountable impulſe of rapine and ſlaughter, which the lower ranks of her citizens evinced, we return to the more grateful aſpect which the Britiſh capital bore about this period.

The many profeſſions of loyalty which London had expreſſed, were now carried into execution. A regular mode of defence was adopted, and the propoſals of government were executed with alacrity.

The following Note was delivered to the Marquis of Titchfield, as Lord Lieutenant for the County of Middleſex, July 17th, 1803, by Lieutenant General Lord Cathcart, relative to the Fortifications of London and its Vicinity.

"It is in the contemplation of his majeſty's government, to provide the moſt effectual means for ſecuring the metropolis from the incurſion of an enemy, who, favoured by extraordinary fortune of war, might not only have eluded the diſpoſitions made by land and ſea to reſiſt invaſion, but being landed in ſuperior force, ſhould, through the ſame fortune, be enabled to penetrate into the country, near enough to the capital, at leaſt to occaſion apprehenſion for its ſecurity, if there were no precautions taken, and no plan made for its protection. Such a plan muſt not only be thoroughly digeſted, but muſt actually be put in a ſtate of preparation ſufficient to enſure the practicability of its being carried into effect, the moment appearances of danger may juſtify the expence and inconvenience, ſmall as theſe objects may be.

"Although the completion of the operations propoſed may for the preſent be poſtponed, it is nevertheleſs indiſpenſably neceſſary to proceed, without the delay of an hour, to make certain preparatory arrangements through the aid of the Lords Lieutenants of the adjacent counties, and even to mark out ſome ground relied upon in caſe of neceſſity, for the conſtruction of field works and batteries.

"His royal highneſs the commander in chief, has, in the courſe of laſt war, directed his thoughts to the conſideration of this ſubject; a moſt accurate military ſurvey has been made under the inſpection of an officer of the greateſt eminence and profeſſional ſkill and experience. The ſituation of every neceſſary work, battery, and line, has been aſcertained, the neceſſary guns and troops to guard and defend

theſe

theſe works have been calculated, as well as the number of hands neceſſary to complete them within a given period. The whole arrangement has undergone conſideration and reviſal for years, and is ripe for execution.

" It muſt afford the greateſt ſatisfaction to every well-wiſher to his country, to know that, in the opinion of all profeſſional men who have been conſulted, the means which nature has afforded to the cities of London and Weſtminſter of providing for their ſecurity, are beyond what have been found in the caſe of almoſt any city in the univerſe; that with due attention to the advantages to be made by ſuch poſitions as encircle them, and with the armed force which may be collected for their defence, and that amply ſupplied with proviſions, this capital may bid defiance to any invading force, at leaſt until ample time is given for the arrival of ſuch a power from the country as, when combined with the force within the lines, muſt be much more than ſufficient to exterminate any army that could be tranſported to England.

" Part of the line of defence alluded to in what has been ſaid, runs through the county of Middleſex in a ſemicircular form, beginning at the Thames near the mouth of the River Lea, and ending at the Thames above and near to Batterſea Bridge; it paſſes in its northern and north-weſtern direction, through Stratford-le-Bow, and near Clapton, along the high grounds which bound the marſhes on the right or weſtern bank of the River Lea, as far as the neighbourhood of Stamford Hill, when it quits the Lea, and takes a weſtern courſe, paſſing from near the turnpike on Stamford Hill, by Hornſey Wood, to the ridge extending by Mount Pleaſant, over the village of Crouch End, and from thence by the Sheep Houſe Ridge to Highgate and adjacents; from thence by Hampſtead and adjacents, towards Willſdon Green; here it changes its direction to the ſouth-weſt and ſouth, running down to the canal near the Red Houſe, then croſſing the canal near Kenſel Green, proceeding to Kenſington Gravel Pits, and Holland Houſe, paſſing near Little Chelſea, and reaching the Thames above Batterſea Bridge.

" The lord lieutenant having appointed a general meeting of the lieutenancy of the county of Middleſex, to be held on the 18th inſtant, for the purpoſe of carrying into effect certain proviſions of an act paſſed this ſeſſion of parliament, entitled, " An Act to enable his Majeſty more effectually to provide for the defence and ſecurity of the realm during the preſent war;" it becomes the duty of lieutenant general Lord Cathcart, in conſequence of orders given to him by his royal highneſs the commander in chief, as commanding the diſtrict in which that part of the county of Middleſex, through which the intended lines of defence paſs, is ſituated, to communicate with the lord lieutenant on this ſubject, and to requeſt that, in framing the arrangements for the country diviſions of the county of Middleſex, under the powers of the above recited act, according to the plan of eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of communication, and another plan for rendering the body of the people inſtrumental to the general defence propoſed by his Majeſty's principal ſecretary of ſtate for the war department; the lord lieutenant will be pleaſed to hold in view the peculiar circumſtance of the intended conſtruction of lines of defence.

" Whatever aſſiſtance might be rendered from the metropolis itſelf, or from the adjacent and inland counties within the line, in the event of completing the works (and ſuch aſſiſtance would doubtleſs be amply and ſyſtematically afforded), it is eſſentially requiſite, for the ſake of order, expedition, and regularity of payment, as well as protection of property, that all preparatory and incipient operation ſhould be made through the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants reſident upon and near the line of defence; for this reaſon it is to be wiſhed, that in appointing the lieutenants of diviſions, and inſpectors of hundreds, proviſion may be made to aſcertain as many points of communication near the reſidence of lieutenants of diviſions, or of inſpectors of hundreds, as poſſible, the ſame being contiguous to or within reach of the line. If the reſidence of gentlemen, accepting charges of lieutenants or inſpectors, do not ſuit this purpoſe, the inconvenience may be obviated by appointing inns, or places near inns, where poſt horſes may be had, and where letters or requiſitions may be addreſſed, and received and forwarded to the reſponſible perſon. Theſe places will alſo ſerve for rendezvous to the ſuperintendants of pariſhes, who will alſo have places of meeting for the agents they employ in their reſpective pariſhes.

" Thus a ſyſtem of moſt expeditious communication will be eſtabliſhed between the commanding general and the lieutenancy, and between the lieutenancy and the pariſhioners of the pariſhes in the adjacent hundreds: opportunities will be given to make thoſe who are expected to comply with the requiſitions, clearly underſtand the nature of the requiſitions likely to be propoſed to them, and to know the places where individuals may be deſired to aſſemble, or where materials may be collected and depoſited.

" With ſuch confidential perſons, implements neceſſary for works of this ſort, but not otherwiſe, to be found, will be depoſited: through their means in a few hours, the whole power of the pariſh may be collected, or in the firſt inſtance a few hands to mark out ground; and laſtly, through their means, proper notice and communication may be given or made to the owners and occupiers of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, intended to be meaſured, ſurveyed, or marked for the lines of defence, or any of the purpoſes of the above recited act.

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The ſame arrangements will alſo facilitate the payment of ſuch labour or materials as may be furniſhed. In the next place, and as ſoon as the ſyſtem of communication is completed, it will be neceſſary, with the utmoſt diſpatch, to prepare the regiſters of the pariſhes near the above-mentioned line, which muſt be made with reference to the object of the line of defence, as well as to the other objects ſet forth in the ſecretary of ſtate's letter. Theſe regiſters muſt ſpecify reſident gentlemen willing to attend to animate and encourage the work or given parts of the line; gardeners and others expert in, or habituated to, laying off and meaſuring ground, with remarks, diſtinguiſhing ſuperior abilities; ſmiths, maſters, and journeymen carpenters, ſawyers, and timber-merchants, willing to ſupply timber for platforms, and fit perſons to overlook their conſtruction and erection.

"Carts and teams, labourers, and tools, men who have been trained to great guns; the few men in each diviſion who would firſt be wanted to mark and meaſure ground, and proper attendance for that purpoſe with carts and ſtakes.

"When it is reflected upon, it muſt ſtrike every inhabitant that it muſt be much more agreeable to have a ſurvey of preparation of this ſort made by neighbours and acquaintances, in many caſes by their own ſervants and labourers, than by ſtrangers.

"But the object and its advantages are equally loſt, if the utmoſt diſpatch and celerity are not uſed in making all previous arrangements, and in proportion as theſe arrangements are completed, the ſecurity of the metropolis is inſured."

The means of defence having thus aſſumed a regular ſyſtem round the metropolis, other military diſtricts were ordered by his royal highneſs the Duke York, as commander in chief: thus,

The northern diſtrict, comprehending Northumberland, Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, and Durham, were put under the command of Sir H. Dalrymple; the York diſtrict, comprehending Yorkſhire and Lincolnſhire, under the command of lieutenant general Lord Mulgrave; the eaſtern diſtrict, comprehending Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeſhire, Huntingdonſhire and Eſſex, under the command of lieutenant-general Sir J. H. Craig, K. B.; the ſouthern diſtrict, comprehending Kent, Surrey, Southwark, Rotherhithe, Lambeth, and the bills of mortality, and ſuch other parts as came within any plan for the immediate defence of London and Suſſex, by general Sir D. Dundas, K. B.; the ſouth-weſt diſtrict, comprehending Hants, Wilts, and Dorſet, by lieutenant general Balfour; the Iſle of Wight, by major general Hewett; the weſtern diſtrict, comprehending Devon, Cornwall, and Somerſet, exclutive of the vicinity of Briſtol, by which was meant Bath, Trowbridge, Wells, Bradford, Axbridge, or other places occupied by detachments from Briſtol, by lieutenant general Simcoe; the Severn diſtrict, comprehending Glouceſterſhire, and vicinity of Briſtol, in Somerſet, Worceſterſhire, Herefordſhire, Monmouthſhire, and South Wales, by lieutenant general his royal highneſs the Duke of Cumberland; north-weſt diſtrict, comprehending Cheſhire, Shropſhire, Lancaſhire, and North Wales, by lieutenant general Prince William of Glouceſter; London and Weſtminſter, with their liberties, the Tower Hamlets, Southwark, Rotherhithe, Lambeth, and thoſe parts of Middleſex and Surrey, within the bills of mortality, by lieutenant general the Earl of Harrington; home diſtrict, comprehending Middleſex, excluſive of London, and other parts appropriated to the London diſtrict, with Hertfordſhire and Berks, by lieutenant general Lord Cathcart; north inland diſtrict, comprehending Derbyſhire, Nottinghamſhire, Staffordſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Warwickſhire, and Rutlandſhire, by lieutenant general Gardiner; and the ſouth inland diſtrict, comprehending Bedfordſhire, Northamptonſhire, Oxfordſhire, and Bucks, by lieutenant general Gwynne.

That every one might be acquainted with the duty required of him, the above partition of diſtricts was accompanied by the publication of the act of parliament for the defence of the country; the ſubſtance of which was comprized under the following heads:

1. "That there ſhall be a general arming of the people.

2. "That all the males from ſeventeen to fifty-five, in every pariſh throughout theſe kingdoms, ſhall be regularly trained to the uſe of arms.

3. "That this armament ſhall be divided into four claſſes, viz. the firſt ſhall conſiſt of perſons from the age of ſeventeen to thirty, who are unmarried, and have no children of ten years old.—The ſecond of the ſame deſcription, from the age of thirty to fifty.—The third of thoſe who are married, from the age of ſeventeen to fifty, and have children above ten years old.—And the fourth of all thoſe who do not come within the abovementioned deſcriptions.

4. "That the clergy, Quakers, and medical men, the militia, the army of reſerve, the volunteer corps, &c. ſhall be exempted from the operations of the bill.

5. "That the lords lieutenants ſhall be empowered and commanded, in conformity to the general plan of defence, to cauſe all the men in the different pariſhes of all the counties, to be inſtructed in the uſe of arms, once a week, from Lady Day to Michaelmas.

6. "That the arms ſhall be furniſhed by his Majeſty, and that they ſhall afterwards be kept in proper order by the reſpective pariſhes.

7. "That ſuch as do not attend at the time and place appointed, ſhall forfeit 5s. and the poorer claſſes 1s.

8. "That orders ſhall be given for the appointment of officers, &c. and for the uniting of ſmall neighbouring pariſhes, ſo as to form them into companies.

9. "That his Majeſty ſhall be enabled to order the deputy lieutenants to aſſemble the whole, and to direct that one or two of the claſſes, or all, if neceſſary, ſhall, in

caſes of invaſion, march to the coaſt, or elſewhere, againſt the enemy.

10. " That when there on ſervice, every man ſhall be ſubjected to regular diſcipline, and to the operations of martial law, in the ſame manner as the regular army.

11. " That when thus aſſembled, every man ſhall be allowed two guineas to provide himſelf with neceſſaries; and, on his return, over and above the uſual pay, one guinea.

12. " That the ſervices of theſe corps ſhall be limited to the continuance of invaſion.

13. " That when the enemy ſhall be puſhed into the *ſea*, or otherwiſe *exterminated*, theſe corps ſhall have leave to return to their reſpective homes.

14. " His Majeſty may order the firſt claſs to be exerciſed, and deputy lieutenants to regulate the time and place, two hours on Sunday, and if thought neceſſary, men to be trained on other days.

15. " Expence of keeping arms, &c. to be borne by the pariſh.

16. " Conſtables not attending, ſhall forfeit 10s. Perſons not attending for any three ſucceſſive days, to forfeit 40s.

17. " Perſons obtaining a certificate from the captain, allowed by two deputy lieutenants, of his proficiency, excuſed from further attendance on the days of exerciſe.

18. " Lieutenants, or deputy lieutenants to fix upon ſignals of alarm in caſe of invaſion.

19. " If perſons enrolled ſhall not march, in purſuance of order, they ſhall be deemed deſerters; and perſons harbouring them ſhall forfeit 100l.

20. " Perſons enrolled, when ordered out, to be entitled to the ſame pay as other infantry; and non-commiſſioned officers and men maimed or wounded, entitled to the benefit of Chelſea Hoſpital. Oath to be taken.

21. " Wives and families of perſons enrolled, and ſerving under this act, entitled to relief.

22. " No perſon ſerving under this act, to be compellable to ſerve out of Great Britain."

Thus the ſons of Britain, inſtead of empty gaſconade and military threat; inſtead of attacking defenceleſs powers; inſtead of obſtructing the peaceful arts of merchandize; ſhewed their provocation to war, after evincing every manly forbearance, to be open, undiſguiſed, but not ungenerous; they only ſtrove to guard their own hoſpitable ſhores againſt the inſidious projects of inveterate enemies.

To accompliſh more effectually the plans ſo ably marked out, the Duke of York, in addition to his other effective meaſures, tranſmitted letters to the general officers commanding diſtricts, requiring their aſſiſtance and in aid of and in conjunction with his Majeſty's lieutenants.

This letter was very full, clear, and comprehenſive, it aſſigned to every man his poſt, and detailed the different duties, wherein his individual means and capacity might be moſt ſerviceable. With reſpect to the ſupplies, and driving the country, his royal highneſs obſerved on the former, that the forms laid down for the purpoſe, were in themſelves ſo explanatory as to require no remark; on the latter, that the directions pointed out were ſo eſſential and ſatisfactory to all military purpoſes, that he felt it alone neceſſary to direct their attention towards deciding on their execution in concert with the lieutenancy. His royal highneſs next adverted to the corps of guides, enforced the importance of this ſervice, as to the guidance of the army, and conveyance of confidential orders, and adviſed frequent recourſe to their local knowledge as to the ſtate of the roads, nature of the country, and ſoil, ſupply of water, and other points which might be of great importance at the moment. On the duty and formation of a corps of pioneers, his royal highneſs recommended that, from the uncertainty in what place their exertions might be moſt wanted, they ſhould be ſtationed throughout the whole field of poſſible operations; and noticed that it was fortunate in that inſtance, that the convenience of individuals and the public ſervice went hand in hand, and admitted of this deſcription of perſons remaining generally in their own dwellings, until the moment of their ſervices being called forth. Much, however, would depend upon the judicious choice of leaders and captains; to ſuch officers the lieutenancy were particularly requeſted to explain.

" That frequently the ſervices of their companies would not be called for until neceſſity abſolutely required, in order to avoid unneceſſary devaſtation, and that as ſuch delay had in view the preſervation of their property, and roads calculated for their own convenience, it chiefly behoved them to remain at their poſt to the laſt moment, uninfluenced by any ſenſe of approaching danger, but in which they were not engaged, waiting the final orders which the general might, according to circumſtances, find it neceſſary to iſſue.

" Laſtly," ſays his royal highneſs, " I am to direct your attention to the views and ſanguine expectations I entertain of the ſervice which may be rendered by ſuch brave men as agree to take up arms in the common cauſe." On this ſubject his royal highneſs was peculiarly full and forcible. Suppoſing that the enemy ſhould have been ſo fortunate as for once to eſcape the vigilance of the navy, it followed, that whilſt our army was daily increaſing, various cauſes muſt operate to his rapid diminution, and eventually to his total annihilation; and, as to this effect, irregular troops might be highly inſtrumental, it was material to obſerve on the nature and formation of theſe bodies. The chief danger to which an irregular force was expoſed, aroſe from a want of confidence and perfect underſtanding in regard to the purpoſe which it might have in view, and which begat a feeling of danger from the abſence of a mutual dependence. When, therefore, previous aſſembly and diſcipline could not be obtained, his royal highneſs adviſed that no company ſhould be formed of a greater number of people than were already

ready known to each other, to act under leaders known to each individual, and on whose intelligence and prudence all had equal confidence, upon the assembly therefore of this description of force, each company would remain independent, without any other bond of union than what arose out of the emulation and zeal of men animated by a common cause.

The letter then proceeds: "From the first moment of a landing being made, the great object of the irregular troops must be to harrass, alarm, and fatigue the enemy. Nothing can more effectually contribute to this object, than the operations of small bodies of men well acquainted with the country, who will approach and fire upon the advanced posts of his army, without ever engaging in serious action, or hazarding themselves, in any situation where their own natural intelligence and watchfulness does not ensure them from the danger of being cut off. So long as they are watchful to this point, it must be evident, that with the country open in their rear, and with the advantage of knowing all the avenues and roads, having an enemy who is ignorant of them, and who can likewise have but a small proportion, if any cavalry; that nothing can expose them to any other danger than what their own energy and courage had determined them to face. When the enemy quits the coast, these corps should fall upon his flanks and rear, and cut off all small detachments which venture from the main body in search of plunder.

"It is unnecessary for me to enlarge farther upon this subject; the object of its forming part of these instructions, is, that you shall impress upon the minds of the gentlemen of the lieutenancy, that this service is one of the most important which can be performed in aid of a regular army; at the same time that it is of a nature to require nothing from those who enter into it beyond what the energy of their own spirit and natural intelligence makes them fully competent to undertake and execute, when acting in conjunction with disciplined troops, and assisted by officers of experience who shall be attached to direct their operations.

"Impressed with this conviction, and a persuasion that the bold unconquerable spirit---the birth-right of every Briton---is the most promising hope of all military success, I shall expect with confidence, if my views and feelings of this service are in unison with those of the gentlemen of the lieutenancy, that their exertions and example will be given to direct the loyalty of the people, preferably to embrace this line of service, by which, in bringing honour upon themselves, they will ensure the safety of their country.

"(Signed) FREDERICK,
Commander in chief."

Viewing with satisfaction, a government and people, so united in the great cause of mutually striving to preserve their dearest interest, we are sensibly impressed by the contemplation of such wonderful advantages on the side of the British empire, in opposition to the hostile threats of the chief ruler of France.

CHAP. VII.

Naval History.—Capture of St. Peters, Newfoundland.—Shipwreck of the Lady Hobart Packet.

THE naval reports in July continued to be expressive of the meritorious conduct of our seamen, in propriety of conduct, in perseverance, and in bravery. The month preceding closed with the capture of a settlement, which, though of no great consequenes in itself, furnished a convincing proof to the enemy, that Great Britain was as alert in her hostility, as she was sincere in her pacific negotiations.

On the 30th of June, about four o'clock in the morning, captain Malbon, commanding his Majesty's ship the Aurora, on the Newfoundland station, made the island of St. Peter's; and at five, sent his large cutter and launch, manned and armed with a twelve pound carronade, under the command of lieutenant Richard Longfield Davies; and lieutenant Baillie, of the marines, to oblige the town to surrender, or begin the attack; between six and seven o'clock, they entered the harbour, under a very thick fog, and perceiving a boat crossing from one side to the other, brought her to, in which they found the commissary who acted as governor. The confusion that the place was thrown into from the sudden attack, prevented the inhabitants from assembling together, and at half past seven, the commissary surrendered the island, by delivering the colours to lieutenant Davies. From what was afterwards learned, there is no doubt, that if the inhabitants could have had time to have collected themselves from their different situations, they would have made a strong resistance; upwards of one hundred stand of arms having been afterwards found among them. Knowing the small force in the boats, captain Malbon used his utmost efforts to get his Majesty's ship into the harbour, but was as frequently prevented by thick fogs; but about eleven, it being somewhat clear, he entered under a very heavy press of sail between the rocks, which were not a cable's length across, and at two *p. m.* brought to with the best bower in fifteen fathom water. They found here a French merchant brig (La Reine des Agnes) and a schooner (Le Provoyier), with eleven small schooners, and upwards of a hundred battoes. St. Peter's contained fish, stores, salt, and merchandize

dize of various deſcriptions, and, upon a rough ſurvey, about two hundred men were upon the iſland and in the boats, but they being ſo detached, that ſeveral got away in the ſmall craft, one of which was afterwards taken off Liverpool, in Nova Scotia, and another at St. Lawrence, in Newfoundland.

Every thing being ſecured, captain Malbon ordered one of the fiſhing ſchooners to be fitted as a tender, and having her manned and armed with a twelve pound carronade, gave the command to lieutenant Davies, with directions to ſcour the coaſt, and take poſſeſſion of the iſlands of Great and Little Miquelon, which he did, but no inhabitants or ſtores were found at either of thoſe places.

Captain Wallis, in the Naiad, in the bay of Breſt, took on the 5th, a French national ſchooner, called La Providence, bound to Breſt, from the foundery at Nantes, and laden with heavy cannon, of thirty-ſix, twenty-four, and eighteen French pounders, as well as choice timber for their navy. This important capture was made, notwithſtanding the rapidity of the tide, and the number of rocks and ſhoals, which it was neceſſary to paſs, rendered the exploit extremely dangerous. The ſchooner, under all theſe unpropitious circumſtances, was brought off without the ſmalleſt accident to the boat or men.

The 16th of July announced the capture of Le Felix, a very fine copper-bottomed French ſchooner privateer, armed with ſixteen four-pounders, (fourteen of which were thrown over during the chaſe), and a complement of ninety-ſix men. She was taken by captain Parker, of his Majeſty's ſhip Amazon, and belonged to Rochelle, from which port ſhe had been out but twenty-four days, and during that interval, had captured a Britiſh ſhip called the Eſther, from Honduras. The Venus, French privateer, alſo, fell a prize to captain Bedford, of the Thunderer, on the twenty-ſixth. This privateer had been pierced for twenty-eight guns, and was mounted with ſixteen ſix-pounders, two eight-pound carronades, and a complement of one hundred and fifty men, commanded by M. Lempriere. This was a very fine veſſel, quite new, a remarkable faſt ſailer, and coppered, being well calculated to be converted into a ſhip of war. Admiral Cornwallis, in his diſpatch to the admiralty, obſerved, that this privateer "might have very much diſtreſſed the trade of his majeſty's ſubjects, had not captain Bedford's active zeal prevented her taking a ſingle veſſel belonging to England."

Indeed, were we to enumerate the various captures of leſſer moment, the catalogue would extend beyond the limits we have preſcribed.

Admiral Sir John Colpoys had received orders on the ſecond, at Plymouth, to ſend out every ſhip, as faſt as they could be got ready for ſea; the reaſon for this appeared to be, that admiral De Winter, with three ſail of men of war, had ſailed from Ferrol, on the 16th of June, for the Cape of Good Hope. In conſequence therefore, of the above orders, the admiral diſpatched the Tonnant of eighty-four guns, and the Mars of ſeventy-four, then cruizing in the latitude of the Spaniſh coaſt to purſue him. There had alſo ſailed from Bourdeaux, no leſs than thirty ſail of French privateers, to intercept the Britiſh homeward-bound ſhips. Such an armament accounted for the orders which had been iſſued.

An unfortunate circumſtance took place, during this month, by the loſs of his Majeſty's ſhip the Minerva, of thirty-ſix guns, commanded by captain Brenton. She went on ſhore in a very heavy fog, on a rock, near Cherbourg, cloſe under two batteries, which, the moment the fog cleared away, began a very heavy firing. Captain Brenton finding reſiſtance ineffectual, was under the painful neceſſity of ſurrendering; but happily no officer or man on board was either killed or wounded. They were of courſe made priſoners of war, and marched into the country.

A fact, rather curious, occurred at this time, the Dart privateer was taken by the Apollo, and in her were the relations of Madame Bonaparte, who had been conſigned to the care of captain Theſiger, agent for French priſoners at Porcheſter. Theſe priſoners were, however, treated with every attention; were allowed to walk abroad, to furniſh themſelves with neceſſaries, and had every indulgence conſiſtent with their ſituation—very different indeed from what the Engliſh received in France, but "the age of chivalry was over" in that country; and it was to be the fortune of an Engliſhman to know what was true benevolence—and to practiſe it.

The loſs of the Reſiſtance frigate, of twenty-ſix guns, had happened on the firſt of this month, but happily the crew were ſaved. And on the 21ſt, the Seine frigate, of forty-two guns, having been wrecked on a ſand-bank near Scheveling; the officers and crew finding it impoſſible to get her off, ſet her on fire.

But the circumſtances of the loſs of the Lady Hobart Packet, claim particular notice. This veſſel, under the command of captain Fellowes, had ſailed from Halifax, in North America, on the 22d of June, and about one o'clock in the morning of the 29th, going at the rate of ſeven knots an hour, ſtruck againſt an iſland of ice, with ſuch violence, that ſeveral of the crew were pitched out of their hammocks; and, though by extraordinary exertions the crew and paſſengers were ſaved, the packet was loſt. The conduct of her commander, in the hour of danger, was, however, highly diſtinguiſhable of true courage, fortitude, and piety, and the credit in which he was held by the Poſtmaſters general, is fully exemplified by the note which accompanied the return of his diſpatches.

After requeſting captain Fellowes to publiſh his narrative,

The Loss of the Lady Hobart Packet.

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narrative, of which they ſpeak in the moſt unqualified terms of approbation, the Poſtmaſters general add, "It cannot fail to impreſs on the minds of all who may read it, the benefit of religion, and the conſolation of prayer, under the preſſure of calamity; and alſo an awful ſenſe of the interpoſition and mercies of Providence, in a caſe of extreme peril and diſtreſs. To ſeamen, it will more eſpecially ſhew, that diſcipline, order, generoſity of mind, good temper, mutual benevolence, and patient exertion, are, under the favour of Heaven, the beſt ſafeguards in all their difficulties."

Captain Fellowes' account of this ſhipwreck, after ſuch an high official encomium, is beſt recorded in his own words:

"Being rouſed out of my ſleep, by the ſuddenneſs of the ſhock, I inſtantly ran upon deck. The helm being put hard a-port, the ſhip ſtruck again about the cheſt-tree, and then ſwung round on her heel, her ſtern-poſt being ſtove in, and her rudder carried away, before we could ſucceed in our attempts to haul her off. At this time, the iſland of ice appeared to hang quite over the ſhip, forming a high peak, which muſt have been at leaſt twice the height of our maſt-head; and we ſuppoſe the length of the iſland to have been from a quarter to half a mile.

"The ſea was now breaking over the ice in a dreadful manner, the water ruſhing in ſo faſt as to fill the hold in a few minutes. We hove the guns overboard, cut away the anchors from the bows, got two ſails under the ſhip's bottom, kept both pumps going, and bailing with buckets at the main hatchway, in the hope of preventing her from ſinking; but in leſs than a quarter of an hour ſhe ſettled down to her fore-chains in the water.

"Our ſituation now became moſt perilous. Aware of the danger of a moment's delay in hoiſting out the boats, I conſulted captain Thomas, of the navy, and Mr. Bargus, my maſter, as to the propriety of making any further efforts to ſave the ſhip; and as I was anxious to preſerve the mail, I requeſted their opinion, as to the poſſibility of taking it into the boats, in the event of our being able to get them over the ſhip's ſide. Theſe gentlemen agreed with me, that no time was to be loſt in hoiſting them out; and that, as the veſſel was then ſettling faſt, our firſt and only conſideration was to endeavour to preſerve the crew.

"And here I muſt pay that tribute of praiſe, which the ſteady diſcipline and good conduct of every one on board ſo juſtly merit. From the firſt moment of the ſhip's ſtriking, not a word was uttered expreſſive of a deſire to leave the wreck: my orders were promptly obeyed; and though the danger of periſhing was every inſtant increaſing, each man waited for his turn to get into the boats, with a coolneſs and compoſure that could not be ſurpaſſed.

"Having fortunately ſucceeded in hoiſting out the cutter and jolly-boat, the ſea then running high, we placed the ladies in the former; one of them Miſs Cotenham, was ſo terrified, that ſhe ſprung from the gunwale, and pitched into the bottom of the boat, with conſiderable violence. This accident, which might have been productive of fatal conſequences to herſelf, as well as to us all, was unattended by any bad effects. The few proviſions which had been ſaved from the mens' births, were then put into the boats, which were quickly veered aſtern. By this time, the main deck forward was under water, and nothing but the quarter-deck appeared: I then ordered my men into the boats, and having previouſly laſhed iron pigs of ballaſt to the mail, it was thrown overboard.

"I now perceived the ſhip was ſinking faſt; I called out to the men to haul up and receive me, intending to drop myſelf into the cutter from the end of the try-ſail boom, fearing ſhe might be ſtove under the counter; and I deſired Mr. Bargus, who continued with me on the wreck, to go over firſt. In this inſtance, he replied, he begged leave to diſobey my orders; that he muſt ſee me ſafe over before he attempted to go himſelf. Such conduct, at ſuch a moment, requires no comment; but I ſhould be wanting to myſelf and to the ſervice, if I did not faithfully ſtate to their lordſhips every circumſtance, however trifling; and it is highly ſatisfactory to me, to have this opportunity of recording an incident ſo honourable to a meritorious officer.

"The ſea was running ſo high at the time we hoiſted out the boats, that I ſcarcely flattered myſelf we ſhould get them out in ſafety: and, indeed, nothing but the ſteady and orderly conduct of the crew, could have enabled us to effect ſo difficult and hazardous an undertaking; and it is a juſtice to them to obſerve, that not a man in the ſhip attempted to make uſe of the liquor, which every one had in his power. Whilſt the cutter was getting out, I perceived one of the ſeamen, (John Tipper), emptying a demijean, or bottle, containing five gallons, which, on inquiry, I found to be rum. He ſaid, he was emptying it for the purpoſe of filling it with water from the ſcuttle-caſk on the quarter-deck, which was generally filled over-night, and which was then the only freſh water to be got at; it became afterwards our principal ſupply. I relate this circumſtance, as being ſo highly creditable to the character of a Britiſh ſailor.

"We had ſcarce quitted the ſhip, when ſhe ſuddenly gave a heavy lurch to port, and then went down head foremoſt. I had ordered the colours to be hoiſted at the main top-gallant-maſt head, within the diſtance of three hundred and fifty miles from St. John's, in Newfoundland, with a proſpect of a continuance of weſterly winds, it became at once neceſſary to uſe the ſtricteſt œconomy. I repreſented

to my companions in diſtreſs, that our reſolution, once made, ought on no account to be changed; and that we muſt begin by ſuffering privations, which I foreſaw would be greater than I ventured to explain. To each perſon, therefore, were ſerved out half a biſcuit, and a glaſs of wine, which was the only allowance for the enſuing twenty-four hours, all agreeing to leave the water untouched as long as poſſible. During the time we were employed in getting out the boats, I had ordered the maſter to throw the main-hatch tarpauling into the cutter; which being afterwards cut into lengths, enabled us to form a temporary bulwark againſt the waves. I had alſo reminded the carpenter to carry with him as many tools as he could: he had accordingly, among other things, put a few nails in his pockets, and we repaired the gunwale of the cutter, which had been ſtove in hoiſting her out. Soon after day-light we made ſail, with the jolly-boat in tow, and ſtood cloſe-hauled to the northward and weſtward, in the hope of reaching the coaſt of Newfoundland, or of being picked up by ſome veſſel. Paſſed two iſlands of ice, nearly as large as the firſt. We now ſaid prayers, and returned thanks to God for our deliverance."

After encountering for ſix days and nights, various gales of wind, and being reduced by famine, to almoſt the loweſt poſſible ſtate of exiſtence, theſe victims of diſtreſs made Conception Bay, on the coaſt of Newfoundland, on the 4th of July, about noon.

"At this affecting period," as the captain impreſſively adds, "though overpowered by my own feelings, and impreſſed with the recollection of our ſufferings, and the ſight of ſo many deplorable objects, I propoſed to offer up our ſolemn thanks to Heaven for our miraculous deliverance. Every one cheerfully aſſented; and as ſoon as I opened the prayer book, (which I had ſecured the laſt time I went down to my cabin), there was an univerſal ſilence; a ſpirit of devotion was ſo ſingularly manifeſted on this occaſion, that to the benefits of a religious ſenſe in uncultivated minds, muſt be attributed that diſcipline, good order, and exertion, which even the ſight of land could ſcarcely produce."

The wind having blown with great violence from off the coaſt, they did not reach the landing-place at Iſland Cove, till four o'clock in the evening. All the women and children in the village, with two or three fiſhermen, (the reſt of the men being abſent), came down to the beach, and appearing deeply affected at the wretched ſituation of the captain and his company, whom they aſſiſted out of the veſſel, and afterwards carried them up the craggy rocks; over which they were obliged to paſs, to get to the habitations.

It was a moſt fortunate circumſtance for them, that they fell in with the land about Iſland Cove; a very few miles further to the northward, the coaſt is inacceſſible, and lined with dangerous reefs of rocks, which, had they ſeen in the night, they would have puſhed for; their ſituation had become ſo deſperate, that captain Fellowes had reſolved to land at the firſt place he could make; and they in that caſe muſt all have periſhed.

This ſmall village, however, afforded neither medical aid nor freſh proviſions; potatoes and ſalt fiſh being the only food of the inhabitants. It was determined, therefore, to loſe no time in proceeding to St. John's, and a ſmall ſchooner was hired for that purpoſe. On the 7th of July, they embarked in three diviſions, placing the moſt infirm in the ſchooner; the maſter's mate having charge of the cutter, and the boatſwain of the jolly-boat: but ſuch was the exhauſted ſtate of nearly the whole party, that the day was conſiderably advanced before they could get under weigh.

On their arrival at St. John's, the ladies, colonel Cooke, captain Thomas, and captain Fellowes, conducted by Mr. Lilly, off Iſland Cove, in the jolly-boat, having left the ſchooner when ſhe anchored, notwithſtanding the badneſs, as well as extreme darkneſs of the night, reached the ſhore about midnight. They wandered for ſome time about the ſtreets, there being no houſe open at that late hour; but were at length admitted into a ſmall habitation, where they paſſed the remainder of the night on chairs, there being but one miſerable bed for the ladies.

Early on the following day, their circumſtances being made known, hundreds of people crowded down to the landing-place: nothing could exceed their ſurpriſe, on ſeeing the boats that had carried nine-and-twenty perſons ſuch a diſtance over a boiſterous ſea; and when they beheld ſo many miſerable objects, they could not conceal their emotions of pity and concern. Captain Fellowes waited on brigadier-general Skerrit, who commanded the garriſon, and who immediately, upon being informed of their ſituation, ordered down a party of ſoldiers to take the people out of the boats, and with the utmoſt kindneſs and humanity, directed beds and every neceſſary article to be prepared for the crew.

The greateſt circumſpection was found neceſſary in adminiſtering nouriſhment to the men. Several of the crew were ſo much froſt-bitten, as to require conſtant ſurgical aſſiſtance; and it was determined they ſhould continue at St. John's, until they were in a fit ſtate to be tranſported to Halifax: for which purpoſe, a ſchooner was hired.

Being anxious to return to England, captain Fellowes engaged the cabin of a ſmall veſſel bound to Oporto; and on the 11th of July, embarked with Mrs. Fellowes, colonel Cooke, captain Thomas, Mr. Bargus, the maſter, and the colonel's ſervant, who, during the voyage home, loſt ſeveral of his toes, in conſequence of what he had ſuffered. The maſter's mate was left in charge of the ſhip's company, and

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was directed to conduct them to Halifax; whence they would be enabled to return by the firſt opportunity to their own country.

After taking leave of their hoſpitable friends at St. John's, and recommending to their protection the companions of their hardſhips, they put to ſea with favourable weather. During a voyage of fifteen days, they met with a few difficulties to encounter, ſuch as pumping continually, the veſſel having ſprung a leak in a gale of wind; and were obliged to throw overboard a conſiderable quantity of her cargo of ſalt-fiſh.

On the 26th of July, they fell in with an American ſhip, the Briſtol Trader, of New York. The owner, Mr. William Cowley, being told of their diſtreſſed ſituation, and that they had been ſhipwrecked, immediately hove to, and, with a benevolence and humanity that will ever reflect the higheſt honour on his character, received them on board, and brought them ſafe to Briſtol; at which place they arrived on the 3d of Auguſt.

The ſingular interpoſition of Providence, in the preſervation of captain Fellowes, and his company, is ſtriking and awful. It is with great pleaſure we add, that the whole company and crew, except a French captain, after proper care and attention, had rendered them able to purſue their voyage, arrived at their ſeveral deſtinations. The unfortunate French captain, every reader of ſenſibility muſt regret to be informed, threw himſelf overboard in a fit of delirium, on Sunday, the third of July, the day before they reached the ſhore.

CHAP. VIII.

Public Prayers ordered to be continued throughout the Britiſh Dominions, for the Protection of the Country from foreign Violence, and to preſerve Unanimity at Home.—Proceedings of the County of Kent for its local Defence.—Patriotic Reſolutions of the Court of Aldermen in London.—Conduct of Captain Owen before Boulogne.

INSTEAD of venting fulſome deifications, as was now the practice at Paris, the government and people of Great Britain, ever addicted to thoſe religious duties which diſtinguiſh the ſincerity of their doctrine and practice, ſubmitted themſelves to the protection of that power, "by whom kings reign, and princes decree juſtice," in a devout appeal to the diſpoſal of the Being "to whom all hearts are open; all deſires known; and from whom no ſecrets are hid." This appeal was not dictated by the appalling whine of ſuperſtition; but a conſcious ſtatement of the injuſtice which the land had ſuſtained, and an invocation, in the ſimple benignity of chriſtianity, craving aid and ſuccour, where it beſt could be afforded, without any intemperate alluſion to the conduct of their enemies. It was ordered to be read in all places of worſhip, and is ſtill daily repeated. Such an appeal was neither inconſiſtent or unuſual; it had the moſt antient uſages for its ſanction. "Shall I go up to fight theſe uncircumciſed Philiſtines?"—"Go up; for I will deliver them into thy hands," are ſufficiently known to any who have read the hiſtoric pages of the Sacred volumes. It was the invocation of Hezekiah againſt Sennacherib, who had threatened the exiſtence of his kingdom—and it muſt be ever the beſt appeal againſt aggreſſion and injuſtice.

It was not, however, in the parade of fallacious and profane compliment to the Deity, that the Britiſh diſtinguiſhed their devotion. To ſhew that their ſupplication roſe ſpontaneouſly from the pureſt of all motives, their temporal endeavours kept pace with their mental ſolicitations.

On the ſecond of July, in conſequence of a ſummon from the Lord Lieutenant, a meeting of the deputy lieutenants and magiſtrates of the county of Kent, and the city of Canterbury, was held at the George Inn, Sittingbourne, in order to carry into execution a plan for eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of communication throughout the county, and for rendering the body of the people inſtrumental to the general defence, in caſe of invaſion.

The meeting was very numerouſly attended, there being preſent the principal noblemen, and a large proportion of the magiſtracy and gentlemen of the county; alſo general Sir David Dundas, K. B. the commander in chief of the ſouthern diſtrict, with the principal officers of his ſtaff, and the commiſſary general of the diſtrict; when his majeſty's warrant appointing the meeting was read, the lord lieutenant, after expreſſing his thanks for ſo large an attendance, ſubmitted the following plans for their approbation, which, except with reſpect to the corps of guides, were ſeverally adopted. The plan for a ſyſtem of communication, propoſed to form the county into four diviſions, each to be placed under the charge of a deputy lieutenant, who was to be denominated lieutenant of a diviſion, ſubject to his majeſty's approbation. Earl Camden was appointed for the lath of Sutton, at Hon. The Earl of Darnley for the lath of Aylesford. Lord Sondes for the lath of Scray, and Sir Edward Knatchbull, Bart. for the laths of St. Auguſtine and Shipway. Each hundred to be in like manner placed under the charge of a competent perſon (if poſſible a magiſtrate), who was to be denominated inſpector of the hundred, and each pariſh to be placed in charge of ſuch reſident gentleman, clergyman, or principal farmer, who would engage to ſuperintend the ſame, and to be denominated *Superintendants of Pariſhes*, who were alſo

alſo empowered to ſelect agents to aſſiſt them as the extent of the pariſh might require; all orders to be conveyed through the lieutenants of diviſions to the inſpectors of hundreds, and through them to ſuperintendants of pariſhes.

Returns to be made agreeable to forms which were to be delivered for that purpoſe. The propoſals for rendering the body of the people inſtrumental to the general defence, were comprehended under eight general heads *.

The lords lieutenants of the other counties in the kingdom, held general meetings to reſolve on the beſt modes of ſecurity. The county of Somerſet addreſſed his majeſty in ſupport of the war. Devon, and all the counties, cities, and corporations, did the ſame; theſe acknowledgments aroſe from a ſenſe of duty at ſuch a perilous period, and could only be exceeded by thoſe acts which proceeded from ſpontaneous voluntary ſources.

The lord mayor of London called a court of aldermen, on Monday, the eleventh, in which paſſed ſuch ſpirited reſolutions, as were well calculated to animate the other parts of the empire; and they came moſt ſeaſonably as an example from the chief magiſtrates of the metropolis. They did not conſider the queſtion of ſupport for party; but whether the Britiſh conſtitution was to be overturned, replaced, and ſuperſeded, by the extravagant politics of a diſorganized French military dominion. Their ſentiments are well expreſſed in their own words:

"At an eſpecial court of lord mayor and aldermen, held at the Guildhall of the city of London, it was reſolved unanimouſly, that this court, feeling with indignant pride, the inſulting vaunts of inordinate ambition (though at the ſame time ſenſible how painful the neceſſity has been of engaging this kingdom in a deſtructive war, yet, as this awful criſis exhibits to the view of the people, freedom or ſlavery, exiſtence as an independent nation, or extirpation and annihilation), ſolemnly call upon their fellow citizens, and every individual inhabitant within the metropolis, to enrol himſelf, in one of the claſſes hereby recommended and ſpecified, in order that all may be prepared, and participate in

* We have detailed the following reſolutions, conſidering, that as the county of Kent, was one of thoſe more readily aſſailable, had the enemy's threats of invaſion been put into effect, the means propoſed for its defence would afford intereſting information:

"The firſt head comprizes, *the driving the country within fifteen miles of the coaſt*, and propoſes that proper places of aſſembling ſhould be fixed on by each pariſh, from whence they ſhould follow ſuch routes into the interior of the country, to a general *depôt*, which will be pointed out, taking eſpecial care to move by ſuch roads as will be leaſt liable to interfere with the operations of the army.—Returns to be made of the preſent number of live and dead ſtock, in order that an indemnification may be eſtimated for ſuch as cannot be removed; and as that number muſt conſtantly vary, the returns to be repeated as often as the lord lieutenant may judge neceſſary.—In the detail of removal, it is directed that horſes, being more ſerviceable to the enemy than cattle, that in itſelf more material than ſheep, or other live ſtock, each of theſe ſervices ſhall be carried into effect without waiting for the other, in the following order:—1ſt. horſes and waggons, conveying perſons unable to remove themſelves—2d. cattle—3d. ſheep, and all other live ſtock—intelligent and active perſons to be ſet apart to ſuperintend this meaſure, and the magiſtrates to determine the number neceſſary to carry the ſame into execution.

"2d head, *bearing arms, and engaging to aſſemble when an enemy has landed.*—Under this head, it is propoſed to every individual, voluntarily to agree to act in a deſultory warfare in aid of the regular force, and that when an invaſion has actually taken place, they ſhould claſs themſelves into bodies of from twenty-five to thirty-five men; to ſelect one from among themſelves as lieutenant or leader, to be recommended by the lord lieutenant, and approved by the king—to receive pay, officers and privates, if mounted, as the yeomanry—if on foot, as volunteer infantry.

"3d Head, *Pioneers.*—Under this head it is recommended to the unarmed inhabitants, to form themſelves into companies of not leſs than twenty-five or more than ſeventy-five men, to come provided, if poſſible, with pick-axes, ſpades or ſhovels, bill hooks and felling axes; each twenty-five men to have a leader, and every company of fifty men, a captain in addition; to be ſelected by the lord lieutenant. When employed, to be paid according to the price of labour in the country for the time being.—Leaders of twenty-five men, 3s. *per* day.—Captains of fifty or upwards, 5s. *per* day.

"4th Head, *Guides.*—A corps of guides on horſeback, to be officered and paid as yeomanry—arms to be provided by government.

"5th Head, *Waggons.*—Under this head, ſuch of the nobility, gentry, and yeomanry of the county, as may approve of the meaſure, are requeſted to ſubſcribe to a paper, expreſſing oppoſite to their names, the number of waggons and carts, provided with tilts, and the number of horſes, drivers, and conductors, which they propoſe to furniſh reſpectively.—Every detachment of ten waggons or carts, to be under the ſuperintendance of a conductor. The commiſſary general is to pay for the hire of each waggon or cart, with the horſes and drivers belonging thereto, at ſuch rate *per* day as may be adjudged by the deputy lieutenants and magiſtrates; waggons and carts belonging to places near the ſea coaſt, and particularly ſuch as may be threatened by the enemy, ſhall not be called on, under this engagement, except in caſe of abſolute neceſſity, but they ſhall be left at the diſpoſal of the owners, for the removal of their families and effects, with the option afterwards of employment in the public ſervice.

"6th Head, *Millers.*—Form of a paper to be ſubſcribed by millers, engaging to deliver ſuch quantities of ready made flour, as they may happen to have in hand, over and above the wants of their cuſtomers, and alſo to prepare and deliver ſuch quantities of ſweet and clean flour, made of good Engliſh wheat, whenever ſo required, upon the terms and conditions which may hereafter be certified to be juſt and reaſonable, by the deputy lieutenants and magiſtrates appointed for that purpoſe.

"7th Head, *Bakers.*—Form of a paper to be ſubſcribed, engaging to bake and deliver bread on the ſame terms and conditions as under the 6th head.

"8th Head, *Barges.*—Form of a paper to be ſubſcribed by the proprietors and maſters of barges and boats, engaging to aid the public ſervice with the uſe of the ſame, for the conveyance of troops and ſtores, on the ſame terms and conditions as above deſcribed."

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the honour of chaſtiſing the inſolence of an implacable foe, ſhould he ever dare to venture upon Britiſh ground.

"The court take this opportunity of congratulating the country upon the preſent happy extinction of parties, and upon the harmony and unanimity now exiſting in all ranks, being convincing proofs of the zeal and affection of all orders for our beloved king and glorious conſtitution, which muſt ever place the ſubjects of theſe realms above the menaces of any power that ſhall pretend to give laws, or preſcribe limits to the policy and intereſts of this nation.

"That as it is apparent the enemy flatters himſelf with the hopes of exhauſting the force of this country, by the expence neceſſarily attendant upon war, it behoves this metropolis to ſhew by its example, and convince the world by its magnanimity, that ſuch deluſive expectations will be fruſtrated.

"That this court recommend that volunteer and armed aſſociations of all men, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, be raiſed in every ward, to be regularly trained and diſciplined, in order to preſerve the peace, and tranquillity of this city and liberties, thereby to enable government to make uſe of all the diſpoſable force.

"That this court do further recommend that all houſeholders and inhabitants, above the age of forty-five, be enrolled in a corps to ſerve as conſtables, to co-operate with the volunteer corps.

"That every alderman in this city, do forthwith call a meeting of the inhabitants of his ward, for the purpoſe of forming ſuch aſſociations."

The above plan was recommended by the Secretary at War, to extend to all parts of the empire. The army of reſerve had been already ballotted for in many parts of the country. The greateſt activity prevailed in every department, and, ſeconded by the zeal of the people, armies ſoon appeared, which might not only be defenſive, but make France to dread the proweſs of England even on her own ſhores.

A comparative view of theſe two nations arreſts our momentary attention. The addreſſes which the firſt conſul received before he left Paris, to undertake his military progreſs, already ſtated, and thoſe which were preſented during that progreſs, *all promiſed ſucceſs to his projected expedition, and victory in England!*—But at Boulogne, he was taught, againſt his will, to acknowledge the gallantry and proweſs of heroes ſimilar to thoſe who had defied and defeated his force at Acre. It was proved that bravery was not a mere quality in one perſon, but generally inherent; and that every Briton, when duty called, could be a hero; Bonaparte had an opportunity alſo, of diſcerning the difference between pompous compliment and dutiful loyalty. On his arrival at Boulogne, it was thought the moſt flattering mark of reſpect which could be ſhewn him, would be to ſatisfy him, experimentally, in what perfect ſafety veſſels might ride in the road before that place, it being protected by ſix batteries, mounting thirty heavy guns, and which were now ordered to be in a ſtate of actual preparation, to try the experiment of which every one preſent entertained the moſt confident expectations: four or five veſſels were therefore hauled out, to bid defiance to any attempt of the Engliſh cruizers; but Engliſh cruizers were not to be deterred by common dangers. In a very ſhort time, captain Owen, of the Immortalité frigate, in ſpite of the batteries, attacked theſe veſſels, and *drove them aſhore*, under the very guns which were to prove their protection; where they were left dry by the tide, and ſo greatly damaged, that they were afterwards hauled into the inner harbour to be repaired.

Aſtoniſhment, mortification, rage, and diſappointment, ſeized the Boulogneſe; and it was reported, that the principal ſpectator was ſo tranſported with indignation, on the diſcloſure of the impracticability of his favourite project of keeping a flotilla in this ſituation, for the purpoſe of attacking the Engliſh coaſt, that, in a paroxyſm of fury, he, with his own hands, tore off the epaulettes from the ſhoulders of one of the engineers.

It certainly was a ſtriking ſpecimen of Britiſh intrepidity; more eſpecially when it took place in the preſence of one who had ſo recently been buoyed up with the idea *à la Françoiſe*, of "ATTACKING LONDON IN LONDON! AND THAT THIS NEW CARTHAGE SHOULD BE DESTROYED!" That "*the people of Boulogne, the neareſt to thoſe* PROUD ISLANDERS, *had ſeen the laurels of Nelſon fade before their port!* That *they waited for Cornwallis, his ſucceſſor,* TO PROVE TO HIM, *that the French,* WHO CONQUERED ONE CORNWALLIS IN AMERICA *had not degenerated*!*"

CHAP. IX.

Outline of the general Diſpoſition of the Firſt Conſul.—His Intereſts, Motives, and the Effect of his Meaſures upon the States of Europe, &c.

IN tracing out the features of great characters which ſometimes appear, to the aſtoniſhment of mankind, care ſhould be had to preſerve a faithful likeneſs, agreeably to circumſtances; not to diſtort or ſketch in caricature, but to preſerve a broad line of delineation. So that poſterity may at a tranſient glance, conſider the portrait given as true as the materials of the artiſt could furniſh.

* *Addreſs of the Council of the Firſt Diſtrict, in the Department of the Pas de Calais.*

At the end of the preceding chapter, the firſt conſul was brought forward, to a nearer view of the reader, than he had been before; and to preſerve, as we have hitherto ſtrove, the coincidence of ſubject, in this place we think it proper to give an outline of his perſonal accompliſhments, his mental qualities, and his poſitive or negative powers.

We do not attempt to deduce his origin, for if that were obſcure, the ſituations to which he has attained, if fairly and honeſtly procured, would be more creditable to him than had his ſuperior birth or other qualifications of the ſame nature given him a claim to the dignities he poſſeſſed. That he has been the author of his own fortune is certain; but by what means that fortune has been obtained and preſerved is the object of our preſent diſcourſe.

The reſtoration of an arbitrary government, and the uſurpation of a foreigner, who at the commencement of the French revolution, held a very ſubordinate poſt in the army, and without any proſpect of attaining any conſiderable degree of elevation, are circumſtances to be ſtudied with cloſe attention.

It appears, then, that the mutual diſtruſts which operated on the minds of thoſe who had aſpired to the uncertain tenure of power by murder and rapine, was ſo inſidious or ſo violent, that the deſigns which had been formed for a conſiderable time to reduce the country to conſular controul, were eaſily conceived and accompliſhed; the ill-planned ſchemes alſo, of the Bourbon intereſt, all tended to the advancement, and contributed in no ſmall degree, to add to the laurels which had been won by the Corſican hero; whilſt the ſplendour of his military atchievements, by the continued, though impotent attacks of the neighbouring nations, impoſed upon the French a gratitude and veneration for the man who had increaſed the dominions of their government beyond what had been achieved by the moſt ambitious of their monarchs.

But to a nation which had been deluged with blood in the cauſe of liberty and equality, which it had ſworn to maintain, the re-eſtabliſhment of deſpotic authority ſeemed an arduous and hazardous taſk to accompliſh. The nation which had deſtroyed every veſtige of kingly government; and ſeemed to entertain the moſt invincible averſion to prieſthood and nobility, could not ſurely be induced again to admit the ſovereign authority of any ſingle perſon. But to a genius poſſeſſed by the character we are deſcribing, nothing was impoſſible. The ſplendor of his actions, and the circumſtances of the times had placed him in a moſt exalted, a moſt enviable ſituation. With the power to heal the wounds of an afflicted country, had he poſſeſſed the magnanimity to have been its benefactor, to have limited the caprice of arbitrary power, and ſet bounds to popular diſtraction, he might have bleſſed France with a conſtitution equally reſpectful both to ſovereign and people.

The hero of Marengo, however, had been only converſant in the œconomy of camps, conſequently he was acquainted with no law but force. To reſiſt his will, therefore, was a crime of high magnitude. This was the perſon doomed to revert from its boaſted illuſion of liberty, a nation whoſe verſatility was notorious to the world, and therefore, as eaſily reconcileable to its former train of ſervility, as to its late government by revolutionary principles. To a man like this, the laws or the people could be in no eſtimation, ſince every perſon and every thing muſt be made ſubſervient to his will or caprice. It was neceſſary, however, to divert the majority of the nation, or thoſe who only viewed the ſurface, with the amuſing idea of liberty and equality; but the real poſſeſſion of their rights and privileges, was a thing inconſiſtent with his ſovereign will, and therefore never conſidered; authorities were conſtituted, their names exiſted; but their reality was without conſtitutional means to diſpute military ſuperiority.

No doubt remains, but that this plan of internal ſubduction was conceived during the campaign of Bonaparte in Egypt, and therefore the manner in which the various parties were deceived, on his return to Paris, does not appear extraordinary. But reſolution was requiſite for ſuch a vaſt undertaking; Bonaparte perſevered, and was ſucceſsful. The return of peace was favourable to his ambitious projects, and whilſt he cauſed the multitude to believe that the bleſſing was attributed only to him, a grand ſcheme was artfully ſet on foot, for the purpoſe of duping the French nation; and they incautiouſly fell into the ſnare. The war broke out again; but this was not to be conſtrued as happening from the firſt conſul's deſire of individual authority; it was vaunted to be attributable only to the envious diſpoſition of Great Britain as a rival nation, and her determination that France ſhould not be enabled to recover from anarchy; ſuch an inſinuation inflamed the irreſolute and volatile French; and the downfal of England was ſuggeſted and approved.

The views of the firſt conſul, however, were not confined to ſuch narrow limits. The intended hoſtility of Great Britain, was only a ſubterfuge for ſchemes of vaſt latitude. His armies menaced every ſurrounding power; his intrigues puzzled the moſt enlightened ſtateſmen; and whilſt he ſeemed to forge new chains, and a new revolution for the French republic, he fabricated and promoted meaſures for the reſtriction and ſubjugation of every civilized conſtitution in the globe.

To a mind like his, ſuch a propoſal was feaſible, and as prejudices either on religion or government, never obſtructed any deſigns he might wiſh to carry into

into execution, we are not to inquire by what rules of morality or juſtifiable policy he might aim at, and arrive to, the ſummit of his wiſhes. Providence ſets before men their duty in awful colours; and if her laws are violated, a return to true wiſdom is difficult to be made. The revolutions of France have been wonderful, bloody, and terrible; actors in theſe revolutions have been ſpotted with every crime; to atone for paſt enormities, France has ſtill much to ſuffer, and in her ſuffering all Europe muſt be involved. The reſtleſs ſpirit of the extraordinary man who is her preſent ruler, cannot reſtrict himſelf to the common boundaries of diſcretion; *aut Cæſar, aut nullus*, is the maxim by which he is prompted.

It is inconteſtable, that the French nation is, however, indebted to the firſt conſul alone for the continuation of its political exiſtence; for without his reſolute energetic character which collected all that was ſcattered and torn in fragments, and forcibly held it together, at the ſame time that he animated the fearful with new life and ſtrength, all would have fallen to ruin. The French empire, under the laſt Directory, was ſo near its diſſolution, that if there had been at that time as reſolute and energetic a character among the ſovereigns of Europe, Bonaparte would have returned too late from Egypt. But he begun his career in a manner great and almoſt unparalleled, and attained to an unthought-of dignity, in a ſingular way. His advancement was as wonderful as his conduct has been paradoxical—what may be expected from the meaſures of ſuch an extraordinary, ſuch an inexplicable diſpoſition, will be the work of the future hiſtorian to develope.

"There is not a ſhape, form, figure, or colour," ſays Dr. Maclean, "that the chief conſul is not ready to aſſume, in order to preſerve and to increaſe his power. This convenient verſatility, or total abſence of principle, therefore, ought to teach the Britiſh to expect, that ſhould the plan of invaſion fail, he will not ſcruple to ſhift his ground, and again make profeſſions of friendſhip. He will endeavour to form ſome new amicable arrangement, even more deſtructive to Great Britain than a ſtate of war."

We have thus endeavoured to give a fair outline of the character and views of Bonaparte, which appear of more conſequence than the mere narrative of his birth, &c. by theſe the world may form an eſtimate of preſent circumſtances, and judge of future expectations.

The perſonal features of Bonaparte are thus deſcribed by thoſe who have been ſufficiently near to examine them. His complexion is ſallow, his face oval, and his chin long; he has dark, penetrating eyes, black hair, cut ſhort, and without powder. His ſmile is repreſented to be uncommonly faſcinating; but his viſage terrible when ruffled with anger: his voice is deep-toned, and rather coarſe; but his perſon looks extremely well on horſeback. His countenance and manner evidently denote a man oppreſſed with continued thought, and big with ſchemes not yet matured for execution; but added to this, his viſage is ſtrongly marked with dark and unruly paſſions. He poſſeſſes altogether one of the moſt ſingularly intereſting, and probably one of the moſt penetrating and animated countenances in the world.

The actions to aſſimilate with ſuch a *contour* muſt be extraordinary.

CHAP. X.

Abſtract of the Occurrences in Great Britain.—Reſolutions reſpecting a Lighthouſe on the Scottiſh Couſt.—Fire in Weſtminſter Abbey.—Detention of Sir James Crawford, in France, &c.

AS the arming of the country was the primary object to be conſidered, the meaſures which had been brought under deliberation, to remove all reaſonable apprehenſions for the public defence, were now carried into effect. The neceſſity of recurring to the body of people in the country as its ſureſt protection, was acknowledged and enforced; and a warlike population, particularly under preſent circumſtances, was conſidered as the beſt nurſery of a valiant army. The plan, therefore, which had been brought before parliament for training the people to the uſe of arms, and for better enabling his majeſty to call them out in caſe of invaſion, gave univerſal content, and its more immediate importance was, that it appeared to be particularly well received by the lower orders, on whoſe phyſical ſtrength the country muſt now reſt for its ſupport. It was a meaſure founded in wiſdom, policy, and in the genuine principles of national freedom; becauſe it made no diſtinction between the great and the humble, nor did it impoſe a hardſhip on the former, which muſt not be borne by the latter. All were expoſed to danger; therefore all muſt be equally ſecure. Upon ſuch principles, appeared the act for *a Levy en Maſſe* *, which recognized that ſalutary and glorious ſpirit of equality, inherent in the Britiſh conſtitution.

* A few of the proviſions of this act of the legiſlature are ſubjoined: "The lieutenants, &c. to execute this act in the ſame manner as they carry the militia act into execution.—The proviſions for counties, to extend as uſual to hundreds, &c.—General meetings of Lieutenancy appointed; the firſt within ten days after paſſing of the act.—Heads of families

conſtitution. Not the equality devoid of every principle of natural juſtice, where ability or ingenuity is pretended to have no preference, but that rational, that vaſt ſpirit of equality, which afforded the comforts of gratification to the claſſes which Providence had appointed to the higher ſpheres of life; as well as contentedneſs and genuine happineſs to thoſe in ſubordinate ſtations, who would equally feel the deſtruction of their cottage, as the peer or the prince would lament the demolition of a palace. It was this principle which made the meaſure grateful to the maſs of the people, who, whenever treated with liberality and juſtice, were always found to poſſeſs, in the moſt ſatisfactory manner, bravery, generoſity, and loyalty. It was ſuch a principle, that impelled Britons to come forth at the great call of their ſovereign and their country; but, it was not for the people to act by themſelves without information or authority. They waited, as became them, to hear the wiſh of their government fully expreſſed. They waited with "proud ſubmiſſion;" and now that they knew their duty, they were about to perform it with "dignified obedience."

To ſhew alſo, the good humour that pervaded the country, another act of the legiſlature, though obnoxious in many points, was complied with. The Income Tax bill, though amended, did not contain any thing in its principle, to approve of its paſſing; or to overturn the obloquy which it had deſervedly merited; its chief objections ſtill exiſted, and ought not to have been brought forward as a compulſatory meaſure, when the public, by ſubſcriptions, by loans, and by every other conſtitutional means, exerted every nerve to aſſiſt the government, which, under theſe untoward circumſtances, they reſpected.* ;but, unlike thoſe who would deluge their country

to make true returns of all males in their houſe or lodging; on omiſſion to forfeit 10l. in caſe of wilful neglect 20l. Conſtables empowered to make returns of Quakers.—The conſtables to make out yearly liſts of the perſons in their diſtrict, arranging them in different claſſes.—Days of appeal, &c. as uſual.—Officers or conſtables to be ſent to gaol for a month, or fined 20l. for diſobedience of orders.—Perſons refuſing to tell their name, or giving in a falſe one, to forfeit 10l.—Two juſtices to appoint deputies to Quakers for carrying this act into execution.—A fine of not more than 100l. nor leſs than 5l. to be inflicted upon all conſtables, &c. who refuſed to make out the liſts, or to appear when ſummoned before a juſtice.—His majeſty to direct that pariſhes might be provided with arms, to be kept within the church or chancel, under the care of conſtables or churchwardens, who were to forfeit a penalty of 50l. for a breach of duty.—Expence of keeping arms, &c. to be borne by the pariſh.—The juſtices to inſpect the ſtate of the arms once a year, and to have power to make a fine.—His majeſty might order firſt claſs to be exerciſed, and deputy lieutenants to regulate the time and place, two hours on Sunday, and if thought neceſſary, Men to be trained on other days.—Lieutenant, or three deputy lieutenants to appoint officers in any pariſh to train the men.—Deputy lieutenants acting might unite neighbouring pariſhes to form companies.—Deputy lieutenants, or captains, to agree with any ſerjeant, &c. to exerciſe and train the men.—Perſons not attending the drill without ſufficient excuſe, to forfeit according to their circumſtances, 5s. or 1s. and for the third offence 40s. or 5s.—Perſons obtaining a certificate from the captain, allowed by two deputy lieutenants of his proficiency, excuſed from further attendance on the days of exerciſe.—Muſkets to be marked, and if any men ſell, pawn, or loſe their arms, &c. or neglect to return them in good order, to forfeit not exceeding 40s. or be committed for not exceeding one month.—Any one buying theſe arms to forfeit 10l.—His majeſty to order all perſons enrolled for military ſervice under this act, to be aſſembled and embodied in caſe of invaſion, and put under the command of general officers, and led to any part of Great Britain, and while embodied, be ſubject to the Mutiny Act and Articles of War.—No perſon ſerving under this act to be compellable to ſerve out of Great Britain.—Lieutenants or deputy lieutenants to fix upon ſignals of alarm in caſe of invaſion.—If perſons enrolled, did not march, in purſuance of order, they ſhall be deemed deſerters; and perſons harbouring them forfeit, 100l.—Perſons coming properly mounted, armed, and accoutred, might ſerve in cavalry.—On volunteer corps being formed of ſatisfactory numbers in proportion to men enrolled for military ſervice under this act, and under certain regulations, his majeſty might exempt county or pariſh when formed.—Such volunteer corps liable to march on invaſion, on ſummons of lord lieutenant, and puniſhable as deſerters for neglect.—Perſons inrolled, when ordered out, to be entitled to the ſame pay as other infantry; and non-commiſſioned officers and men, maimed or wounded, entitled to the benefit of Chelſea Hoſpital.—When perſons ordered out on actual ſervice, receiver-general to pay two guineas for the uſe of each man.—Upon the deſeat or repulſe of the enemy, perſons called out ſhould be returned home, and be allowed one guinea over and above the uſual rate of pay to carry them home.—Wives and families of perſons enrolled, and ſerving under this act, entitled to relief. Lords lieutenant to have the command in their counties of men enrolled while within the county or otherwiſe, until ſpecially ordered by his Majeſty.—Lord lieutenant to appoint deputy lieutenants to act as lieutenants of diviſions of counties, to rank as field officers, and other deputy lieutenants as captains of militia.—The act to continue in force until the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace with his Majeſty's enemies."

* *An Abſtract of the Bill for levying Contributions on the Profits of certain Deſcriptions of Property, and on Profeſſions, Trades,* &c.

"Of the bill, ſo far as concerns profits ariſing from trade or profeſſion, the following will afford an idea of the moſt prominent clauſes:

"Upon all intereſt of money, annuities, dividends, and ſhares of annuities; for every 20s. of the annual amount thereof, 1s.

"Upon the annual profits or gains, ariſing or accruing to any perſon or perſons reſiding in Great Britain, from any kind of property whatever, whether ſituate in Great Britain or elſewhere, or from any annuities, allowances, or ſtipends, or from any profeſſion, trade, or vocation, whether carried on in Great Britain or elſewhere; upon the annual profits, &c. accruing to any of his majeſty's ſubjects, although not reſident in Great Britain, or from any profeſſions, &c. exerciſed there; and upon the annual profits, &c. accruing to any perſon, although not ſubject of his majeſty, not reſident in Great Britain, from any property whatever in Great Britain, or any trade, &c. exerciſed there, for every 20s. of the amount of ſuch annuities, annual profits or gains, the yearly ſum of 1s.

EXEMPTIONS.

country with ſlaughter for trifles, when compared with the general ſafety; the Britiſh ſubmitted to the impoſition.

To evince that the ſtate and diſpoſition of the country at this time were not at ſo low an ebb, whatever the wiſhes of its enemies might imagine; the government was enabled under all the threats of invaſion, depopulation, and plunder, to make a ſeaſonable diſplay of its generoſity and its finance.

On Monday, July the twenty-ſeventh, in the houſe of commons, a ſum of 60,000l. and alſo an annuity of 16,000l. were granted, in conformity with his Majeſty's meſſage, to the illuſtrious houſe of Orange. The ſum of 60,000l. to be paid out of the conſolidated fund, from which ſource the annuity was alſo to be payable. The annuity to be paid at the diſcretion of the crown, until the affairs of the houſe of Orange were in too proſperous a ſtate to require ſuch aſſiſtance. The foundation of this grant was ſtated to be our obligations to that houſe, and the loſſes which it had ſuſtained in conſequence of its attachment to us. It was alſo ſtrongly urged, that ſince the treaty of Amiens, the Dutch had offered an indemnity to the prince of Orange, upon condition that the ſhips ſurrendered at the Helder, eſtimated at two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, ſhould be given up to them, but neither the Engliſh government, nor the prince of Orange, would liſten to the propoſition.

A vote of credit of two millions was alſo granted to the miniſter in the committee of ſupply.

Works of national utility alſo gained their merited conſideration. Upon this ground, the committee appointed by the houſe of commons, to conſider of erecting a lighthouſe on the Bell or Cape Rock, on the eaſtern coaſt of Scotland, near the entrance of the Firth of Forth, proceeded to examine evidence with reſpect to the ſituation of the ſaid rock; the benefits which would ariſe to the trade and navigation of the kingdom, from a lighthouſe thereon; and the practicability of erecting and maintaining the ſame: it was found, from the evidence of the honourable captain Cochrane, of his majeſty's navy, of captain James Dunbar, of the royal navy, and of Mr. Murdo Downie, maſter in the royal navy, (who made a ſurvey and charts of the eaſt coaſt of Scotland), "that it is dangerous for about three-quarters of a mile, and for about two-thirds of that length is dry at low water; that the north-eaſt end, which is the higheſt and broadeſt part, continues dry till half-flood: that there is very deep water cloſe to it all round, except at the ſouth-weſt point, where it is flat or ſhallow, which extends about a quarter of a mile, and in that direction the danger from ſhallow water extends farther: that the breadth of the rock is about 150 yards, and its length, including the ſouth-weſt point, half a mile: that the loſſes, on this rock have been many, perhaps more than is generally known; becauſe, in many caſes, all the perſons on board the veſſels have been loſt: that, from the ruggedneſs of the ſurface of the rock, the veſſels driven on it are almoſt inſtantly daſhed to pieces by the waves; and, the rock being covered at half-flood, leaves no hopes of any of the lives being ſaved, more particularly in gales of wind blowing on the ſhore in the night time, and in thick weather: that ſhips coming from the north are deterred by dread of this rock from coming near the land, and making for the Firth of Forth, a place of ſafety; and being, therefore, obliged to ſteer to the northward, are often driven on ſhore, and wrecked; and ſhips ſteering along ſhore, on the ſouth are induced to run ſo far from the land, that, when the wind blows ſtrong from off the land, they are often unable, for ſeveral days, to regain it: that, if a lighthouſe were erected on this rock, ſhips, inſtead of avoiding it as they now do, would, in the thick weather, be glad of finding it, wiſhing to aſcertain their ſituation, from not having before made the land, or being out of their reckoning, or from the influence of the tides; but a lighthouſe upon it would ſerve as a beacon, from which they would ſhape their courſe for the Firth of Forth, or for the river Tay, or in any other direction for ſafety: that in gales of wind, at eaſt and ſouth-eaſt, it ſometimes happens, that ſhips bound to Sunderland, to Shields, and to the ſouthward, not being able, although unloaded, to take the bars of theſe ports, are obliged to ſteer north for the Firth of Forth; and, in ſuch gales, ſhips as far ſouth as Yarmouth, are liable to be driven on the eaſt coaſt of Scotland, and to be wrecked on this rock: that, in a very hard gale of wind, in the year 1800, a great many of a large fleet that brought-to off Flamborough Head, were wrecked all along the eaſt coaſt of Scotland, and even as far as North Shetland; but, if a lighthouſe had been erected on the Bell Rock, it might have enabled them to avoid the danger: that, beſides the

"EXEMPTIONS.—The ſtock of friendly ſocieties; of charitable inſtitutions; the commiſſioners for the national debt, and foreigners, are exempted from the firſt of theſe enactments.

"From the others, when the profits or annual income is under 150l. the following abatements take place:—When under 60l. a total exemption.—When above 60l. and under 80l. the ſum charged is for every 20l. the annual amount 2d.—80l. and not exceeding 100l. 3d.—100l. and not exceeding 120l. 6d.—120l. and not exceeding 150l. 9d.

"The other clauſes, regulations, and modes of aſſeſſment, are ſimilar, if not exactly the ſame, with thoſe concerning the taxation of property, which we formerly laid before our readers.

"VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS from any perſon or perſons, body corporate or politic, towards effecting the purpoſes of the act, are appointed to be received by the governor and company of the bank of England, and certificates or receipts granted therefore, if required."

benefit which the coafting trade would derive from this lighthouſe, the Greenland, Hudſon's Bay, Archangel, the White Sea, and Baltic ſhips, would likewiſe be greatly benefited; the Greenland and Archangel ſhips on their return made St. Abb's Head, when they have not made Buchanneſs, and conſequently are expoſed to danger from this rock; and the ſhips coming from the Baltic, to any of the ports north of the Humber, are likewiſe ſo expoſed, being deſirous of making St. Abb's Head, and getting in with the land, to have the advantage of the weſterly winds: that the returning Baltic ſhips, particularly convoys in time of war, ſteer far weſt to avoid Jut's Reef, on the coaſt of Jutland, and make their ſouthern courſe nearly down Mid-Channel; and in gales of wind at eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, being very liable to be driven on the coaſt of Scotland, are expoſed to danger from the ſame cauſe. In time of war, great part of the trade of the eaſt coaſt of Great Britain, from America and the Weſt Indies, come round by the Orkneys to their different ports, and conſequently are expoſed to the ſame danger: that the Bell Rock is conſidered as the greateſt obſtacle to navigation of any rock upon the coaſts of the kingdom, not already provided with lighthouſes: that the purpoſes which a lighthouſe on this rock is intended to anſwer, could not be effected by any lighthouſes to be erected on ſhore, becauſe, in thick weather, the time of the greateſt danger, ſuch lighthouſes could not be ſeen, whereas the Bell Rock may be approached very near without danger, from the deep ſoundings all around it, except at the ſouth-eaſt, and veſſels can ſafely approach, ſo as to ſee the light, in the thickeſt weather."

In conſequence of the above ſtatement, ſuch proviſions were made, which might operate as a remedy for injuries complained of.

We have now to record a calamity by fire, which threatened the deſtruction of one of the moſt ſtately and venerable ſtructures in the kingdom: on Saturday, the ninth of July, about two o'clock, the roof of the center tower, or rather the lanthorn of Weſtminſter Abbey, was diſcovered to be on fire. The flames ſoon aſſumed a formidable appearance, riſing to a conſiderable height above the parapet. To every perſon in the vicinity, and to all perſons who regarded this venerable pile as the moſt valuable monument of Gothic architecture, the ſight was truly lamentable, and what rendered the affliction more heavy was, that the flames had aſſumed a very formidable appearance above half an hour before any engine arrived. Every perſon was alarmed with the apprehenſion that the flames, ſo violent immediately on their firſt appearance, would quickly ſpread over the whole of the Abbey, and communicate to the adjacent buildings. The Guards and the Weſtminſter Volunteers were immediately on the ſpot, aſſiſting to repreſs the multitude and extinguiſh the flames. The ſoldiers and others formed lines to the water ſide, from whence they handed buckets of water, one to another, along the line, till the buckets reached the Abbey, and were drawn to the top by ropes. Fortunately, however, the high parapet of the tower where the fire commenced, the thickneſs of the walls, and the nature of the roof, conſiſting principally of ſtone arches, oppoſed a barrier to the deſtructive element which it was unable to overcome. The miſchief was therefore confined to the tower where it originated, but the conſequences were ſtill ſufficiently diſtreſſing. About an hour and a half after the commencement of the conflagration, the roof of the tower fell in, and cruſhed the wood-work below, being the pews, &c. of that part of the Abbey appropriated to divine worſhip. The devaſtation of the venerable pile was happily here at an end; but it became a matter of importance to extinguiſh the hidden flames of the maſs, compoſed of the fallen roof, the wood-work of the pews, &c. Here it was that the exertions of the firemen, and the power of the engines, which were unavailing, while the flames were confined to the roof of the tower, were found eſſentially beneficial. About four o'clock, the flames were completely got under.

The accident was occaſioned by the negligence of ſome plumbers, who went to dinner, leaving their fire unextinguiſhed and inſecure.

The flat and elevated roof at which the accident happened, was conſtructed almoſt entirely of ſtone, and the Gothic pillars of the ſquare, which ſupported it, were formed of a compoſition of mortar or ſtucco-work, the combuſtible nature of which was principally occaſioned by its age. When water was procured, it was conveyed in ſuch torrents over the interior, that the ſuperſtratum of the aiſles, by abſorbing a quantity of the water, ſunk in many parts, carrying with it large portions of the pavements, and preſenting cavities of a conſiderable depth. To the elevation of the ſquare roof alone, is the building indebted for its preſervation. Had the fire extended to the long vaulted galleries, which run beneath the roof from eaſt to weſt, and are principally compoſed of timber, no human power could have preſerved the edifice from deſtruction.

It was worthy of mutual public congratulation, that this effect of criminal careleſſneſs, was ſubdued; and that this magnificent pile was reſcued from the deſtruction, which, had it happened, muſt have been conſidered as nothing leſs than a national calamity.

We conclude this chapter with relating a fact, which though not immediately a domeſtic occurrence; yet, as it concerns a Britiſh ſubject, bearing the ſacred character of a public miniſter, its inſertion here is neceſſary:

During the late war, Sir James Crawford reſided at

at Hamburgh, in the capacity of *Charge des Affaires* from our court, and held that ſituation when the celebrated Napper Tandy and his aſſociates arrived, after having made an unſucceſsful expedition to the coaſt of Ireland. Sir James peremptorily demanded of the Senate to deliver theſe men into his cuſtody, that he might ſend them to anſwer the offended laws of their country. The Senate remonſtrated, on the ground of Hamburgh being a neutral ſtate; alledging, at the ſame time, that Tandy and his companions were in the French ſervice, and had produced their commiſſions. Theſe remonſtrances, however, could not divert the envoy from his purpoſe, and he at length ſucceeded. Tandy and his aſſociates were ſent to England, and Bonaparte menaced the Hamburghers for their puſillanimity, and attachment to the Britiſh government.

It was to be lamented, however, that Sir James, after having been ſo recently engaged in a buſineſs of this kind, ſhould think of taking a tour through the French dominions, in his paſſage to England; but ſuch unfortunately was the caſe. He arrived at Calais a few days before the Engliſh were placed in a ſtate of arreſtation, and had a veſſel been ready at the time, might have eſcaped the general calamity. His baggage, however, was at length ſhipped, and he applied to the commiſſary, general Mengaud, for a paſſport. The anſwer he received, was delivered in a manner that evinced a determined hoſtility. "Sir James," ſaid Mengaud, "I did not expect to ſee you in Calais; but ſince you are here, I cannot part with you ſo ſoon. My actions are generally directed *by great examples*; you are therefore, Sir, my priſoner."

Sir James remained a few days at Calais on his parole, and was afterwards ordered to Valenciennes.

This mode of violence, in ſome other inſtances, will be made the ſubject of future animadverſion.

CHAP. XI.

Parliamentary Proceedings.

THE deliberations of parliament in the month of July, were mainly a continuation and concluſion of the buſineſs which had been brought forward during the preceding month, except in a few inſtances.

On the fourth, the Houſe of Lords reſolved itſelf into a committee of the whole houſe, on the Army of Reſerve bill. In the courſe of the debate, the Earl of Moira called for an explanation of the meaning of the clauſe, which, according to his conſtruction of it, appeared to give moſt unneceſſarily a gratuitous excluſion to the ſubſtitutes, who had voluntarily entered into regiments of the line, from going abroad, even if they expreſſed their deſire ſo to do. His lordſhip ſaid, in the courſe of the war, it might be thought expedient to attack a fort or military poſition on the enemy's coaſt, or to ſend a regiment or two out to defeat an armament on the ſea, and he ſaw no reaſon why miniſters ſhould deprive themſelves of the ſervice of the ſubſtitutes admitted into regiments of the line, if they volunteered their ſervices, in the caſe of their regiments being ſent on general ſervice abroad.

Lord Hobart, in anſwer, ſaid, that the clauſe meant to hold out to all who volunteered, or acted as ſubſtitutes for thoſe balloted for militia-men, that no more ſhould be exacted from them than was originally contracted for. Upon this, the Earl of Moira moved an amendment, which being negatived, the committee went through the other clauſes, and the bill was reported.

When the order for going into a committee on the Income Tax, was moved on the fifth, the ſentiments of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, upon colonel Baſtard's queſtion, "Whether under any circumſtances, landed property can be charged more than five *per cent.*" were to the following purport:

"In all circumſtances, where the owner of land lets it out, only five *per cent.* was payable, that is, 1*s.* in the pound. Where the owner of land holds the ſame in his own hands, and was, in fact, his own tenant, then to pay 1*s.* 9*d.* that is, 1*s.* as landlord and 9*d.* as tenant. An honourable member *, had ſaid, that this was neither more nor leſs than the old Income Tax revived. This he denied to be the caſe. In ſaying this, he did not mean to inſinuate any thing againſt the old tax, for it was one he had always highly approved; and when he ſtood forward for its repeal, he had decidedly delivered his opinion in favour of the principle of the tax, and that it was what ought to be acted upon again, if future circumſtances ſhould ariſe to require it. The difference between that meaſure and this was, the preſent tax was to be applied to the ſame purpoſes, and hinges on the ſame principle as the other, but the mode of collecting it was better, becauſe it was calculated to avoid any diſcloſure of the circumſtances or property of the parties paying the tax. By the mode of charging land and money at intereſt, no diſcloſure whatever took place. In a commercial country it was unqueſtionably moſt deſirable, that no diſcloſure of circumſtances ſhould be made, further than was abſolutely neceſſary to ſecure the payment of the tax. Another advantage was, that the execution was infinitely more eaſy and ſimple to the commiſſioners than it was before, as perſons now will not be in a ſituation which they would have to decide between their intereſt and their duty. Another circumſtance, highly in favour of the preſent meaſure,

* Alderman Coombe.

meaſure, was, the mode of levying the tax on money borrowed on mortgage, bond, &c. In the preſent caſe, the debtor was to pay the whole of the tax, and deduct it out of the ſum borrowed, when called on to pay the ſame by his creditor; ſo that nineteen ſhillings in the pound would, in all caſes, be a legal tender, and it would be attended with the advantage of concealing the circumſtances of the debtor's caſe. Theſe, he ſaid, were ſome of the leading features of the bill. He wiſhed that the Houſe, if it conſented to go into a committee, would permit him to offer ſome clauſes which he meant to offer, and which he hoped would operate as modifications. He was afraid that, when they were brought forward, the meaſure would be found pregnant with difficulties, but it was the duty of the Houſe not to ſhrink from difficulties however great and numerous they might be; but, on the contrary, to join cordially, by their united efforts, to make it as palatable and perfect as poſſible. He was certain that it never was, or could be, the wiſh of the citizens of London, not to pay their fair and equal proportion of the public burthens; and however unpopular at the moment the idea of an Income Tax might be amongſt them, if they were to be taxed in this way in common with the reſt of the kingdom, he hoped and expected the honourable Alderman would give the committee the advantage of his aſſiſtance, and inſtead of ſtanding on the principle of oppoſition to the bill, turn his mind to every point which might tend to make it as equal and unobjectionable as poſſible. After conſenting to raiſe eight millions within the year, for the public ſervice, it was neceſſary that the means of doing ſo ſhould be as ſpeedily as poſſible provided. The meaſure he now ſubmitted to the Houſe was ſuch as he thought would draw fair and equal contributions, by taxing income and other ſpecies of property as nearly on a *par* as poſſible."

The honourable Mr. Erſkine's opinion on this occaſion, was alſo worthy of being handed down to poſterity: "He ſaid, that our particular ſituation muſt ſuggeſt the meaſures of our conduct; and, though far from wiſhing to ſee an Income Tax reeſtabliſhed, as an ordinary mode of taxation, unleſs in times of very great difficulty indeed, yet he was ready to ſay, he thought this was not the time for debating ſuch matters. The country was in a great and awful criſis; but he did not ſay this with a view to diſmay the national feeling. The enemy had but two modes by which to accompliſh their moſt ſanguine expectation for the invaſion of this country: the one by pouring in their population. If they did ſo, he was convinced they would have their ſchemes thwarted; if they were allowed to invade us at all, it muſt be owing to our not evincing ſufficient ſpirit. Even ten thouſand people, firmly reſolving to defend their country, would give a feature of national ſpirit ſufficient to convince the enemy of the raſhneſs of his views, and the invulnerability of this country. He apprehended that another hope of the enemy was to exhauſt our finances, by allowing us to go on with the funding ſyſtem to carry on the war, which the enemy imagined would terminate in exciting diſcontents amongſt the people of this country, and conſequently excite diſunion. He therefore thought that the rich ſhould make up their minds to ſuffer great privations at this moment; as the more we diſappointed the hopes of thoſe who wiſhed to diſunite the people of this country, the ſtronger would be our means of defence. He by no means aſſented to the principle of this bill as a permanent mode of taxation, but merely as a means of providing againſt preſent danger; and he truſted the country would cheerfully acquieſce, and bury all differences of opinion on the ſubject. His own income, he ſaid, was not worth two years purchaſe; it was earned, he would ſay, by the moſt arduous exertions of mind and perſon; but theſe conſiderations weighed nothing in his mind againſt the fairneſs of the impoſt; and his wiſh was, to ſhew the enemy, that we diſdained private conſiderations, and paltry diſputes, whether one man ſhould pay two or three guineas more than another, when his country was at ſtake. This was, in his mind, the arduous moment for the rich to come forward, and ſhew an example. No man was more ſincerely diſpoſed than he was to peace; and his principle was, to be cautious of entering into a quarrel: but that being inevitable, let our enemy be convinced that we were prepared to proſecute it with ability, energy, and effect."

Sir William Scott, in the houſe of commons, July 8th, brought forward a meaſure of great benefit to a uſeful claſs of Britiſh ſubjects. He ſaid, "that in conſequence of the preſent hoſtilities between this country and France, he roſe to bring in a Bill for the Encouragement of Seamen. The bill was partly of the ſame nature as an antecedent one he had introduced, and therefore it was unneceſſary to ſay much upon the ſubject. It was founded on the ancient rules of the admiralty courts, and the vice-admiralty courts, diſperſed throughout his majeſty's dominions. It was his duty, however, to enter into ſome explanation of the meaſure: that gallant body of men, the ſeamen of Great Britain, had an irreſiſtible claim on the legiſlature of this country, for every practicable attention that could be paid to their intereſt. It was a known mark of their character *, that they were not equal to the taſk of taking care of themſelves; his majeſty's courts had been long in the habit of thinking for them. This aroſe from their improvident indiſcretion, againſt the effect of which it was in view to provide, at the ſame time, breaking in as little as poſſible upon thoſe principles which left men free to diſpoſe of what they conſider

* He ſpoke of the lower claſſes.

conſider their own. To the preſent time, they had appointed their own agents and truſtees, and revoked the appointment as they thought proper. They had the power of transferring the whole contingent intereſt they might be entitled to during the war, within a week after its commencement, for any conſideration, however inadequate. With regard to an intereſt like this, which muſt be conſidered as flowing from the bounty of the crown, and to which the party had no antecedent right, any regulations that might be neceſſary, could not be conſidered injurious encroachments on the rights of the ſeamen. In the regulations he propoſed to ſubmit to the wiſdom of the Houſe, he ſhould confine himſelf as much as poſſible to that which was moſt deſirable in all matters of legiſlation, namely, to depart no further from the preſent uſage than was abſolutely neceſſary. It had been propoſed that there ſhould be a public office erected, with powers for conducting the whole buſineſs of prizes on one general ſyſtem. He could not deny that a principle of this kind would be attended with advantages, but he was not ſure that many of thoſe advantages might be obtained from the modification of the ſyſtem which at preſent prevailed—a ſyſtem which left the parties to the nomination of thoſe in whom they confided their intereſt. Such a ſyſtem was more natural, becauſe it was more acceptable to thoſe for whoſe benefit it was intended. It alſo recommended itſelf, becauſe it was calculated for the exiſting intereſts of thoſe who had hitherto acted as agents, perſons whom he could not admit had forfeited their claims to the juſt attention of the legiſlature. He muſt honeſtly avow, that as far as his attention had been directed to that claſs of men, the navy agents, it was his opinion, a very large portion of the odium excited againſt them, aroſe from miſrepreſentations, not properly conſidered by thoſe who concurred in them. The adoption of that ſyſtem, which left men to the nomination of their own agent, was not all he propoſed. He wiſhed to guard the nomination by regulations; it would be a great improvement of the plan, if after agents were nominated by private individuals, they were clothed with a public, legal known character, which rendered them amenable for their conduct. For that purpoſe, one regulation he ſhould propoſe was, that on the nomination of an agent, the power of attorney ſhould be immediately regiſtered in the Court of Admiralty. At preſent, he did not regiſter the power of attorney, till ſix months after it was granted, conſequently, till the arrival of that period, he was not known. By regiſtering his power of attorney, he would be known to the court, and liable to its authority during the whole time. A ſecond regulation was, that at the time of regiſtering the letters of attorney, the agent ſhould give ſecurity, in a conſiderable ſum, for the execution of his truſt. At preſent, no ſecurity was given, and conſequently a ſeaman might pick up the moſt needy man he could find, on Portſmouth Point, to be his agent. When he conſidered this, he thought it ſurpriſing that the men uſually employed ſhould in general have acted ſo honourably as they had done. The great evil was, in the other parts of his majeſty's dominions. The miſconduct of theſe men abroad were the rocks on which the ſeamens' fortunes were ſhipwrecked. He could not help thinking the proviſions he had introduced, two years ago, would prevent the recurrence of thoſe miſchiefs which had taken place during the late war. The effect of giving this purity to the ſyſtem would be, that of confining the profeſſion of agent to men of property and credit, or whoſe conduct had engaged the confidence of thoſe who employed them. The next regulation was, that the letters of agency being regiſtered, ſhould not be revoked, but upon complaint to the court, and an order for that purpoſe. As the matter ſtood at preſent, the agents were liable to be removed on the ſuggeſtion of the loweſt claſſes of the law, to whom the ſeamen were particularly expoſed. Queſtions frequently aroſe as to who was the legal agent, and conſiderable ſums of money were ſpent, in deciding that point. Such was the baſis of his plan. He ſhould propoſe that the agent ſhould be inveſted with the permanence that belonged to a public character, ſo long as he exerciſed it with propriety. Another regulation was, that, upon the inſtitution of any appeal, it ſhould be lawful for the judge of the Admiralty to order in the proceeds, and inveſt them. With reſpect to the navy, that queſtion ſtood in a lamentable way. The money, during the whole time of the appeal, remained in the hands of the agent; in conſequence of this, he had an intereſt adverſe to his principle. The evil did not reſt there. If the appeal was determined in favour of the captor, the profits of the principal reſted with the agent; on the contrary, if the captor was condemned, he was liable to pay the intereſt. Another regulation was, that, after the time of appeal was elapſed, it ſhould be in the power of the judge of the Admiralty to compel a diſtribution. It would ſurpriſe the Houſe to hear, that there was no power to compel a diſtribution, but by action at law, or by a bill in Chancery. He ſhould ſubmit, whether it would not be more beneficial, that the court ſhould have the power of following up the agent to a full execution of his duty. At preſent, it had only the power of verifying accounts, or diſallowing them; but it ſtopped at that point where its authority was moſt required. Another regulation went to this, that no ſeaman ſhould be allowed to make the general power of attorney to which he had adverted, in a way by which he might, for a temporary gratification, convey his whole intereſt in his future prize-money. It would be highly

important, that the power of attorney ſhould be a ſpecial power of attorney, appointing the particular ſource out of which the intereſt conveyed was to ariſe. To this he ſhould add another regulation reſpecting the dates of the prizes. When prizes were made in the Weſt Indies, the ſeamen were often removed to other ſhips, and what became of the prizes, whether they were condemned or not, they knew not. He ſhould provide that regiſters of prizes ſhould be tranſmitted home every month; he meant a liſt of all the prizes that had gone through the adjudication of the court. Theſe were the regulations to which he ſhould ſolicit the attention of the naval members of the Houſe. They were ſtrongly recommended to him by the noble perſon who at preſent preſided over the naval department. The Houſe would ſee that he had not preſſed this ſubject beyond what juſtice demanded. There were other details which had engaged the attention of that department. The Houſe would undoubtedly improve upon them. He was content with having ſtated the modifications. He was perſuaded that the Houſe would, by adopting them, contribute to the comforts of a claſs of men whom it was their intereſt to protect. The right honourable and learned gentleman concluded by moving, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for the Encouragement of Seamen, and for the better and more effectually Manning his Majeſty's Navy," which was granted.

On the 11th, Lord Caſtlereagh preſented the following meſſage from his Majeſty:

"*G. R.*

"His Majeſty thinks proper to acquaint the Houſe of Commons, that in conſideration of the eminent ſervices performed in America, by the late Geoffry, Lord Amherſt, and particularly in the reduction of Canada, his Majeſty was induced, on the termination of the war, to grant to Lord Amherſt, certain tracts of land in that province; but in conſequence of ſome local circumſtances, that grant has not been carried into effect. His Majeſty, therefore, relies on the juſtice and liberality of the Houſe of Commons, that they will make to Lord Amherſt ſuch compenſation as they ſhall ſee fit."

On the motion of Lord Caſtlereagh, the meſſage was ordered to be taken into conſideration.

When the bill for Enabling the City of London to raiſe a certain *quota* of men for the better Defence of the Country, was moved, on the 12th, to be read a ſecond time, next day, Mr. Price, the Lord Mayor, ſaid, he hoped the Houſe would indulge him while he ſaid a few words, in order to vindicate the city of London from certain imputations that had gone abroad into the world, concerning the number of men that were to form its *quota* of the new Army of Reſerve, and in which it was ſaid that the city did not ſupply a number proportioned to its population. It was ſaid that London contained one-ninth part of the population of the whole kingdom. So far was that from being the fact, it would appear from the returns made under the late Population Act, that the population within the walls of the city did not exceed 74,000 perſons; and that without the walls it was not more than 54,000. In fact, it would be much nearer the truth, had it been ſtated, that the inhabitants of the city did not exceed thoſe of the pariſh of Mary-le-bonne. The number of men therefore, as a part of the Army of Reſerve, to be raiſed by this bill, was ſufficiently great in proportion to what was raiſed by the reſt of the country; but he believed it would be found at all times moſt cheerfully to contribute and to maintain its *quota* of the public force, in proportion to its population and its ability; and it would appear, by reſolutions recently entered into, that the city of London had ſhewn a degree of ſpirit and determination which proved it did not deſerve the imputation of apathy or backwardneſs thrown out againſt it; but that on the contrary, the citizens would always be ready to bear their portion in contributing towards the public defence; that they would be ready to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood, and ſpend their laſt ſhilling in the defence of their country; that they would ever act in a manner which became Britons; and by their conduct preſerve that character which they had ever maintained as members of the firſt city in the empire."

In the Houſe of Lords, on July 13th, when the Woollen Manufacture bill was read, the Lord Chancellor obſerved, that though he felt many objections to the bill, as it at preſent ſtood, he had heard enough from all the gentlemen at the bar, to convince him that, with all the imperfections of the bill, there did ariſe in it ſufficient principle to entitle it to be read a ſecond time, and he hoped their lordſhips would concur with him in that opinion. Having ſaid this, his lordſhip proceeded to point out a variety of objections to the form of the bill, which he promiſed the Houſe he would do very ſhortly; firſt, he ſhewed that there was an omiſſion in the title of the bill of one of the many objects of its proviſions, which muſt be amended, as the title ought to refer to all its ſeparate objects. This would put the ſuitors of the bill to the expence of delay, but it muſt be amended. His lordſhip next objected to the reference of the bill to ſtatutes of particular years of various reigns; whereas, inſtead of that general reference, it ought to have ſpecified the acts themſelves, with their exact title and date, and have pointed out the particular clauſes of each, that had rendered the regulations therein provided, "impracticable and uſeleſs," and "others which, if enforced, would create delay, and inconvenience in the carrying on the ſaid manufacture, to the great detriment thereof." Theſe were matters which would require their lordſhips' ſerious attention and conſideration in the committee, as it would otherwiſe be impoſſible for magiſtrates,

giſtrates, and thoſe whoſe duty it would be to enforce the bill, ſhould it paſs into a law, to act upon it. He mentioned the way in which it referred to the gig-mills, and ſaid the proper mode of legiſlating would have been, to have repealed ſo much of the act of Edward the Sixth, as referred to the improper uſe of gig-mills, and to have eſtabliſhed their uſe as to what actually was conducive to the expediting the manufacture, without injury to the material. Engliſhmen, he thanked God, poſſeſſed that moſt valuable quality, good ſenſe, and he would truſt to that good ſenſe (which, however they might be puzzled at firſt, would generally ſet them right at laſt) to prevent them from perſiſting in any practice that experience convinced them was prejudicial to their own intereſts. He had no heſitation, therefore, in believing, that they did not uſe the gig-mills in "burling and working" the cloth they manufactured, ſince that practice had been found to be injurious to the manufacture. In the recital of the bill, a moſt extraordinary mode of reaſoning was adopted. The recital ſtated, that "doubts were entertained, whether many of the acts (previouſly ſtated) were not repealed by ſubſequent acts; and, afterwards, it takes upon itſelf to reſolve thoſe doubts, declaring the acts in queſtion to be repealed. His lordſhip ſtated ſeveral more objections, and after again ſtating the great importance of the bill, and recommending its ſeveral parts, proviſions, and principles to the ſerious attention of their lordſhips, in the committee, in order to ſatisfy the petitioners, that the Houſe had acted honeſtly, honourably, fairly, and faithfully by them, and paid due and ſerious attention to their objections, moved that it be read a ſecond time.

Upon this, the Earl of Roſslyn roſe and ſaid, the bill was the moſt ill drawn and unparliamentary of any he had ever read in point of form. It was full of objectionable parts, ſeveral of which he ſtated; in particular, the want of the mention of the proſecutions and ſuits which might have been commenced and were now pending; in the title, the non-enumeration ſpecifically of the ſeveral acts of parliament to which the bill referred, by mentioning the chapter of the reſpective acts that were deemed impracticable, as well as the particular clauſes of the acts which it was complained by the ſuitors, tended, if enforced, to create delay and inconvenience, to the great detriment of the manufacturer; and the contradictory operation of the end of the firſt clauſe and the laſt clauſe of the bill, reſpecting coſts on actions commenced the firſt of January laſt. His lordſhip alſo objected to ſeveral of the clauſes, referring only to the counties of Glouceſter, Wilts, and Somerſet, as if they were not legiſlating for the counties of York and Lancaſter, and indeed, for the whole kingdom. He mentioned a former act that took place in Cheſter, and its whole county, for obvious reaſons, viz. it bore upon the adjoining manufacturing counties of York and Lancaſter. With regard to the objections that were taken at the bar to the act of Richard the Second, prohibiting the ſale of plain cloths in certain countries tucked and folded, his lordſhip ſaid, he underſtood ſolely to relate to ſuch cloths as were expoſed to ſale in open market here at home; but his opinion was, that thoſe manufacturers who made and exported their own cloths, were within the law as it ſtood at preſent. After a number of other obſervations, upon different parts of the bill, the noble Earl thought it was ſomewhat hard, after eight months conſideration of the bill in the other Houſe, it ſhould be ſent up to their lordſhips with ſo many imperfections in it, and throw ſuch a load of labour on the Houſe, as the amending the bill in the committee, and rendering it fit to paſs, muſt neceſſarily amount to. There was, however, one advantage in its coming at ſo late a period of the ſeſſion into that Houſe, viz. that the profeſſional men had moſt of them been ſet at leiſure, and could attend to it. His lordſhip had ſome doubt whether it might not have been the moſt ſound and diſcreet courſe to have waited till another ſeſſion before ſo important a bill, a bill comprehending and embracing all the multifarious concerns of ſo great, intricate, and complicated a manufacture, was decided; he would not, however, oppoſe its going to a committee.

The Earl of Roſslyn's objections were, however, over-ruled, and the bill was committed.

The opinion of Mr. Pitt, on the 13th of July, when the order of the day on the Income bill was, appears too remarkable, not to be inſerted here.

"With reſpect to the proviſions of the bill under conſideration, there were many of them of which he ſtrongly diſapproved. The modes of diſpoſing of capital ſhould not by any means be interfered with, through the operation of a partial tax, tending to encourage the application of that capital to one mode in preference to another. Thoſe modes were various. One wiſhes to employ his capital in a buſineſs which requires great labour, and from which he looks for proportionate profits; another ſeeks to derive profits from his capital in great riſks; and a third chooſes to indulge in lazineſs, and to enjoy a ſmall profit in ſecurity. Of the latter, ſome reſort to the funds, and others to land. It ſtruck his mind, that any attempt to meddle by a legiſlative meaſure with this, the uſual and ſpontaneous diſtribution of property, would be highly injudicious and unjuſt, would be extremely unequal, and tend to violate the very character of an Income Tax. The great maſs of property to be found in this country ſhould be left to find its own level. If taxes are to be levied, they ſhould be accommodated to the preſent ſtate of property, which ſhould in no caſe be

be diſturbed. Every man had, to be ſure, the right of diſpoſing of his capital as he pleaſed. But in a country like this, it would be unwiſe to encourage any man by a partial tax, to give his capital a particular direction; yet ſuch was the tendency of certain clauſes in the act before the Houſe, which he hoped would be corrected in the committee. The tax upon Income ſhould, according to its principle, be univerſal, and no man ſhould be ſuffered to withdraw himſelf from it, or to eſcape its operation, but under certain circumſtances, not to include the exemption, or unequal taxation, of any particular claſs of proprietors. Mr. Pitt then took notice of thoſe parts of the bill to which he objected, and with reſpect to which he hoped the Houſe would not go into a committee again, without making it a ſpecial inſtruction to ſuch committee to amend them. His objections referred to the principle of the abatements on ſmall incomes, in which land proprietors occupy their own property, and ſmall annuities in the funds were moſt unequally treated (the latter, in fact, involving little ſhort of a breach of public faith), and thoſe too of that claſs of perſons who were really entitled to compaſſion. It was propoſed in the bill to make various abatements to perſons having annual revenue not exceeding 150l. and all under 60l. a year, to be entirely diſcharged from the tax. From this exemption, however, the landed proprietors and receivers of intereſt in the funds to ſuch amount were excluded. He could not conceive the grounds upon which this excluſion was profeſſed to reſt. It certainly was, with reſpect to the funds, a breach of the principle upon which loans had been contracted for, and what effects ſuch an innovation was likely to have upon any future loan he would not pretend to ſay, but he would maintain it was a breach of promiſe to the contractors for the loans. For this ſtrange difference in the application, he was aware of but one argument which was advanced, namely, that it was fair to take a diſtinction between the profits of capital employed in induſtry, and that not ariſing from the ſame ſource. This diſtinction he thought the very reverſe of wiſdom; for if an equal tax was impoſed on the revenue of the land owner, and the profits of the man in trade, the deductions ſhould be the ſame from both, and that is conſiſtent with the principle of an Income Tax. No premium ſhould be given to men to employ their capital in a particular way, and nothing could be more iniquitous than to grant ſuch premium of the revenue of the poor landowners occupying their own ground, and the ſmaller annuitants in the funds. It would be ſubverſive of the ſyſtem by which this country had proſpered, would derange the regular courſe of property, and depart from that policy by which this country had advanced in defiance of all the pedantry of law, and all the formality of poſitive inſtitution. If it were deemed a good principle that the diſtinction he had alluded to ſhould prevail, he ſhould wiſh to hear upon what grounds it was not extended fully, that no difference was taken only in revenues under 150l. a year? Why, he would aſk, ſhould perſons of humble revenue in the funds and in land he made the ſacrifices of this ſingular difference, while thoſe of ſuperior revenues were left quite untouched? He deprecated in the ſtrongeſt terms a diſtinction pregnant with ſo much injuſtice in principle, and ſo much miſchief in impreſſion.

Mr. Pitt next proceeded to conſider the policy of the tax, as now modified, in its operation on Funded Property. He called the attention of the Houſe to the ſituation of many of thoſe who were to be made liable to the whole tax without any abatements, who had claims to abatement much more powerful than numerous claſſes of poſſeſſors of other property to whom abatements were extended. When it was conſidered that many of thoſe to be affected by it were the aged and the infirm, altogether incapable of increaſing their income by any exertion of their own; when it was reflected that they were in poſſeſſion of no capital which could admit of increaſe; that their wretched pittance could receive no poſſible augmentation; expoſed to the unavoidable viciſſitudes which the fluctuation of the funds experienced, and deſtitute even of the imaginary advantages of hope; was it, he would aſk, conſiſtent either with humanity, far leſs juſtice, to lay them under a preſſure ſo ſevere? It was hard that, under theſe diſadvantages, they ſhould be expoſed to a freſh burden, which could not fail to add to difficulties already unavoidable. The principle of the bill as it now ſtood, was in itſelf unfair, and, at all events, if it were allowed to remain, the ſame regulation ought to be extended to property in the funds as to all the lower ſpecies of property. But, above all other conſiderations, he deprecated the propoſed regulation as inconſiſtent with national good faith, and as calculated to ſtrike the firſt blow againſt that credit for which the country had been ſo long diſtinguiſhed. In every loan bill, the fundamental principle was, that there ſhould be no deduction from the dividends of thoſe who became the creditors of the public. Some perſons had even carried this ſo far, as to contend that they ought not to be included in a general tax on income. He was at leaſt confident, that it was inconſiſtent with the dignity or juſtice of parliament to place thoſe who had lent money to the public in a worſe ſituation than at the time when the money was advanced. There was no violation of any compact with the public creditor, in making property ariſing from the funds, be conſidered as a part of general income, but from the moment that the funds were ſeparately taxed, what foundation could the public creditor reſt upon in any future loan which it might be neceſſary to raiſe for the public

public ſervice? Never at any period was it more important than at the preſent moment to preſerve the public credit from the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion. It would indeed be a moſt extraordinary and moſt unaccountable circumſtance, if at the time that we were, for the purpoſe of upholding the character of parliament, and maintaining the good faith of the country in paying every year upwards of ſix millions to the extinction of the national debt, we ſhould, for the ſake of gaining a revenue of a few hundred thouſand pounds, reſort to a tax which might ſtrike at the root of public credit, and materially injure the future reſources of the country. Such a ſtep was peculiarly unſeaſonable at a moment when the propriety of raiſing a large portion of the ſupplies within the year, had met the univerſal approbation of all parts of the Houſe. It might produce conſequences on the public credit, which he would not then pretend to deſcribe. They might, however, unleſs counteracted by wiſer meaſures, be long experienced by conſequences of the moſt diſaſtrous nature. After adding a few more obſervations on this head, the right honourable gentleman ſat down by declaring his reſolution, as ſoon as the motion for taking the report into further conſideration was diſpoſed of, to move an inſtruction to the committee in terms of the concluding part of his ſpeech.

CHAP. XII.

Parliamentary Proceedings continued.

THE principal topics on which both houſes of parliament were engaged during the latter part of the month of July, were the bills for the Defence of the country, and in conſequence of the Iriſh rebellion. The Income Tax having been before treated of, and the opinions of the great political characters given on the ſubject, precludes our going over the ſame ground of diſcuſſion.

On the 22d, the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward a bill for the Improvement of the Port of London, and for the General Benefits of Merchandize, which was agreed to.

In the committee of Ways and Means, it appeared that the average increaſe of Permanent Taxes from July 1799 to July 1803, amounted to 891,842*l.* Beſides this, the Chancellor of the Exchequer propoſed the following reſolutions:

"1. That towards raiſing the ſum of two millions voted in the committee of Supply, the ſum of 1,500,000*l.* be raiſed out of the conſolidated fund, and be ſupplied by exchequer bills.

"2. That towards payment of money advanced by the Bank, the ſum of two millions be alſo raiſed by loans of exchequer bills, to be made good next year.

"3. That it appears, that the ſum of 1,500,000*l.* ſtands as the ſurplus of the conſolidated fund."

The attorney general, on July 26th, ſubmitted to the Houſe, the propriety of making ſome alterations in the Laws reſpecting Aliens. It appeared neceſſary that perſons offending under the Alien act ſhould be liable to be puniſhed in a more ſummary manner than was at preſent provided for. Under the act they could be puniſhed by indictment only for diſobeying the king's proclamation, and other offences. This mode of proceeding was, however, frequently very inconvenient; and it would be propoſed to alter it. Another change which he intended to ſuggeſt, related to the power of ſending aliens out of the country; that power was at preſent poſſeſſed by the magiſtrates; but in his opinion it ought to be lodged in the hands of the crown only. Several regulations, which were not neceſſary in the time of peace, when the laſt act was paſſed, would be introduced; others would alſo be made reſpecting the ports at which aliens ſhould be permitted to land. It was very deſirable that no neceſſity ſhould ariſe for ſuſpending the *Habeas Corpus* act; and in order that the people of this country might not be ſubjected to that inconvenience, it was proper to be more vigilant with reſpect to aliens. Under the preſent circumſtances of the country, it was indiſpenſably requiſite that foreigners ſhould be placed under reſtrictions, which he ſhould be very ſorry to ſee extended to the people of this country. He therefore moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill to repeal the Alien Act, and to ſubſtitute other regulations in lieu thereof. On ſuch conſiderations, leave was given.

Beſides the above, ſeveral bills for the Regulation, as well as the comforts, of the Engliſh and Iriſh Clergy, were paſſed.

But the moſt important buſineſs which engaged the attention of parliament at the cloſe of July, was occaſioned by the riots in Dublin.

On the 28th, in the Houſe of Lords, Lord Hobart preſented a meſſage from his Majeſty, relative to the treaſonable and rebellious practices lately carried on in Ireland; he ſaid, "it was with feelings of the deepeſt regret, he had to call their lordſhips' attention to the ſubject now brought before them. It was with deep and heartfelt ſorrow, he reflected on the violent and diſgraceful outrages lately committed in Ireland; and if there was in thoſe proceedings any one act of atrocity more horrible than another, it was that of the barbarous murder of a moſt diſtinguiſhed and meritorious character, who, one would ſuppoſe, ſhould have been the laſt perſon to fall a ſacrifice to the brutal and ferocious ſpirit with which thoſe miſcreants who deſtroyed him had been actuated. If

ever there was a man whoſe conduct was more blameleſs than that of another, it was the noble perſon to whom he alluded. Never was there any man who merited leſs the reſentments of others. In private life, he was peculiarly diſtinguiſhed for his virtues; and in public, he was eminently uſeful. He knew the excellent qualities of that noble perſon: he knew him as a private and public character*. His lordſhip obſerved, that beſides the addreſs which he ſhould move to his Majeſty, the Houſe would probably on that day have occaſion to adopt ſome meaſures of very great importance. He expected that certain bills would be paſſed in the Commons, and ſent to that Houſe. One of theſe would be a bill for Enabling the Government in Ireland to try perſons, charged with Rebellious Practices, by Courts Martial. In conſequence of what had already paſſed in Ireland, his Majeſty had the power to proclaim martial law there; but if that was done, it would extend univerſally over the country; but by the meaſure now intended to be brought forward, the operation of martial law would extend only to perſons actually concerned in the rebellion. The next meaſure would be a ſuſpenſion of the *Habeas Corpus* act, by which the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland would be enabled to detain all perſons ſuſpected of treaſon. Theſe meaſures it would be neceſſary to carry into effect without delay. With reſpect to the nature and extent of the inſurrection which had broke out in Ireland, he was not able at preſent to give ſo much information as he could wiſh; but from the accounts government had received, it appeared that, except in the city of Dublin, the rebellion had not broken out to any great extent in Ireland. He underſtood, that beſides the outrages committed in that city, there had been an inſurrection in the county of Kildare. Every noble lord who heard him muſt agree, that the moſt prompt, effectual, and expeditious ſteps muſt be taken to put a ſtop to thoſe diſgraceful and horrible proceedings. For the preſent, he ſhould content himſelf with moving an humble addreſs to his Majeſty, thanking him for his moſt gracious communication; and aſſuring his Majeſty, that the Houſe would cheerfully concur in any meaſures which could tend to reſtore general tranquillity in Ireland.

The Earl of Limerick lamented as much as any man could do, the fate of that truly virtuous and uſeful character, who had been moſt barbarouſly murdered. The act was one of the moſt atrocious that had been perpetrated for many years; and he fully agreed in the ſentiments expreſſed by the noble ſecretary of ſtate as to the excellent qualities of that noble lord. The horrible aſſaſſination of ſuch a perſon was a proof that there exiſted in Ireland a ſpirit of that diabolical and dangerous nature, as to require ſuch meaſures for its ſuppreſſion as thoſe intended to be brought forward, and ſuch as perfectly juſtified all the meaſures that had hitherto been adopted for the ſuppreſſion of rebellion there. He had already had occaſion in that Houſe to defend the meaſures adopted for Ireland. He was again ready to defend them; he was ready to take his ſhare of the reproaches that had been thrown out againſt thoſe who had ſupported the ſtrong meaſures put in practice there, for the ſuppreſſion of inſurrection and rebellion, and he ſhould never alter the opinion he had formed on the ſubject. He highly approved of the bill for extending the operations of martial law to certain deſcriptions of perſons in Ireland, becauſe the difference between that and the proclamation of martial law by his Majeſty would be, that this would reach only the guilty; whereas the other would include within its operation, all deſcriptions of people, whether they were diſaffected or loyal: he therefore conſidered it as a proof of the tender regard which the government paid to his loyal countryman, that the means taken to ſuppreſs rebellion came in ſuch a ſhape. There would not now be any interruption to the civil tribunals of the country, which muſt be all ſuſpended if martial law was proclaimed. The loyal inhabitants of Ireland would now derive the full benefit of the courts of juſtice; whereas none but rebels would be ſubjected to military tribunals. He equally approved of the plan for the ſuſpenſion of the *Habeas Corpus* act. The aſtoniſhment and indignation which he felt on learning theſe freſh inſtances of atrocity were greater than he could deſcribe. But he had the fulleſt reliance on the firmneſs, the patriotiſm, and courage, of a large portion of the people of Ireland; and he entertained no doubt, but that thoſe atrocious wretches who diſturbed the public tranquillity would be defeated in all their ſchemes: would meet with ruin and diſgrace. Before he ſat down, there was one point on which he would take the liberty of throwing out a ſuggeſtion to his Majeſty's miniſters. On a former occaſion, he had obſerved, that there ſhould be no diſtinction between the militia of England and the militia of Ireland, and that a ſmall ſea ſhould not prevent the militia of one country from paſſing into another country. If it was proper at that time to adopt his recommendation, how much more ſo muſt it be now, for reaſons which he would explain to the Houſe. There were about eighteen thouſand militia ſoldiers in Ireland at this time. With regard to the courage and the loyalty of thoſe men, he entertained no kind of doubt whatever. But he muſt aſſure their lordſhips, and he ſpoke from poſitive knowledge and experience, that every art would be uſed, as had been uſed hitherto, to withdraw them

* As Lord Hobart was proceeding, he was ſo overcome with grief, that for ſome moments he could not utter a word; he at length apologized to the Houſe, and truſted their lordſhips would excuſe him for an irregularity which was occaſioned by his feelings on a melancholy ſubject, in which he was ſo perſonally intereſted.

from

from their duty and allegiance; and from the close connexion that existed between them and those people who might be in a state of rebellion—from the superstitious attachment they generally had for each other, and the influence which their priests had over them, it was impossible to say how far their loyalty might be shaken. He must, therefore, again strongly recommend it to his Majesty's ministers, to remove the militia regiments from Ireland to Great Britain, not by any compulsory law, but by giving them an opportunity of volunteering their services, and when they came to this country, they would be found as powerful and efficacious troops as any in his Majesty's service. He hoped he should be excused for throwing out this hint, but he did it from a real conviction that it would be highly beneficial in the present state of the country.

The address was then moved and passed.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, accompanied by several members of the Commons, brought up two bills, one for Trying Rebels by Martial Law in Ireland, and the other for Suspending the *Habeas Corpus* Act in Ireland. They were both read a first time.

On the motion of Lord Hobart, the proclamation issued by the Lord Lieutenant and council of Ireland, on 24th, was read, and ordered to lie on the table.

Lord Hobart then said, that as it would be necessary to pass the two bills on that night, there must be a suspension of the standing orders of the House, which prevented the reading of any bill more than once on the same day. He moved, "That as it was necessary for the public safety these bills should be passed with the utmost dispatch, the House forthwith proceed to read them in their several stages, notwithstanding any standing orders of the House," which being carried, the two bills were read through all their stages, and passed.

It was in the House of Commons, however, that the public opinion was more amply displayed concerning the atrocious transaction alluded to.

The same day on which this business had been brought forward in the House of Lords, the Chancellor of the Exchequer presented to the Lower House, the following message from his Majesty:

"*GEORGE* R.

"His Majesty feels the deepest regret in acquainting the House of Commons, that a treasonable and rebellious spirit of insurrection has manifested itself in Ireland, which has been marked by circumstances of peculiar atrocity in the city of Dublin.

"His Majesty relies with perfect confidence on the wisdom of his parliament, that such measures will be forthwith adopted, as are best calculated to afford protection and security to his Majesty's loyal subjects in that part of the united kingdom, and to restore and preserve general tranquillity.

"*G. R.*"

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, after expatiating on the enormity of the Irish rebellion, proposed, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of this House for his most gracious message; to assure his Majesty, that we learn with the strongest feelings of regret and indignation, that a treasonable and rebellious spirit of insurrection has manifested itself in Ireland, which has been marked with circumstances of peculiar atrocity in the city of Dublin; that his Majesty may be assured of the readiness and determination of his faithful Commons, to adopt forthwith such measures as may appear to them to be best calculated to afford protection and security to his Majesty's loyal subjects in that part of the united kingdom, and to restore and preserve general tranquillity."

Mr. Windham said, the proposing of an address to the throne upon the very same day on which his Majesty's message had been delivered, was exceedingly unusual in parliamentary proceedings. He thought it might be reckoned respectful to the crown, to make a small interval of time betwixt his Majesty's message and the address now proposed. The objects comprehended by that message were not at present fit for mature consideration. In the present instance, he entertained no doubt of the propriety of the House assenting to the purpose of his Majesty's message, but there might be a question, whether or not that message really contained all that was conformable to their feelings on the occasion? The right honourable gentleman had given them to understand, that he would not think it prudent to detain the House with the particulars of this important intelligence, previous to his motion being adopted; so that they were just left in a state of sufficient information to make such an answer as he had now proposed. If this conduct be adopted, and reckoned prudent, he should wish to know, why the other practice had ever prevailed? If the bare statement of measures were enough, then it would be thought unbecoming in parliament ever to enter into any minute consideration of a message, previous to its adopting an answer to be returned to his Majesty. Now, upon this particular subject, he could really conceive, that there was a great deal of information and mature deliberation wanted, before they could frame an address which could be reckoned proper for the occasion. When they had something more of this general communication of a rebellion having broken out in Ireland, many different reflections might arise out of the particulars in regard to what that House ought either to say or do. Was it an easy matter to say, that Ireland had been surprised by an open rebellion or insurrection having broken out, that government had been so ignorant of their dangers, that even the capital of that part of the united kingdom had been almost wrested from them by

by means of that rebellion? Were not thoſe points on which the Houſe would wiſh to be informed, before they thought of adopting any final anſwer to ſuch a communication? If it were ſaid that ſuch information could not be then ſubmitted, but that the earlieſt opportunity of doing ſo ſhould be embraced for that purpoſe, he would willingly allow his objections to fall to the ground, and ſhould be of the ſame opinion with the right honourable gentleman, that, without knowing more, we ſhould teſtify our deſire and inclination to aſſiſt his Majeſty. The right honourable gentleman had expreſſed his flattering hopes and expectations as to the rebellion only affecting a very ſmall part of that country, and of its being prevalent only amongſt a very ſmall portion of its inhabitants; but even as to that circumſtance, in their preſent ſituation, they are not able to ſay yes or no. He might obſerve, by way of queſtion, how came government not to have been better prepared for emergencies ſuch as the preſent? How came it to paſs, that the capital of that part of the united kingdom was within an ace of being taken, and the government overturned? It appeared from all theſe circumſtances, that the government of the country might be ſnatched away, without the leaſt notice being previouſly given to the Houſe, as to the real exiſting dangers. That being the ſtate of things, it required the greateſt conſideration of parliament to know what ought to be done. The delay of even twenty-four hours had been objected to in the preſent inſtance. Nor could he determine whether the urgency of the caſe could be ſo great as to preclude the urgency of conſideration. He concluded by ſaying, that if the addreſs was at preſent to be agreed to, it ſhould in his opinion be done only *pro forma*, and then the matter taken into conſideration and deliberate diſcuſſion; it being a practice not countenanced by the general rules of the Houſe, to vote an immediate addreſs to any meſſage from his Majeſty.

Mr. Sheridan did not riſe for the purpoſe either of voting for the preſent addreſs, merely *pro forma*, nor did he riſe to reply to the obſervations which had fallen from the right honourable member who had juſt ſat down. He had ſaid, that twenty-four hours were not of great conſequence in ſuch a caſe as this. He begged leave to differ moſt decidedly from the right honourable gentleman as to that particular. He would wiſh him to reflect, what effect ſuch a delay would have in Ireland. When thouſands in that country would be trembling and looking with anxiety to their preſent deliberations, and others perhaps at that moment ſharing the ſame fate as that of the unfortunate Chief Juſtice in that country, who had already fallen a ſacrifice to a moſt rebellious and audacious mob, what would the people of Ireland think, if they underſtood that they had adjourned for the ſpace of twenty-four hours? No, let them not make the ſmalleſt delay in returning that anſwer which the emergency of the caſe required. The right honourable gentleman wiſhed to reproach miniſters for having diſcouraged the loyal part of the inhabitants of Ireland. His allegations ſeemed to be totally unfounded. He hoped and truſted, that no inſurrection of the kind he had alluded to had exiſted on that occaſion. Was it to go forth to the people of Ireland, upon his ſimple authority, that the inſurgents were in ſuch union as to be able to take the very capital? That would be calling forth inſurrection and rebellion over all the united kingdom. He was ſtrongly of opinion that no delay ought to take place in regard to the adoption of the propoſed motion.

Mr. Hutchinſon ſaid, at a time like the preſent, when the ſcreams of the widow, and the tears of the orphan were reaching our ears, he thought that no delay ought to intervene, ſo as to obſtruct the adoption of ſome ſpeedy meaſures for their relief. As he knew the bleſſings of the conſtitution of his country, he was determined to die in ſupport of it; and as he loved his country, this addreſs had his moſt cordial concurrence. He hoped and truſted, that the loyal part of that country might not be confounded with the murderers and traitorous part of it. He thought that we ſhould mark our zeal and determination to ſuppreſs rebellion, and at the ſame time manifeſt ourſelves to be wiſe, prudent, and humane in our meaſures.

Lord Hawkeſbury, after vindicating the meaſures of his Majeſty's miniſters, and replying to the aſſertions of Mr. Windham, obſerved, "though the preſent rebellion had been yet of ſhort duration, already had a moſt reſpectable character, the Lord Chief Juſtice of Ireland, fallen a ſacrifice to the ſavage ferocity of an armed mob, having been murdered in a moſt ſhocking manner, and under circumſtances which were far from exciting ſuch ſentiments as the right honourable gentleman expreſſed upon the occaſion. Muſt they, according to his opinion, ſtop till this armed banditti had time to commit a few more murders? Were no precautions to be taken to prevent ſuch fatal and ſuch melancholy conſequences? The propoſition of delay was perfectly abſurd in ſuch a critical emergency as the preſent. The Houſe was by no means precluded from voting for the addreſs at preſent; but grant that it was precluded by forms, which muſt on other occaſions be rigorouſly attended to, he would aſk, was not that an occaſion where a natural and fair line of diſtinction ought to be drawn? It was not now for them to enquire into the cauſes which had conduced to that rebellion, or whether it had originated from any degree of neglect; but to ſay that we ſhould adopt precautionary meaſures. The only tendency of the right honourable gentleman's objection had been to prevent the good effect which would

would undoubtedly have arisen from their shewing to the country that they were all of one spirit, one feeling, and one voice, as to the propriety of adopting some speedy and effectual measures for quelling the rebellious insurrection which had unhappily testified itself in that part of the united kingdom.

Dr. Laurence said, that his right honourable friend had not, in his apprehension, made any objection to the motion, but merely wished for an enquiry into the state of a country connected with this by every tie of reciprocal interest, of situation, and of destiny. He did not consider it as a proper answer to him to say, "pass this measure first, and you may afterwards move any enquiry you think proper." Ministers had no right to throw that *onus* upon others, it being their duty to produce themselves all the necessary information. He concluded, with giving it as his opinion, that no vote of confidence they could pass, would have the same effect as an act of their judgment, agreed to without forerunning their deliberation.

Such observations urged Lord Castlereagh to say, that it appeared to him, the honourable gentleman, who had been so kind as to afford them the explanation of the speech of another, had only succeeded in rendering the proposition still more unintelligible than it was before. They wanted, it seemed to have the functions of the House suspended till ministers gave a pledge for subsequent enquiry, in such a manner as to make confession of their own delinquency. Ministers would not do this; they would not be their own accusers; but they pledged themselves to meet any charge of criminality that might be brought against them, though a charge so doubly absurd, would only appreciate the folly and impolicy of those who might bring it forward. The motion now before them admitted of no other deliberation, but in the measures to be provided in consequence of it. It was not at variance with the usual practice of the House. On all extraordinary occasions, it had been customary for the House to acknowledge his Majesty's communication, and to assure him, that it would lose no time in taking it into consideration; nor was there more demanded of it by the present motion. Upon the state of Ireland they ought not to deceive themselves; though there was at that moment an appearance of rebellion, yet the strong mass of the people which saved the country once, had even, by the suppression of the former troubles, received an accession of accumulated strength, which would render her more powerful than ever. He was, therefore, quite astonished, that the right honourable gentleman, whose loyal feelings, attachment to his country and its government, and ardent spirit of patriotism, nobody ever doubted, should attempt to found a proposition of delay upon that which admitted of no debate whatever. The public safety imperiously demanded that they should not then wait for criminating the ministers; let him do that if he thought proper afterwards, and he may rest assured, that ministers would not avoid it.

Mr. Alexander recommended the example of the Irish parliament, who, when the late rebellion broke out in that country, immediately upon the communication being made to the House from his excellency the Lord Lieutenant, without a single word of debate, instantly and unanimously voted a loyal address to his Majesty, expressing their determination to support their King and constitution; and the whole House in a body, preceded by their Speaker, went bareheaded up to the Castle, and presented the address to his excellency. The effect in the city of Dublin was forcible and instantaneous, and inspired every loyal man with the determination to unite and put down rebellion.

The question was then put, and the address voted *nem. con.*

The Chancellor of the Exchequer then brought up a copy of the proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant and council of Ireland, which we have before inserted.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer then said, that the House would observe, in the proclamation, that it stated, the outrage committed in Dublin was, in the opinion of the persons by whom the proclamation was issued, the result of a dangerous and traitorous conspiracy against his Majesty's government and the constitution of the country. He was fully aware that he should not be justified, nor could any consideration induce him to propose such measures as those which he felt it his duty, indispensable duty, to submit, if the outrages which had excited the horror and indignation of every well-conditioned mind, were the result of any other projects than those against the public safety: for however they might regret the circumstances alluded to in the proclamation, they furnished of themselves no ground for narrowing the constitution within the limits of the existing government of the country; and although the proclamation avowed a dangerous conspiracy, it did not specify those details which it was necessary should be furnished before those measures were adopted which he should feel it his duty to recommend. But there were occasions when it was necessary that those who were entrusted with the conduct of government, were bound to state, if they could not in detail, at least on their solemn declaration, subject to an heavy responsibility, that the measure which touched the constitution of the land, was called for by the circumstances of the country, and a due regard for the public safety. He should contend that the proclamation itself contained grounds which would warrant the measure, but it was necessary he should state that the proclamation did not contain all the information in possession of his Majesty's government; information which,

at the preſent moment, it would have been highly improper to declare. It ſtated a dangerous conſpiracy at a time when it was the avowed deſign of the enemy to invade the country, and when parliament was about to ſeparate. With reſpect to the particular meaſure he meant firſt to propoſe, and he aſſured the Houſe, he did it with reluctance, it was for the purpoſe, according to the title of the bill, of ſuppreſſing rebellion, and protecting the perſons and property of his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects in Ireland. The means by which this purpoſe was to be effected were, that wherever perſons ſhould be found in actual rebellion, power ſhould be given to the Lord Lieutenant to direct that courts martial ſhould be called for their immediate trial. Let it be recollected, that if the threat of our inſolent and implacable enemy ſhould be carried into execution, there would exiſt in his Majeſty, by virtue of his royal prerogative, a power to proclaim martial law throughout his dominions. But what was martial law? It was not that which he wiſhed the Lord Lieutenant ſhould be authoriſed to put in force, but it was that ſyſtem which ſuſpended the ordinary courſe of juſtice, and ſubſtituted martial law for the law of the land. Now, what he wiſhed was, to give a power to the Lord Lieutenant, that ſhould not diſturb the ordinary adminiſtration of juſtice, but by which, for the purpoſe of ſuppreſſing rebellion, thoſe who were taken in arms againſt the government, ſhould be liable to be tried by a military court. He ſhould content himſelf with this, were it not for a conſideration neceſſary to be explained, in order that it might not appear that he was propoſing meaſures of unneceſſary rigour, for ſuch they would be, if they were beyond the public exigency. If the Houſe ſhould adopt the motion for the bill he had ſtated, he ſhould follow it up with a motion for the ſuſpenſion of the *Habeas Corpus* act. He might be aſked, what was his reaſon for having recourſe to ſuch ſecond meaſures? He anſwered, that under the bill for the ſuppreſſion of rebellion, a power would be given to the Lord Lieutenant to try all perſons taken in rebellion by courts martial. He did not wiſh to conſign to trial by courts martial, all whom the government might think it neceſſary to detain. He wiſhed not to loſe the benefit of civil proceſs. If a bill for the ſuſpenſion of the *Habeas Corpus* act was not to paſs, government would be obliged to take up every one found in rebellion, and adopt the courſe laid down in the bill for ſuppreſſing inſurrection. This bill, therefore, was meant to qualify the rigour of the other bill, by providing that perſons might be committed by civil proceſs, without any court martial.

He moved then for leave to bring in a bill, for the Suppreſſion of Rebellion in Ireland, and for the Protection of the Perſons and Property of his Majeſty's faithful Subjects there.

Mr. Windham ſaid, he wiſhed to ſuggeſt the real ſituation in which the Houſe was placed. Whether the meaſure was right or wrong, he ſhould not attempt to pronounce. He muſt take it on the repreſentation and knowledge of his Majeſty's miniſters, who themſelves had taken it from the repreſentation and knowledge of others. He thought it a meaſure too ſtrong to be taken on the authority of ſuch information. As the queſtion ſtood, martial law was to be eſtabliſhed in Ireland, becauſe the right honourable gentleman, for reaſons which he could not declare, told the Houſe it was neceſſary. From this circumſtance he might derive a juſtification of what he ſaid before, for every twenty-four hours might bring ſomething. It would be deſirable that ſome further information ſhould be given. All that was known was, that an inſurrection had broken out in the country. It was a circumſtance worthy of reflection, that the perſons on whoſe authority they were to rely for the neceſſity of the meaſure propoſed, were the very miniſters by whom the laſt acts had been repealed. It was very remarkable, that they who, at no very diſtant period, repealed the acts, ſhould now deſire the Houſe to renew them. When the Houſe was not allowed a moment to deliberate, it naturally created doubt. Perhaps it was the repeal of the acts that had created the neceſſity for renewing of them.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in explanation, ſtated, that the government of Ireland had not repealed the acts after the peace, but had ſuffered them to expire.

Mr. Hawthorn ſupported the motion, becauſe he thought the meaſure would be productive of moſt ſalutary effects in the hands of that illuſtrious nobleman now at the head of the government in Ireland, whoſe conduct he had long witneſſed with admiration, and which, he was convinced, was calculated to conciliate the affections, and better the condition of the people of Ireland; and which he believed it had done in a very conſiderable degree, particularly in that part of the country where he lived; and he was of opinion, that, notwithſtanding the partial inſtance of inſurrection and horrid outrage which had recently occurred, the ſpirit of inſurrection was by no means general in Ireland, and ſo far as it did exiſt, was confined to the loweſt orders of the people.

Mr. I. H. Browne ſaid, he ſhould not have troubled the Houſe, unleſs an idea had been thrown out, that they were acting in confidence to his Majeſty's miniſters. He thought that to call perſons in Ireland before courts martial, on the aſſertion of his Majeſty's miniſters, was juſtifiable. He was fully convinced of the neceſſity of the meaſure, and that there ought not to be a moment's delay; but this conviction was not in conſequence of any thing his Majeſty's miniſters had ſaid. It was in conſequence of

of the atrocious act that had been committed, and not from that act alone, horrid as it was. He accompanied the act with the ſad hiſtory of the laſt ten years; with the warfare in which we had recently been engaged; with the efforts of the uſurper of France, againſt our liberties; with the meaſures that had engaged every hand and heart in their defence. If he did not believe a ſyllable of what his Majeſty's miniſters ſaid, the fact ſpoke for itſelf. He thought it was of importance to whom the power was given. The preſent government of Ireland, by not wiſhing to avail themſelves of the alarm by continuing the acts, ſhewed that they would not make a bad uſe of them if they were renewed. He ſupported the meaſure with more pleaſure, when he conſidered the character of the preſent government.

Mr. Hutchinſon explained what he had before ſaid, and ſpoke at conſiderable length on a variety of topics. He wiſhed that vigorous meaſures ſhould be exerted for putting down rebellion in the firſt inſtance, but that meaſures of lenience and humanity ſhould not be abandoned. He deprecated moſt ardently, the revival of thoſe horrid ſcenes of whipping, ſhooting, ſtrangling, and houſe-burning, that during the late rebellion had been carried to enormous lengths, to the production of ſo much miſery amongſt the unfortunate people of that country, by entruſting the execution of ſtrong meaſures to the hands of exaſperated, prejudiced, and ſanguinary men; and which tended rather to produce and to exaggerate, than to ſuppreſs rebellion. He had witneſſed many of thoſe horrid ſcenes, and he congratulated that Houſe, that their eyes had been ſpared the painful view of ſuch horrors. He earneſtly beſought the Houſe not to turn away its eyes from the complaints, whether real or imaginary, that agitated the minds of the unhappy multitude in that country; but that, inſtead of ſeparating, late as it was in the ſeaſon, they would inveſtigate, and probe to the quick, thoſe queſtions and meaſures which could have, by poſſibility, a tendency to ſuppreſs every diſpoſition to diſcontent and tumult, by quiet rather than coercive means; and he concluded by conjuring the Houſe to turn its eyes to that country, as one which was capable of being rendered a ſource of impregnable ſtrength and riches to the Britiſh empire; but which, if not fully conciliated, by wiſe and lenient means, might be perverted to the contrary.

Lord Caſtlereagh obſerved, that the proof this meaſure was not to be looſely committed to the hands of thoſe likely to miſconceive or abuſe its intentions was, that it was veſted entirely in the diſcretion of the Lord Lieutenant. With reſpect to the acts of ſeverity alluded to by the honourable member, they were unfortunately mutual, and the natural conſequence of the mutual enmity and exaſperation between two parties in the ſame country, armed and at war againſt each other.

The report of the bill was then received and paſſed.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer then obtained leave to bring in a bill to enable the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to ſecure and detain ſuch perſons as he ſhould ſuſpect to be conſpiring againſt his Majeſty's perſon and government. The bill was brought up, carried through all its ſtages, and paſſed. A clauſe was introduced into this, as well as into the former bill, for limiting the duration of both to ſix weeks after the commencement of the next ſeſſion of parliament. The bills were ſent to the Lords, and about half paſt ten o'clock, a meſſage came down, informing the Houſe, that the Lords had agreed to the ſame without any amendment.

The debates, in July, open to our view an intereſting ſcene of domeſtic politics; for it appeared that in the relative ſituations of Mr. Addington and Mr. Pitt, all ambiguity had vaniſhed. They ſtood in direct and open oppoſition to each other.—The ground which Mr. Pitt took to throw all that myſtery, doubt, and ſuſpicion, which had for ſome time diſtinguiſhed his conduct, was in the debate on the Income Tax, on the 15th; and here his character, which had hitherto been prejudiced, now diſtinguiſhed itſelf by boldneſs, candour, and deciſion.

In his oppoſition to the detail of meaſures, his perſeverance had been conſtrued into a fretful, captious irritation, by its ſupporters; and with a view to get rid of it, and expoſe his weakneſs, they had divided the Houſe upon an inſignificant clauſe. This certainly ſhewed the extent of Mr. Pitt's weakneſs; but it ſhewed, at the ſame time, the weight of his argument; for though the miniſter had carried the point relative to the exemptions reſpecting ſmall funded property, by a majority of one hundred and fifty to fifty, yet he afterwards bowed, upon reflection, to the individual opinion of Mr. Pitt, and gave up the ſenſe and ſanction of ſuch a great majority to that opinion. But no man could at the ſame time, pretend to object, that Mr. Pitt's ſuggeſtions had not tended to improve the bill in queſtion; however ſhort it might ſtill be of perfection, though the extending of exemptions to landed and funded property under 150*l. per* year, the point on which Mr. Pitt had ſo pertinaciouſly contended, and finally ſucceeded, was much approved. This ſubmiſſion of the miniſter had, however, no effect on Mr. Pitt, nor did he abate an atom of his oppoſition.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

The First Consul's Desire to obtain the Royal Authority.—His Correspondence for that Purpose.—Names his Officers for the Invasion of England.—Curious Specimen of Deception.—Aims to form an Armed Neutrality.—Affairs of Ireland continued.

A Late writer has observed, that "the honourable and sincere friend of glory, proposes a magnanimous treaty with the human race—he consecrates his talents to their service—his ruling passion impels him to communicate happiness to mankind, by the fortunate result of his efforts—and countries unknown to him experience the fruit of his wakeful toils; whilst the only reward he asks is, that fame may discharge its debt of gratitude, and that the glory of his name may be united with the merit of his actions."

If such commendations are justly bestowed on the magnanimous; what must be the censure of such as pursue an opposite conduct? who establish an exorbitant power on the miseries of those whom they ought to befriend, and who fix the permanency of human greatness on the tremendous effects of their depression.

The towering ambition of the First Consul having burst through every boundary, set all human investigation at defiance. The absolute controul which he had assumed, the violence which he menaced, and the promises which he liberally dispersed, hinted to every nation, that on his will suspended prosperity or adversity.

Enveloped by a concatenation of circumstances which nourished his vanity, and added strength to his measures, the operation of these evinced itself in a very conspicuous, immediate, and unexpected manner. Bonaparte, though nominally united in office, could not brook equals, and therefore panted for superiority. It was not the chief consulate that was to gratify his wishes; the royal tarnished diadem of France, he imagined, was to recover more than its former lustre, when ornamenting his brows; but this, without the absolute authority, consequence, and inviolability attached, were not charms sufficient for his attention; and therefore he had privately negociated with the Bourbon princes to relinquish their right in his favour, and offered them terms for their resignation, which their honour rejected with becoming dignity and disdain.

Most of these princes had found an asylum in the British dominions, since the Revolution which had deluged their native soil with blood; they, therefore, considered themselves naturalized to the country; and bound to express themselves to the nation in all that concerned their circumstances or their welfare. It was in consequence of this collateral disposition, that the following transaction was now disclosed.

Bonaparte through the medium of Prussia, had applied to the brother of the late king of France, called Louis the Eighteenth, to resign all future pretensions to the crown of France in his favour.

On the 26th of February, a personage of prominent distinction, empowered by high authority, waited on the prince at Warsaw, and verbally made to him, in terms the most respectful, but at the same time the most urgent, and, in the opinion of him who urged them, the most persuasive, the astonishing proposal to renounce the throne of France, and to require the same renunciation on the part of all the members of the house of Bourbon: the envoy, moreover, observed that, as a price of this sacrifice, Bonaparte would secure indemnities to his majesty, and even a splendid establishment. The prince strongly animated by that sentiment which the hand of adversity is never able to obliterate from elevated souls, and which makes him cling as tenaciously to his rights as he does to the happiness of France, immediately wrote the following answer to the person who was deputed to him:

"I am far from being inclined to confound M. Bonaparte with those who have preceded him. I think highly of his valour, and of his military talents. Neither do I feel ungrateful for many acts of his administration; for whatever is done for the benefit of my people, shall always be dear to my heart. He is deceived, however, if he imagines that he can induce me to forego my claims, for otherwise he himself would confirm and establish them, could they be called in question, by the very step he has now taken.

"I cannot pretend to know what may be the intention of the Almighty respecting my race, and myself; but I am well aware of the obligations imposed upon me by the rank to which he was pleased I should be born. As a Christian, I shall continue to fulfil these obligations to my last breath. As a descendant of St. Louis, I shall endeavour to imitate his

his example, by reſpecting myſelf—even in captivity and chains. As ſucceſſor of Francis the Firſt, I ſhall at leaſt aſpire to ſay with him—*We have loſt every thing but our honour.*"

At the bottom of this anſwer was written the following words:—

"With the permiſſion of the King my uncle, I adhere with heart and ſoul to the contents of this note.

"(Signed) LOUIS ANTOINE."

Diſſatisfied with ſuch a candid, though dignified refuſal, the ſame envoy, purſuant to the orders which he had received, waited again upon Louis. There was no longer any queſtion about the ſubſtance of his anſwer, but ſome alterations were intimated reſpecting the terms in which the form of the anſwer ſhould be couched; apprehenſions ſeemed to be felt, leſt it ſhould ſo far irritate the Firſt Conſul, as to prompt him to exert his influence, in order to aggravate the misfortunes of Louis. He, however, obſerved, that *he ſhould make no alteration in the anſwer, which was as moderate as could be expected, and that Bonaparte could not be juſtified in complaining of it, ſince if indeed it had treated him as a rebel and an uſurper, it would have told him no more than a truth.* Upon this certain dangers were hinted to him.—*What dangers?* anſwered he. Ill-minded perſons may require that I withdraw from the aſylum that is granted to me. *I will pity the ſovereign who may deem himſelf compelled to take ſuch a part, and I will withdraw.* No! that is not it; but may it not be apprehended, that M. Bonaparte will make it a point with certain powers to deprive the Comte de Lille of the aſſiſtance they now afford him. *I do not dread poverty. Were it neceſſary, I would eat black bread with my family and faithful ſervants—but do not be alarmed, I ſhall never be reduced to that extremity. I have another reſource to rely upon, which I do not think proper to reſort to, as long as I have powerful friends; and that is to make known my ſituation in France, and to ſtretch out my hand, not—never to a government of uſurpation, but to my faithful ſubjects; and, rely upon it, I ſhall ſoon be richer than I am now.*

The concluſion of the buſineſs was, that the envoy carried back the anſwer of the King, *ſuch as it firſt ſtood*, which anſwer had been ſent to him in the original, in caſe his majeſty ſhould be inclined to make any alterations in it.

An expreſs was now diſpatched to Monſieur, acquainting him with what had paſſed, and inſtructed him to make known the ſame to the Princes of the Blood who were in England, taking charge himſelf to inform ſuch of them reſpecting it who did not reſide in that country. On this occaſion, a meeting of the Princes was called, who with equal alacrity and unanimity, ſigned the following adheſion to the anſwer of the King.

"We the underſigned Princes, the brother, nephews, and couſins, of his Majeſty Louis XVIII. King of France and Navarre,

"Thoroughly impreſſed with the ſame ſentiments with which our ſovereign lord and king has ſhewn himſelf to be ſo honourably animated in his anſwer to the propoſal made to him of renouncing the throne of France and of requiring all the Princes of his Houſe in like manner to renounce all the impreſcriptible claims to the ſucceſſion to that ſame throne, DECLARE,

"That as our attachment to our rights, to our duty, and to our honour, can never permit us to forego our claims we adhere with heart and ſoul to the anſwer made by our King.

"That in imitation of his example, we ſhall not lend ourſelves in any manner whatever to any ſtep or proceeding that can imply on our part a failing in what we owe to ourſelves, to our anceſtors, to our deſcendants.

"WE FINALLY DECLARE, that being fully convinced that a large majority of the French people inwardly participate in all the ſentiments by which we are animated, it is in the name of our loyal countrymen, as well as our own, that we renew upon our ſword, and to our King, the ſolemn and ſacred oath, to live and die faithful to our honour, and to our legitimate ſovereign.

"(Signed)

"CHARLES PUILIPPE OF FRANCE,
"CHARLES FERDINAND OF ARTOIS, Duke of Berri,
"LOUIS PHILIPPE OF ORLEANS, Duke of Orleans,
"ANTOINE PHILIPPE OF ORLEANS, Duke of Montpelier,
"LOUIS CHARLES OF ORLEANS, Count of Beaujolois,
"LOUIS JOSEPH DE BOURBON, Prince of Condé,
"LOUIS HENRY JOSEPH DE BOUBON-CONDE, Duke Bourbon.

"*Wanſted Houſe, April 23d*, 1803."

"*Adheſion of the Duke of Enghien.*

"Sire,

"The letter of the 2d March, with which your Majeſty has vouchſafed to honour me, reached me in due time. Your Majeſty is too well acquainted with the blood which flows in my veins, to have entertained a moment's doubt reſpecting the tenor and ſpirit of the anſwer which your Majeſty calls for. I am a Frenchman, Sire, and a Frenchman faithful to his God, to his King, and to the oaths that are binding on his honour; many others may perhaps one day envy me this triple advantage. Will your Majeſty therefore vouchſafe to permit me to annex my ſignature to that of the Duke D'Angouleme, adhering, as I do, with him, in heart and ſoul, to the

contents of the note of my ſovereign? It is in theſe invariable ſentiments, that I remain, Sire,

" Your Majeſty's moſt humble, moſt obedient, and very faithful ſubject and ſervant,

" (Signed) LOUIS ANTOINE HENRY DE BOURBON.

Ettenheim, in the Dominions of the Margrave of Baden, March 22d, 1803.

The Firſt Conſul having been declared the head of the Army of England, appointed general Berthier to be chief, and Deſolles ſecond in command, and named a number of ſubordinate officers. The labours of dock yards aſſumed a ſtate of exertion: all France, Holland, and Flanders, were employed to furniſh warlike implements for the propoſed Engliſh invaſion; and no pains were wanting to evince the moſt extraordinary activity to forward the chief conſul's boaſted project.

By way of ſpiriting up the people of Paris, to an approbation of theſe proceedings, the journaliſts were inſtructed to deceive the public by fabricated aſſertions of internal diſturbances againſt the government in England *.

To accord with theſe meaſures, and foment all the diſcord that was poſſible, emiſſaries were diſperſed to the European powers, for the purpoſe of inducing them, if poſſible, to form an armed neutrality againſt the Britiſh government. Electors were to govern kingdoms; and kings were to be exalted to empire. Malta was offered to the emperor of Ruſſia; Hanover was promiſed to his brother-in-law the Duke of Mechlenburgh, whilſt the dominions of his other brother-in-law, the elector of Bavaria, were to be raiſed to a kingdom. Ruſſia, however, refuſed the gaudy boon, and Pruſſia was the next object for application. To this monarch was promiſed Hanover, the Imperial city of Bremen, and the oſtentatious glittering of an Imperial crown. Hamburgh and Lubeck were propoſed to Denmark, in return for the iſland of Bornholm, as ceded to Sweden, in exchange for Swediſh Pomerania, which had been already given to the prince biſhop of Lubeck.

Such was the plan for revolutionizing the north of Europe. The French miniſter, Talleyrand, had ſaid, " that not a prince ſhould ſurvive upon the Continent, whoſe exiſtence was not dependent on that of his maſter; who had not ſhared his indemnities, or who had not guaranteed the indemnities, as he had thought fit to ſhare them among the ſeveral ſtates." This had been fully exemplified in the deſtruction of Venice, the partition of Germany, the ſlavery of Switzerland, the invaſion of Egypt, and the oppreſſion of Holland.

Such was the unhappy ſtate of the continent of Europe at this period, which we leave for the preſent, and return to that part of the Britiſh empire which engaged our attention at the latter end of the laſt Book.

The effects produced by the riots in Dublin, were jealouſy and apprehenſion; and although government purſued the moſt vigorous meaſures for quieting the alarm which ſuch an outrage had occaſioned, ſtill each looked upon his neighbour with ſuſpicion, and feared to truſt him with his ſentiments upon the dangers that ſeemed to hover round the capital and its vicinity. This diſpoſition was increaſed by the diſcovery of vaſt quantities of arms in ſeveral parts of the city, by the yeomanry and military, which were conveyed to the Caſtle and Barracks.

But when the ſpirit of rebellion was expoſed and repelled by the prompt means which all thought it their duty to purſue, public confidence aſſumed its importance. The inſurgents were hunted out of their retreats, and brought forward to atone for their enormities to the offended laws of their country.

To add ſtrength and authority to theſe proceedings, the efforts of the magiſtracy were rendered efficient, by a proclamation iſſued by the Lord Lieutenant, in which was inſerted, that " Whereas it had become neceſſary to uſe the moſt ſpeedy and effectual means to put an end to the rebellious inſurrections which had broken out, and had been attended with the moſt daring and flagrant outrages:

" The Lord Lieutenant had thought fit, by and with the advice of his Majeſty's privy council, to give orders, and they had accordingly given the moſt poſitive orders to the officers commanding his Majeſty's forces, to exert the utmoſt energy for that purpoſe, and accordingly to attack and diſperſe all aſſemblies of armed rebels, wherever they might be found,

* Among others, the following may ſerve as a ſpecimen: " Some ſerious diſturbances have broken out at London, occaſioned by the aſſembling of crowds of the populace on Black-friar's Bridge, in Whitechapel, and at the entrance of Catharine Street, in the Strand. They made large bonfires for the purpoſe of burning Mr. Addington in effigy, of whom they had procured a ſtriking likeneſs. From his mouth was ſuſpended a label, with the following words in capital letters: " Give, Give, Give." The ſingularity and hardihood of this proceeding, drew together a prodigious crowd. The magiſtrates in vain endeavoured to diſperſe the multitude, and ran the riſk of perſonal injury; but the arrival of ſome light horſe relieved them from their embarraſſment. The captain of the detachment endeavoured to ſeize the effigy, by darting through the mob, and into the fire; but ſcarcely had he touched it, when the cords being conſumed, it fell into the blaze, while the efforts of the officer to recover it made him alſo fall in the midſt of the fire, whence he was taken after being burnt to death, amidſt the acclamations of the people.

" As Catherine Street is in the vicinity of the journaliſts devoted to the war faction, the populace, taking advantage of their ſtrength, attacked the different news-paper offices, broke the windows, and would have ſeized the proprietors and editors, if the armed force had not interfered, and diſperſed them!" This was publiſhed in all the Paris journals.

found, and to do military execution upon all ſuch rebels as they ſhould find in arms."

The government, at the ſame time, iſſued another proclamation, offering a reward of 500*l.* for the diſcovery of the murderers of lieutenant-colonel Browne; and 300*l.* for the apprehenſion of the murderers of cornet Cole, of the 12th dragoons, who had been killed at the ſame time.

The conſequence of theſe proceedings was, that apprehenſions of delinquents took place in every quarter, and ſeveral perſons of reſpectability were called upon to anſwer for their conduct.

The Roman Catholic clergy alſo felt themſelves impelled to uſe the beſt endeavours in their power to reſtore tranquillity. A principle of ſubordination alſo induced the Catholic Archbiſhop of Dublin, to circulate a paſtoral addreſs among his clergy, which they were inſtructed to publiſh in their ſeveral places of worſhip, and at the ſame time to exhort their congregations to the preſervation of peace.

Thus the vigour now exerted, and the precautions taken to maintain and enſure the public tranquillity, which were purſued by government, promiſed a hope of future peace and good order.

One good effect, however, was produced by the failure of this treaſonable experiment; it proved to a demonſtration, that rebellion, even if well conducted, and with every probability of ſucceſs, muſt be rendered inefficacious, and diminiſh when oppoſed to a watchful, a vigorous, and an active adminiſtration. It alſo proved, that the ſtrong arm of Britiſh law, though terrible to offenders, whether great or ſmall, protected the innocent as far as human laws could ſhield him, againſt injury, from whatever quarter it might threaten.

That a regular plan of rebellion exiſted, and had been organized in Ireland, there is too much reaſon to ſuppoſe true; and that the outrages in Dublin were intended to form the prelude to a general riſing throughout the country, authoriſes more than mere ſuppoſition. This opinion is confirmed by the fact of ſome of the rebel chiefs, who ſtiled themſelves "The Proviſional Government of the People of Ireland," iſſuing a proclamation, copies of which came into the hands of government, containing a developement of their object and views. This proclamation, though drawn up in a coarſe, vulgar manner, was couched in the moſt inſidious terms, and calculated to enſnare thoſe to whom it was addreſſed. It ſet out with ſtating that the ſyſtem of inſurrection had been organized for the laſt eight months, that it was totally independent of any proſpect of foreign aſſiſtance; that the failure of a ſimilar attempt in England had not retarded, nor the renewal of hoſtilities accelerated its progreſs. The developement of this ſyſtem, it was ſtated, would ſhew to the people of this country, that the ſpirit of perſeverance in Ireland could by no human efforts be repreſſed, that under no change of circumſtances could the obedience of the Iriſh be relied on, that thoſe engaged in the inſurrection would be ſatisfied with nothing ſhort of complete abſolute ſeparation. They conſidered themſelves pledged to truſt to their own ſtrength only, and that the firſt attempt to introduce what they denominated a SYSTEM OF TERROR ſhould be the ſignal of inſurrection. They declared their object to be, "TO ESTABLISH A FREE AND INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC IN IRELAND; that the purſuit of this object they would relinquiſh only with their lives; that they would never, unleſs at the expreſs call of their country, abandon their poſt, until the acknowledgment of its independence was obtained from England; and that they would enter into no negociation (but for exchange of priſoners) with the government of that country, while a Britiſh army remains in Ireland."

After this general declaration, they proceeded to addreſs themſelves to the inhabitants of the different provinces. They firſt appealed to the North, and exhorted them by their paſt exertions, to come forward with ſpirit and unanimity at the preſent moment. There appeared a great affectation of humanity and abhorrence of outrage in their language to the inhabitants of Leinſter. They cautioned them againſt exceſſes of all kinds, and impreſſed on them that if ſix years ago, when they roſe without arms, without plan, without co-operation, with more troops againſt them alone than are now in the country at large, they were able to remain for ſix weeks in open defiance of the government, and within a few miles of the capital, what would they not now effect with that capital, and every other part of Ireland ready to ſupport them? They were at great pains to diſclaim the idea of this being a religious conteſt. Religious diſqualification they declared to be only one of the many grievances of which Ireland had to complain. Their intention was to remove not only that, but every oppreſſion under which they laboured. They repreſented themſelves as fighting for their country, and that done, every man was to have his religion. After finiſhing their appeal to thoſe whom they conſidered their tried adherents, they next turned to that portion of their countrymen whoſe prejudices they would rather overcome by a frank declaration of their intention, than conquer their perſons in the field.

In this appeal, there is a very artful affectation of moderation and forbearance.

"We will therefore enter into no detail of the atrocities and oppreſſion which Ireland has laboured under during its connection with England, but we juſtify our determination to ſeparate from that country on the broad hiſtorical ſtatement, that during ſix hundred years ſhe has been unable to conciliate the affections of the people of Ireland; that during that time

time five rebellions were entered into to ſhake off the yoke; that ſhe has been obliged to reſort to a ſyſtem of unprecedent torture in her defence; that ſhe has broken every tie of voluntary connection by taking even the name of independence from Ireland, through the intervention of a parliament notoriouſly bribed, and not repreſenting the will of the people; that in her vindication of this meaſure, ſhe has herſelf given the juſtification of the views of the United Iriſhmen, by declaring in the words of her miniſters —"That Ireland never had, and never could enjoy under the then circumſtances, the benefits of Britiſh connection; that it neceſſarily muſt happen when one country is connected with another, that the intereſts of the leſſer will be borne down by thoſe of the greater; that England had ſupported and encouraged the Engliſh coloniſts in their oppreſſion towards the natives of Ireland; that Ireland had been left in a ſtate of ignorance, rudeneſs, and barbariſm, worſe in its effects, and more degrading in its nature, than that on which it was found ſix centuries before.

"They, therefore, warred not againſt property or any religious ſect, not againſt paſt opinions and prejudices, but againſt Engliſh dominion." The concluſion of the proclamation was addreſſed to the eſtabliſhed government. They endeavoured to paint the conſequences of a ſyſtem of terror in increaſing their ſucceſs. They held out threats of dreadful retaliation in caſe a ſingle rebel was put to death, unleſs on the field of battle. Their language on this ſubject, held out, that—"The priſoners which firſt fall into our hands ſhall be treated with the reſpect due to the unfortunate; but if the life of a ſingle Iriſh ſoldier is taken after the battle is over, the orders thenceforth to be iſſued to the Iriſh army are—neither to give or take quarter. Countrymen, if a cruel neceſſity forces us to retaliate, we will bury our reſentments in the field battle."

Whatever might have been the ſucceſs of ſuch reſolutions; and how far their profeſſions might have been realized, had the projectors accompliſhed their purpoſe, we cannot take upon us to affirm; but having ſo lately ſeen a ſet of infidel projectors attempt to make an immoral people free, we are impelled to conſider ſuch an attempt to be like building a palace on an unhealthy and filthy ſite; and that the event muſt be ruinous: and that as immorality produced anarchy, anarchy muſt end in deſpotiſm. How different the progreſs of the Britiſh conſtitution, which this ignorant, deluded part of the empire, attempted to deſpiſe and deſtroy! "In Britain, nothing was done ſuddenly; but, after many ſtruggles between privilege and prerogative, and various viciſſitudes of national fortune, the Britiſh conſtitution was ſolemnly ratified and confirmed. The improvements it has ſince received, by the mature wiſdom of its legiſlators, are proofs of its invaluable eſtimation; and if undiſturbed in its progreſs, by abuſe of power on the one hand, or by popular vice and folly, and plauſible reformation on the other, may yet be deſtined to reach a degree of perfection, of which, at preſent, no conception can be formed!"

CHAP. II.

Further Meaſures of the Government and Magiſtracy of Ireland.—Seizure of ſuſpected Perſons.—Mr. Emmett committed.—Special Commiſſion opened for trying the Offenders.—Judge Downe's Charge to the Jury.

THE promptitude of the Lord Lieutenant, and the Iriſh government, continued to be evinced by the moſt deciſive meaſures. On the 30th of July, general orders from the adjutant-general's office in Dublin, made its appearance. It expreſſed, that "the commander of the forces had it in command from his excellency the Lord Lieutenant, to expreſs to the regular forces, militia and yeomanry, compoſing the garriſon of Dublin, his excellency's warmeſt approbation of the zeal, alacrity, and ſpirit which they diſplayed in ſuppreſſing the rebellious inſurrection which manifeſted itſelf in the city on the evening of the 23d inſtant. The Royal Scotch Fuzileers, and the Liberty Rangers, who were chiefly employed, would be pleaſed to receive his excellency's particular thanks.

"His excellency had directed the commander of the forces, at the ſame time, to obſerve to the officers in command of regiments of the line and militia, and yeomanry corps, that the nature of the duties which they may ſtill be called on to perform, particularly required that the ſtricteſt diſcipline ſhould be obſerved by the men under their command; and deſired that on all occaſions, the moſt poſitive orders might be given for the ſecurity of the property and perſons of individuals againſt plunder and outrage, as far as circumſtances might permit; and that every effort ſhould be uſed to prevent any act of ſeverity or violence being committed, beyond what the faithful diſcharge of their military duty ſhould render indiſpenſible.

"(Signed) WILLIAM RAYMOND,
Dep. Adj. General."

Thus the powers veſted by the adoption of martial law, were exerciſed in ſuch a moderate manner, as plainly to ſhew a deſire in the government, at the ſame time that the moſt abſolute authority was in their option, to chooſe the milder mode of only confining ſuch controul within narrow bounds, ſo that civil juſtice might not be interrupted, except where individual

dividual property was invaded,—very unlike the proceedings of revolutionizing reformadoes, who could conſign to indiſcriminate deſtruction whole cities and towns, for the miſconduct of a few individuals!

The reſolutions of the Imperial parliament having arrived, the Lord Lieutenant iſſued the proclamation for ſuſpending the *Habeas Corpus* act, and to forbid the ſailing of any perſon from Ireland to England without a proper paſſport *.

Whilſt the government and magiſtracy were exerting themſelves to ſuppreſs rebellion, and reſtore tranquillity, the patriotic part of the country were ſtrenuous in endeavours for the general welfare of the united kingdom, againſt the machinations of its foes. A fund had already been raiſed for this laudable purpoſe, and continued to augment. A meeting of the freemen and freeholders of Dublin was held on the preſent ſtate of public affairs, and an addreſs to his Majeſty was moved by Luke White, eſquire, and unanimouſly agreed to. The addreſs adverted forcibly to the prominent ſubjects of invaſion and rebellion, and to the late baſe and wicked atrocities of rebellious aſſaſſins in this city; and it expreſſed in terms ſuitable to the ſtrongeſt zeal and loyalty, a firm determination to oppoſe, at every riſk of life and fortune, both foreign and domeſtic enemies; to ſtand and fall with a virtuous and beloved ſovereign, and an empire bleſſed in his happy rule, and in the protection of the moſt excellent of conſtitutions.

In various parts of the country alſo a return to loyalty and duty evinced itſelf. All loyal Iriſhmen felt highly gratified for the prompt, animated, and affectionate zeal of parliament; and as whatever contributed to the dignity or character of government, encreaſed the attachment of its uſual adherents, and added to their number, returning good ſenſe conſiderably thinned the ranks of inſurrection, and, in its ſtead, rouſed a general ſpirit of reſiſtance to thoſe who wiſhed to involve the empire in confuſion by foreign invaſion.

On the third of this month, a calamitous event happened in the city of Dublin, about two o'clock in the afternoon, there came on a moſt dreadful hurricane, accompanied with thunder and lightning, which, though it laſted not more than ten minutes, produced the moſt ſerious conſequences. Several chimnies were blown down, ſome houſes unroofed, and a whole range of ſtables in Merrion Row levelled with the ground. The Beresford Packet, of Parkgate, was unfortunately at this time endeavouring

* The Lord Mayor of Dublin, iſſued the following proclamation, on the 20th, which, on account of its compoſition and ſtrength of language, is worthy of inſertion. It commences with a recital of the titles and import of ſeveral acts of parliament againſt rebellion and diſturbers of the public peace; and then proceeds to the more immediate object of conſideration; as under:

"Now I, the right honourable the Lord Mayor of the ſaid city of Dublin, being determined to have the ſaid proclamation and the powers thereby veſted in me and the magiſtrates of ſaid city, carried into the moſt vigorous and ſtrict execution, in order the more effectually to ſuppreſs the preſent daring inſurrection, and to prevent the diſturbance of the public peace, do hereby publicly notify and declare, that the ſaid proclamation, and the proviſions of the ſaid act herein before mentioned, ſhall from henceforth be carried into ſtrict execution.

"And I do hereby command all the inhabitants of the ſaid city of Dublin, and all perſons whatſoever within the ſaid city (ſave and except military men in the uniform of their reſpective regiments or corps, and ſave and except all members of the privy council, and the judges, to keep within their dwellings from nine o'clock at night until ſix o'clock in the morning; and I do hereby give notice, that any perſon offending herein, and any perſon or perſons appearing at any time in the uniform of any military corps, and not belonging or attached to ſuch particular corps, ſhall be puniſhed with the utmoſt rigour of the law.

"And I do hereby order and direct, that all ſhopkeepers, and all publicans, and other perſons keeping houſes of entertainment, ſhall ſhut and cloſe their ſhops and houſes reſpectively, at nine o'clock each night, and continue them ſo ſhut and cloſed until ſix o'clock each morning. And I alſo order and direct, that no publicans ſhall have or entertain within their reſpective houſes, any perſons, except travellers, from nine o'clock at night until ſix o'clock in the morning, on week and working days; and that no publicans, or any perſons keeping any houſes of entertainment, ſhall open their reſpective houſes on Sunday, or have, receive, or entertain within their reſpective houſes on ſaid day, any perſon or perſons whatſoever, except travellers; and all perſons found in ſuch public houſes, or houſes of entertainment (not being inmates thereof, or travellers) during the hours or days hereby prohibited, ſhall be deemed idle and diſorderly perſons, and puniſhed accordingly.

"And I do hereby further order and direct, that all the inhabitants of this city, ſhall forthwith affix to the doors of their dwelling-houſes, an accurate liſt of the perſons inhabiting the ſame. And I do hereby declare that any perſon or perſons found in any houſe, and not included in ſaid liſt, and unable to give a ſatisfactory account of him, her, or themſelves, ſhall be deemed idle and diſorderly perſons, and puniſhed accordingly.

"And I do hereby require and direct, that all perſons who ſhall from henceforth come into the city of Dublin, ſhall be reſpectively furniſhed with a paſs from the next reſident magiſtrate in that part of the country to which they belong or come from (except thoſe perſons coming into town with proviſions, and who cannot conveniently provide ſuch paſs); and all perſons coming into the city of Dublin without ſuch paſs, and having information of this proclamation, ſhall alſo be deemed idle and diſorderly perſons, and puniſhed accordingly.

"But I do hereby give notice, that all ſuch perſons as are in the habit of bringing proviſions to the Dublin market, ſhall and may come to the ſame, and return to their reſpective places of abode, without moleſtation or hindrance, and ſhall further receive every ſupport and protection in my power.

"And I do hereby call upon all magiſtrates and peace-officers, and all pariſh and other conſtables, and all his majeſty's loyal and well-diſpoſed ſubjects, to aid and aſſiſt in carrying ſaid recited act and proclamation, and this notification into full effect."

to clear the harbour; the Captain had prolonged his departure to the laſt minute, in hopes of getting additional paſſengers, and the tide having been long on the ebb, there was not water ſufficient to carry her over the bar, on which ſhe was driven by the violence of the ſtorm. In this ſtate ſhe ſoon filled, and melancholy to relate, the whole of the ſteerage paſſengers, amounting to fifty-five, were drowned; the cabin paſſengers were more fortunate, and were able to cling to the maſts and rigging, until the boats from Bullock and Dunleary came to their aſſiſtance.

Among the perſons arreſted for treaſonable practices, was Mr. Robert Emmett, younger brother to a celebrated counſellor; he had been for ſome time concealed in the houſe of a perſon named Palmer, whoſe brother was in cuſtody upon a charge of having a concealed gun-powder manufactory, which had been providentially diſcovered previouſly to the late outrage. On being identified, Mr. Emmett was committed to the Tower in the Caſtle, to abide the deciſion of law for his offences.

Judicial inquiſition now took place upon the various offenders. For this purpoſe, a ſpecial commiſſion was iſſued, and on the 24th of Auguſt, the honourable Judge Downes, Judge Finucane, and Mr. Baron Daly, having opened the court, the commiſſion was read, which beſides the above-mentioned judges, included Lord Norbury and Baron George. —Two moſt reſpectable grand juries were conſtituted for the city and county.

The honourable Judge Downes then addreſſed the jury to the following effect. He obſerved, that they were called upon to execute the grand inquiſition which was to precede the more public and final enquiry between his Majeſty and the priſoners to be tried under the preſent commiſſion, and to determine from the bills of indictment laid before them, whether ſufficient grounds exiſted for ſending the accuſed to trial. On the general nature of their duties it was unneceſſary to expatiate, as the gentlemen compoſing the juries had moſt or all of them exerciſed thoſe duties before in the ſame place, and were accuſtomed to ſee the judges of the land adminiſter the law of the land under the ſame authority by which the court then addreſſed them—but yet under the peculiar circumſtances of the moment, it might not be altogether uſeleſs to ſpeak to a few points. They were called upon to act as grand jurors in unuſual times, to the peculiar features of which, it might not be amiſs to advert. The offences which would form the object of their enquiry would not be merely of a general and common nature, but of a deſcription the moſt heinous in the eye of the law, as being of the moſt deſtructive conſequence to the whole frame of ſociety. The public peace had been violently broken, attended with ſuch barbarous atrocities, ſuch ſavage aggravations of guilt, as ſcarcely to find a parallel in the records of human crime; of this, no man in the country was ignorant, and the audacity with which thoſe offences againſt ſociety were committed, induced his Majeſty's government to loſe no time to make them the ſubject of judicial enquiry and legal puniſhment, as ſoon as the minds of men ſhould be ſufficiently compoſed to further the ends of juſtice with that ſtrict impartiality, the happy and peculiar characteriſtic of the laws and conſtitution of this realm.

From the aſpect of the informations, his Lordſhip had no doubt but that the indictments would contain charges of high treaſon—a crime unknown in this country before the rebellion of 1798. Previous to that period, peace, tranquillity, and their attendant bleſſings, public proſperity and national improvement, were in rapid progreſs, and held out the faireſt hopes of increaſing happineſs to the country. There was every reaſon to believe, that the people would have continued conſcious of ſuch an ineſtimable ſtate of ſociety, and endeavoured to preſerve it; but unfortunately, artful and wicked men had proved but too ſucceſsful in ſeducing an ignorant multitude into ſchemes of impracticable independence; intending, after deſtroying their legal government, to ſubſtitute for it that wretched and pretended liberty, formed on the model of the violent and ever-changing ſyſtem of the French revolution; a ſyſtem which occaſioned more miſery and waſte of human blood than ever before curſed mankind. They meditated the deſtruction of a conſtitution, the freeſt and happieſt upon earth, and heſitated not to call in the aid of a foreign power, the moſt unprincipled and deſpotic, to aid their projects of fancied liberty; hoping, infatuated men, to acquire by ſuch inſtruments, what thoſe wretched inſtruments themſelves did not poſſeſs the ſlighteſt ſhadow of. The exertions, however, of his majeſty's government, aided by the loyalty of the land, cruſhed the attempt, and having done ſo, that government tried by clemency, as well as firmneſs, to bring back an erring and offending multitude to their duty and to happineſs. An act of general pardon was paſſed, which might naturally have been expected to produce the beſt influence on a deluded people; doubtleſs on many that influence was effected, and notwithſtanding the recent inſurrection, there were the beſt grounds for believing that the majority of thoſe engaged in the former rebellion would now, from a conviction of their errors, the experience of their own ſufferings, and the example of foreign nations, together with the ſavage outrages attending inſurrection, afford to the king's government, on any neceſſity, foreign or domeſtic, the moſt effective aid. Unhappily, however, it would ſtill appear that there exiſted wicked and deſigning men, exciting a furious multitude to outrages which would be found to conſtitute ſome of the charges againſt many

many of the prisoners to be tried during the present commission.

His lordship next proceeded to make some observations explanatory of the laws against high treason, but without adverting to any particular case. In this country, the law of high treason principally rested on the act of Edward the Third, commonly distinguished as a declaratory act, and which contains three descriptions of high treason—compassing or imagining the king's death; levying war against the king, and adhering to the king's enemies.—The learned judge knew not if it was intended to frame any of the indictments coming before the juries upon the last clause; but any act in any manner furthering the interests of a power with which his majesty may be at war, if proved to be done with such intent, must be considered an adherence to the king's enemies. "In judging of the law as bearing upon the first species of treason, it was to be observed, that although the law carried the crime to the wicked imagination of the heart, it also requires something to be done in execution of those imaginations—these are called overt-acts; and it is further wisely and humanely enacted that sufficient evidence shall support the overt-acts stated in the indictment; and it also is observable, that although the indictment recite many overt-acts to the same point, one, if proved, is sufficient to establish the count. Thus the compassing and imagining the king's death, is not confined to acts of assassination, and attempts immediately directed against his person. The law wisely extends its care of the king's safety to every thing by possibility endangering his life; and therefore, conspiring to depose the sovereign, is an overt-act. Entering into measures with a foreign power to induce invasion, or going abroad for the like purposes, are overt-acts; also, levying war within the realm, must undergo the same construction as having the same tendency.

"In applying overt-acts to the compassing the death of the king, it is no objection that the facts happen in this country, where his majesty does not reside; the same wicked intention of the heart exists in both cases, and the ultimate consequences may prove the same; for overt-acts may be produced by progressive means, and deeds originating very remotely. With respect to levying war against the king within the realm, all insurrections in order to effect innovations on the established government by force of arms, come under that construction; for it is not merely war against the person of the king, but also against his authority, that constitutes the crime, and properly so, as all such attempts directly tend to loosen the frame of society, and to affect every man in the community; all arming for redress of imaginary grievances, and to compel, or awe the government by force and numbers, are within the construction of high treason. In such cases the law requires proof of a general object, differing from those partial and local incitements which constitute mere riots, as where a body of men assemble to pull down an inclosure; to commit violence against an individual from motives of personal resentment; or where any object may be partial and limited to those persons immediately concerned. But if the jurors should find evidence of a rising to enforce by arms any general object, then where an indictment is thus supported, there is sufficient ground for the charge of high treason. Secret meetings connected with and furthering this general object, and words and actions, and declarations in the hearing of the witness, may be given in evidence of high treason; and so may writings and printed papers found in the possession of the accused. A common object of treasonable import might also be judged of, by the conduct of insurgents previous to and during their insurgency; whether they collected from a great distance and were previously and entirely unknown to each other, or were the immediate residents of the place and neighbourhood, which happened to be the scene of the offence. If great collections of arms, military ensigns, &c. &c. were made, and much time and expence incurred to collect a force—all these are most material facts, and must prove a general purpose, putting the offence beyond the construction of a mere local riot, for a partial and local purpose. But, although the grand juries should find the bills sent up to them, such a circumstance would not be decisive of guilt, but forming grounds for putting the prisoners on their trial. The grand jurors should, however, be cautious how they suffered themselves to be swayed, in the remotest degree, by any thing like prejudice, though arising from the best feelings. If not clearly warranted, from the matter brought before them, in finding the bills, they should discharge them, nor suffer themselves to be acted upon by the recollection of that dreadful evening, when insurrection, before it was even angered by resistance, marked the first steps of its progress by the most horrible murders, perpetrated on unarmed and unoffending individuals."—Here, after paying a general tribute to the brave and loyal men who were basely assassinated on the twenty-third of July, his lordship adverted in particular to the murder of Lord Kilwarden, but so much was he affected by his feelings; so strongly sensible to the calamity which he deplored, that his broken, faltering voice, denied its office, his utterance was choaked, and, after impressively noticing the constitutional sentiments which shed a legal lustre on the last agonized moments of the good and venerable Lord Kilwarden, he was obliged to quit that part of his subject abruptly. Having recovered from the impression made upon his feelings, his lordship observed, "that he would pursue that melancholy subject no farther; his object was to call upon them impartially

impartially to fulfil their duty, nor becauſe great atrocities had been committed, raſhly to conclude the accuſed guilty. Lamentable as were the events of that night, much conſolation might be derived from them—they had cauſed the ſtrength and ſpirit of the country to be diſplayed, and rallied the loyalty of the land around the government in ſuch force, as, he truſted, would leave the country nothing to fear from its external or internal enemies. This was a moment in which every loyal, virtuous man ſhould lend his hand to the ſtate, and ſupport it by all the means in his power, and the gentlemen whom he addreſſed, ſhould not relax in their efforts for the public ſecurity, and the maintenance of the laws; their lives and liberties were at ſtake; the firſt and deareſt intereſts of every man, however humble, were involved, and the vigilance of the magiſtracy, and the generous loyalty and patriotiſm of all, ſhould be commenſurate to the invaluable rights and ſocial bleſſings which a free, great, and happy people have to watch over and defend."

His lordſhip having concluded his charge, bills of indictment were ſent up to the grand juries, and found againſt ſixteen of the offenders, who had counſel aſſigned them, and every indulgence granted, which the violated laws of their country could permit.

CHAP. III.

Behaviour of Captain Goodall, and the Crew of a Privateer.—Rencontre between ſome ſmall Veſſels and the French Gun Boats.—Naval Arrangements.—Deaths of eminent Perſons, Biſhop of Derry, Dr. Beattie, and Mr. Hoole.—Trial and Execution of Hatfield for Forgery—with Anecdotes.

THE enterprizing ſpirit of Britiſh valour had not any opportunity of diſplaying itſelf during the month of Auguſt. The only occurrence of any notice, was the behaviour of the captain and crew of the Catharine and Mary privateer of London.

This veſſel mounting ten four-pounders, had been on a cruiſe; and having had two very ſevere actions with the Caroline French brig privateer, of twenty-two long ſix pounders, and ninety men, to which, after the moſt gallant defence, and after having expended every thing that could be converted into ammunition, ſhe was compelled to ſtrike. She fell in with the Caroline on the evening of the 23d ult. with the Sybill, an Engliſh South Whaler, and the Active Weſt Indiaman, in company, which ſhe had captured. Notwithſtanding her great ſuperiority, captain Goodall immediately attacked her, and after a ſevere conteſt, the Frenchman ſheered off. In the courſe of the night, captain Goodall recaptured the two Engliſh ſhips, but the Frenchman conceiving that the Engliſh crew had been weakened, renewed the attack with redoubled vigour, and continued it until the Catherine and Mary had not the power of diſcharging another gun, when, to prevent further ſlaughter, ſhe was obliged to ſtrike. During the engagement, one man was killed and nine wounded, two of them mortally, and the veſſel was much cut in her maſts, ſails, rigging, and hull. After the Frenchman boarded her, they cut away her main-maſt, threw all her guns overboard, together with every other moveable ſtore, quadrant, compaſſes, &c. except juſt enough to bring her to port; and after having taken captain Goodall and the mate out of her, they turned her adrift. The two recaptured veſſels again fell into the hands of the French, after the capture of the Catherine and Mary, and they ſhaped their courſe for France. The Caroline had five Engliſh captains on board, taken out of ſhips ſhe had captured. The conduct of captain Goodall and his crew, on this occaſion, was highly meritorious; and there is good reaſon to believe, that had their ammunition been ſufficient, the French would not have had to boaſt of her capture.

The inhabitants of Boulogne, had however another opportunity to relate to their countrymen, a further ſpecimen, in a ſmall inſtance, of what might be expected whenever their grand expedition was attempted: two ſmall Britiſh cruizers, one a gun-brig, called the Baſiliſk, commanded by captain Shepheard, and his majeſty's armed cutter Princeſs Auguſta, were at anchor cloſe off Boulogne, in a calm, on the ninth of Auguſt. In this ſituation, they were attacked by ſeven of the enemy's gun boats filled with ſoldiers, who began a heavy cannonade, which was returned with intereſt by the two veſſels. Finding themſelves ſo roughly and ably treated, the gun-boats thought proper to retreat under the batteries, within ſhore. Captain Shepheard then made a ſignal to captain M'Leod, of his majeſty's bomb Sulphur, who then appeared in ſight, when this little ſquadron renewed the attack, and compelled the gaſconading flotilla to retreat to the pier-head; ſufficiently ſatisfied with the reception they met with.

The honourable admiral Cornwallis, who had been appointed to command of the Channel fleet, completely blocked up the harbour of Breſt, and by his veſſels of obſervation, cloſely watched the French coaſt; whilſt the gallant Lord Nelſon, Sir W. Sidney Smith, and others, the approved heroes of the Britiſh nation, reſumed their ſeveral poſts, either to protect their native ſhores, or to prevent the hoſtile attacks meditated by the enemy: ſo that doubly guarded by her volunteers and her marine, Great Britain bleſt within herſelf, was enabled to uphold her native dignity, and at the ſame time ſet at defiance the inſidious

ADMIRAL CORNWALLIS.

dious meaſures purſued by thoſe who would have honoured by cultivating her friendſhip and protection.

Among the domeſtic particulars of Auguſt, which indeed were very few, we muſt notice the deaths of ſome eminent characters, which was a real loſs to the fine arts and Belles Lettres. By the deceaſe of Frederick Hervey, Earl of Briſtol and biſhop of Derry; Dr. Beattie, and John Hoole, eſquire, the world was deprived of the philanthropic endeavours of three perſons, in whom were united urbanity, elegance, and the higheſt mental accompliſhments.

This month was remarkable alſo for bringing to juſtice an atrocious delinquent. John Hatfield, a man who under the moſt ſpecious appearances, had for a number of years committed depredations on the public. The unſuſpecting female, the merchant, and perſons in every claſs of life, were equally preys to the artful purpoſes of this deſpoiler of ſociety. He was a native of Mottram, in Cheſhire, where he was born in 1759. His firſt extraordinary exploit was the procuring the daughter of a noble family, with a handſome fortune, to be his wife. The lady's fortune he ſoon ſquandered, and left her with three daughters, their iſſue, to a precarious dependence on the benevolence of a relation; and under ſuch circumſtances of affliction, Mrs. Hatfield died of grief. He next travelled in North America, in ſeveral parts of Great Britain, and in Ireland, whence he came in 1792, and inſinuating himſelf into the good graces of the company at Scarborough, he deceived ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, into a belief, that the Duke of Rutland's intereſt was to procure him the repreſentation of that borough in parliament. But this did not laſt, for inability to pay his bills, induced inquiry, his impoſture was detected, and he was impriſoned for the debt. After a confinement of eight years and a half, a Miſs Nation, releaſed him by paying his debts, and gave him her hand in marriage. He ſoon after prevailed with ſome reſpectable merchants to take him into partnerſhip, and with a clergyman to accept his bills. On ſuch a foundation, he made a ſplendid appearance in London, and ſucceeded ſo far in his knavery, that he was enabled to canvaſs for Queenborough as a repreſentative. But ſuſpicions, in the mean time, ariſing in regard to his character and property, he was ſoon compelled to retire from the indignation of his creditors; and in a ſhort time appeared under the name of colonel Hope, in the valley of Buttermere, in Cumberland. Here he contracted a marriage, during the life of his wife, and poor Mary Robinſon, denominated "The Beauty of Buttermere," fell a ſacrifice to his ſeduction. Here, however, his demon deſerted him; his pretenſions ſoon began to be ſuſpected; he retreated from the ſcrutiny of judicial inquiry with difficulty into Wales; and was taken by ſome police officers from Bow Street, whence after ſeveral examinations, he was removed to take his trial at Carliſle, for forgery, &c. &c.

There were three indictments preferred againſt him. In the firſt of theſe, he ſtood charged with aſſuming the name of the honourable Alexander Hope, and under that name drawing a bill of exchange on one John Crump, eſq. payable to George Wood, a publican, in Keſwick. In the ſecond, he was charged with forging, under the ſame name, another bill for thirty pounds, with intent to defraud the ſame perſons. The third indictment charged him with counterfeiting colonel Hope's hand-writing, in ſuperſcribing various letters with the view of defrauding government of the poſtage. Paſſing over what came out on the trial reſpecting the priſoner's general character, we ſhall confine ourſelves to the evidence as it applied to the proof of the charges in the two firſt indictments. A gentleman who knew Hatfield a partner in the firm of Denis, Hatfield, and Co. proved the bill ſpecified in the indictment to be in the priſoner's hand writing. He alſo proved that a number of letters which were produced in court, were written by him. The evidence to prove his having aſſumed the name of colonel Hope, was more detailed. It appeared, that he arrived at Keſwick, in the county of Cumberland, about the beginning of autumn. He came in his own carriage, unattended by a ſervant. This circumſtance excited ſuſpicions, but theſe he ſoon removed, by alledging that he was anxious for temporary retirement. He completed the deception by his genteel and faſcinating manner. He contracted an acquaintance with ſeveral gentlemen in the neighbourhood, and he introduced himſelf as the honourable colonel Hope, brother to the Earl of Hopetown, and member for Dumfrieſſhire Keſwick is in the neighbourhood of Loweſwater; and there he became intimate with the Rev. Mr. Nicholſon, a worthy clergyman, reſiding in that place. He recommended himſelf to the notice of Mr. Nicholſon, by an extraordinary appearance of ſanctity. He was conſtant in his attendance on divine worſhip, and ſeemed in all reſpects a gentleman of unimpeached morals. It was at this time he inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of the unfortunate Mary of Buttermere. Mr. Nicholſon was the perſon by whom the marriage was celebrated. After the marriage, Hatfield affected to make Mr. Nicholſon his confidential friend, and diſcloſed to him various concerns of his pretended family. He ſeemed much offended with liberties taken with his character, and expreſſed his determination to chaſtiſe thoſe who were ſo unjuſtifiable in their aſperſions on his conduct. He left Keſwick with the profeſſed determination of ſpending a ſhort time at his ſeat at Caſtle Douglas. The unfortunate Mary accompanied him, not to Caſtle Douglas, but to Longtown. During his ſtay in that town, he addreſſed

dreſſed various letters to Mr. Nicholſon, all ſubſcribed with the name of colonel Hope. On his return, ſuſpicion began to revive with new force, and the arrival of a gentleman at the Lakes, who knew colonel Hope perſonally, led to the detection of the impoſture. This gentleman was Mr. Hardinge, who hearing that colonel Hope was in the neighbourhood, invited him to dinner. This invitation the impoſtor thought proper to decline, but he waited on Mr. Hardinge in the evening, and ſupported the fraud with great plauſibility. Mr. Hardinge was not, however, ſatisfied, and by his orders, the priſoner's horſes were detained. The priſoner complained bitterly of this, ſaid that he had done nothing to offend the laws of the land, and, that if he had been guilty of any crime, "a hair would hold him." After this converſation, however, he thought proper to withdraw from Keſwick, and, afraid of the purſuits of juſtice, he ſhortly after made his eſcape over the mountains. He continued at large till he was arreſted, and lodged in gaol. The jury, after a plauſible defence of the priſoner, found him guilty on the two firſt indictments. During the trial, the court was prodigiouſly crowded. There was a great concourſe of genteel company from all the adjoining country. Hatfield behaved throughout with the utmoſt compoſure, and ſeemed confident of an acquittal. He was genteely dreſſed in black, and was brought to the court-room in a poſt-chaiſe.

The priſoner's behaviour in court was proper and conſiſtent, and he ſupported his ſituation from firſt to laſt with unſhaken fortitude. After the verdict of the jury was given, he diſcovered no relaxation of his accuſtomed demeanor.

Never, perhaps, did a cauſe come before a court and jury that excited ſo much intereſt. Ladies and gentlemen within a diſtance of twenty miles round Carliſle, crowded to the town, to gratify the curioſity, which the ſtory of poor Mary of Buttermere, and other circumſtances connected with the hiſtory of the priſoner, had excited.

After proceeding in the uſual form, the Judge addreſſed the priſoner in the following impreſſive terms:—"John Hatfield, after a long and ſerious inveſtigation of the charges which have been preferred againſt you, you have been found guilty by a jury of your country. You have been diſtinguiſhed for crimes of ſuch magnitude as have ſeldom, if ever, received any mitigation of capital puniſhment, and in your caſe it is impoſſible it can be remitted. Aſſuming the perſon, name, and character of a worthy and reſpectable officer, of a noble family in this country, you have perpetrated and committed the moſt enormous crimes. The long impriſonment which you have undergone, has afforded time for your ſerious reflexion, and an opportunity of your being deeply impreſſed with a ſenſe of the enormity of your guilt, and the juſtice of that ſentence which muſt be inflicted upon you; I wiſh you to be ſeriouſly impreſſed with the awfulneſs of your ſituation, and reflect with anxious care and deep concern on your approaching end, concerning which much remains to be done; lay aſide now your deluſion and impoſition, and employ properly the ſhort ſpace of time you have to live. I beſeech you to employ the remaining part of your time for eternity, that you may find mercy at the hour of death, and in the day of judgment. Hear now the ſentence of the law."

His lordſhip then pronounced ſentence of death upon the priſoner in the uſual form.

The priſoner heard it with firmneſs, bowed reſpectfully, and was taken away from the dock, and thence to the gaol.

After condemnation, the behaviour of Hatfield was appropriate with his awful ſituation; and when he was afterwards executed at Carliſle, his deportment was ſuch as to gain commiſeration from all ranks of people.

The letters of this ingenious impoſter, are ſpecimens of his abilities and diſſimulation*.

CHAP.

* *Copies of Letters from Mr. Hatfield, under the Name of Colonel Hope, to the Rev. Mr. Nicholſon.*

"*Longtown, Monday Evening, 4th October.*

"*Very Dear and Rev. Sir,*

"We arrived here on Saturday evening, about eight, went to the church on Sunday, and Mr. Graham, the brother of Sir James, gave one of the fineſt lectures I ever heard. We attended his evening diſcourſe, at the end of which he addreſſed me, begging I would not return to my quarters without a light, and his footman ſtood ready with one. All this flurried my dear Mary a little, but nothing can be more pleaſing, than the manners ſhe at all times poſſeſſes. To-morrow evening we may perhaps proceed further; but Mrs. Hope likes the quietude of this place much, and her wiſhes are my laws. In the church-yard we found the following inſcription, which I copied on purpoſe to ſend you, thinking it may amuſe ſome of our friends; pray read it to Dr. Head, and preſent him my beſt reſpects:

"Our life is but a winter's-day;
"Some only breakfaſt and away.
"Others, to dinner ſtay, and are full fed;
"The oldeſt man but ſups, and goes to bed.
"Large is his debt who lingers out the day;
"Who goes the ſooneſt, has the leaſt to pay."

"Be pleaſed to ſay for us both, whatever you think will be acceptable to thoſe who, from kind motives, may inquire after us; and at Buttermere, Mary deſires you will tender to father and mother the moſt affectionate duty, and the moſt lively aſſurances of our mutual happineſs. I find happineſs is not very loquacious, ſo this will be a ſhort letter; let us have a long one as ſoon as poſſible, addreſſed for "Colonel Hope, M. P. Poſt Office, Longtown, Cumberland," and you will greatly oblige,

"Very dear and Rev. Sir, your's moſt truly,
"A. HOPE.

"*Longtown, Oct. 4th, 1802. Rev. Mr. Nicholſon, Lowesſwater, near Cockermouth.—Free, A. Hope.*"

Another

CHAP. IV.

Further Proceedings in Parliament.—Eaſt India Budget.—Vote of Thanks to Volunteer Corps.—State of Ireland.—Addreſs of the Speaker to his Majeſty.—His Majeſty's Speech on the Prorogation of Parliament.

THE buſineſs before parliament drawing to a concluſion, it could not be expected that much important matter could come before the different houſes; however, what engaged their attention, was of too much conſequence not to be noticed.

The Houſe of Commons, on the 2d of Auguſt, were taken up in diſcuſſing the merits of the India budget; on this occaſion, Mr. Princep ſtated, "that if the company perſevered in paying their debts in the preſent circuitous manner, the conſequences could not fail to be, in the end, very ruinous and fatal to their beſt intereſts, and muſt inevitably and totally preclude any expectation the houſe or country might have formed, of receiving any of that participation in the reſources of the company, which had been ſo long and ſo repeatedly promiſed them. It had been ſtated, that the debt of the India company was ten millions; whereas on compariſon of all the papers, and a minute inveſtigation of all the ſums taken from the papers produced by that right honourable gentleman, the amount was fifteen millions ſterling, which ſum had been taken out of the revenues of the company, by means of loans, and other improper methods of managing the company's finances. Had that ſum been applied in payment of the debt, it might have been altogether extinguiſhed in the courſe of five years, and in that caſe, inſtead of the preſent exiſting debt of nineteen millions, the company would be in poſſeſſion of three millions, with a debt of no more than two millions. He therefore thought himſelf ſtrictly warranted in repeating, that if the ſyſtem be purſued, of paying off the debt in the ſame circuitous way that had hitherto been perſiſted in, the conſequence would not fail to be highly injurious, and, he feared, would in the end prove fatal and ruinous to their intereſts. Bills to the amount of 500,000*l.* had been drawn, and the expences of various kinds had amounted to full as much more; whereas, had the trade been limited according to the act of parliament paſſed for that purpoſe, no India debt would exiſt.

Mr. Sheridan made his motion relative to the volunteers. He began by reminding the Houſe that, when he firſt gave notice of the motion, he had ſtated his conviction that it was of a nature which could give riſe to no oppoſition. In now riſing to bring it forward, he was not leſs ſanguine that it would be unanimouſly adopted. It was of a nature which he flattered himſelf would meet the approbation of every man in the houſe, however different his opinions on general ſubjects of policy. He truſted that whatever zeal of oppoſition had been manifeſted on other occaſions, there might, at leaſt, be one cordial day before their ſeparation—one day in which every conſideration was loſt ſight of but devotion to the common cauſe of our country. Before he proceeded further, he wiſhed it to be diſtinctly underſtood, that his motion was intended to include every deſcription of individuals whoſe ſervices were voluntarily offered at this difficult and trying criſis. It would include volunteer corps, corps of yeomanry, and corps which were raiſed by patriotic gentlemen, and accepted by government. He thought it neceſſary thus broadly to explain the object of his motion, to prevent any miſconſtruction or miſapprehenſion from whatever quarter it might proceed. He obſerved, that in addition to a regular army of a certain magnitude, a force, conſiſting of militia,

Another Letter, from the ſame to the ſame, dated Sunday Night, 10th Oct. 1802.

"*Very Dear and Rev. Sir,*

"Anxious that my dear Mary might hear from her parents as ſoon as poſſible, we returned from Scotland to this town on Friday evening, and ſhall moſt probably proceed for Carliſle to-morrow; indeed your letter received this afternoon, makes me very deſirous of returning to Buttermere, that I may properly anſwer all ſuch perſons as aſſume the privilege of cenſuring my conduct, and are mean enough to diſturb the peace of our parents.

"We are, thank God! very well, and as happy as our friends can wiſh us. The colonel has given himſelf much unneceſſary trouble, and I am ſorry for it, becauſe in this he will be ſorry too. I wrote to him on Wedneſday laſt, and this day find his hand-writing on the ſuperſcription of a letter forwarded to me from Keſwick. If ever I had expreſſed to him any affection for Miſs D. except ſuch as you have witneſſed; if I had ever dropped a word on the ſubject to him, he might have had ſome plea for complaint. But God knows, and he knows, I never did. He has my free leave to write to all the world, if he finds any pleaſure in ſuch proceedings; but no perſon who really knows me, will believe, that Miſs D. has been deceived by me.

"I wiſh I could be certain where this will reach you, but fearing it may not be at Cockermouth ſoon enough for you to get it by the market people on the morrow, it is not in my power to ſay where or when we can meet previous to my arrival at Buttermere, which will very probably be before the middle of this week.

"Be pleaſed to preſent my beſt reſpects to Mrs. and Miſs Wood. I will remember with permanent gratitude their goodneſs on this occaſion, and amidſt the ſtrange viciſſitudes of this very eventful life, perhaps I may be bleſſed with ſome opportunities of ſhewing how truly ſenſible I am of every kindneſs done to me on this occaſion.

"With the trueſt reſpect, eſteem, and gratitude to all my well-wiſhers, I am,

"Very dear and Rev. Sir, your's ever,

"A. HOPE.

"Love and duty attend thoſe to whom they are due; and I beg you will tell them not to make any preparations for our return, for I ſhall have to move about almoſt as ſoon as I arrive, and my Mary will love quietneſs."

militia, volunteers, and yeomanry, was a force more ſuited to the habits, to the circumſtances, to the conſtitutional liberties of this country. In ſaying this, he did not ſpeak of an army for the purpoſe of carrying on a continental war, but a force ſuch as it behoved us to keep up when the neceſſity of cultivating military habits was more imperiouſly impoſed on us by the ambition and the malignity of a foreign enemy, whom nothing could ſatisfy ſhort of our deſtruction. He liked the force the better, becauſe it was of a diverſified character. In the firſt inſtance, the preference was given to the regular troops; the militia, the volunteer corps, and the yeomanry, ſucceeded in their claims of diſtinction. There was in ſuch a force, a connection which muſt ever make it formidable to a foreign enemy. There was in its compoſitions a facility for ſeparation, which, in a conſtitutional view, he ſhould always regard with ſatisfaction. Great ſtanding armies, however diſciplined and powerful, were not to be implicitly truſted. He might refer to numerous examples in proof of this poſition. A moſt ſtriking inſtance occurred in the army of France. Never was there an army better diſciplined, more brave, or apparently more dependent on the throne; but that very army thus conſtituted, and on which every poſſible reliance was placed, in the courſe of a very few hours ſuffered the monarchy to be overturned, and the revolution to triumph. In making this alluſion, it was the fartheſt in the world from his intention to impeach the loyalty of our regular army. On the contrary, he believed that no body of men were ever animated with truer or more affectionate attachment to their ſovereign. He admired, however, the preſent conſtitution of our military force, as being exempted from the inconveniencies and the evils which attached to a certain degree to all ſtanding, excluſive, permanent armies. By ſuch a conſtitution, the ſtrength and efficiency of the whole was confirmed and conſolidated. Mr. Sheridan, in concluſion, ſaid, that the zeal, the fortitude, the promptitude, with which the volunteer aſſociations had obeyed the call of their country in the hour of her danger, could never be ſufficiently admired. He would not expatiate on their conduct, he would leave it without comment to the honeſt unbiaſſed feelings of the houſe. He then moved,

"That the thanks of this Houſe be given to the volunteer and yeomanry corps, for the zeal and promptitude with which they aſſociated for the defence of the country, in this important and dangerous criſis."

The motion was ſeconded by general Gaſcoigne; and after a debate of ſeven hours, including the remarks of Mr. Windham, colonel Craufurd, and other members in oppoſition, Mr. Sheridan's reply ſilenced every objection, and the motion paſſed *nem. con.*

Mr. Sheridan next moved that the Speaker do ſignify to the lords lieutenants of counties, &c. the aſſent of the Houſe to the above reſolution. Agreed to *nem. con.*

Mr. Sheridan finally moved, that a return be made and entered upon the journals, of the names and number of the volunteer corps, who, from the preſent moment till the next meeting of parliament, ſhould enrol themſelves and be accepted by his Majeſty, in order that their patriotic example may be handed down to animate our lateſt poſterity. Agreed to *nem. con.*

On the 11th, the Houſe was occupied concerning Mr. Hutchinſon's motion relative to the affairs of Ireland. His ſtatement was ſo hiſtorical, and his remarks of ſuch importance, that they muſt eſſentially be embodied in our narration of events.

He began a very animated ſpeech by obſerving how material it was in the preſent juncture, to enable his Majeſty to avail himſelf of all the reſources which every part of the empire was capable of affording, and how deſirable it therefore was to put Ireland in ſuch a ſituation as to render her natural ſtrength, her wealth, and population, available for the common ſafety of the empire. The unanimity which appeared in this country was a ſource of joy to every loyal mind, but the joy of an Iriſhman was conſiderably allayed by the reflection that ſo many of his countrymen were, by the oppreſſion they endured, by the wretched poverty they ſuffered, damped in their ardour for the public ſecurity, if not altogether alienated in their affections for the Britiſh government. To remedy this misfortune, he called upon miniſters to attend to the ſtate of Ireland, and to reform radically the ſyſtem by which it had been ſo long governed, and that would ſerve to eſtabliſh the tranquillity of Ireland, to place that country beyond the reach of foreign aggreſſion and domeſtic treaſon. He called upon the liberality of parliament to conſider this ſubject, and upon the equity of miniſters to recollect the ſolemn pledges made to the Iriſh people at the time of that union which deprived Ireland of its parliament. He demanded of them the execution of thoſe promiſes, if they wiſhed that the profeſſions of the Britiſh cabinet ſhould have any confidence or credit in Ireland. For himſelf, he would confeſs, that when that meaſure was carried he did not reckon much on the ſplendid proſpects which he underſtood were held out by the emiſſaries of the Britiſh cabinet to delude the ſupporters of that meaſure, and he from that and ſtill ſtronger reaſons oppoſed it, but as it had actually taken place, it was his wiſh that this important incorporation ſhould be the parent of ſettlement, and not the nurſe of revolution. He begged it to be underſtood, that it was not his intention to charge any ſet of men with a deſigned breach of promiſe, but he ſincerely regretted that his countrymen were deceived, that miniſters were ſo inattentive to their

wants

wants and wiſhes, and that a degree of ſupineneſs and delay prevailed with regard to that country, which he did not witneſs even in the moſt inſignificant Engliſh object. This was a conduct which any Iriſhman muſt obſerve with pain, as tending to produce the moſt dreadful calamity to Ireland, and threatening to involve the downfal of the empire. Here the honourable member entered into a compariſon between the ſyſtems in which the government of the two countries was managed, and contended that they were eſſentially different—the people of England enjoying the privileges of the conſtitution, and the advantages and profits of induſtry, to both of which the people of Ireland were almoſt entire ſtrangers; for the revolution of 1688, which gave liberty to the former, cramped the induſtry of the latter, and laid the foundation of the diſcords which had ſince deſolated that unhappy country. The one ſyſtem, in fact, was as different from the other as perfection was from imperfection. In England, the Houſe might be contented with the beaten track, with moving in the ordinary way, but in Ireland they muſt begin anew in order to do any effectual good. He admitted, under the beneficent reign of his preſent Majeſty, that the greater part of the penalties which diſgraced the ſtatute-book, as applying to the difference of religious ſentiments, had been expunged, but ſomething ſtill remained to be done. So long as any part of this vicious ſyſtem was ſuffered to exiſt, he was fully perſuaded that it would be idle to calculate on the peace of Ireland, or to look for harmony or happineſs among the people; ſo long as this anomaly in the hiſtory of government prevailed, that the minority of the people ſhould be authoriſed to lord it over the majority, and that this ſuperiority of power ſhould be veſted in perſons of the loweſt claſs over thoſe of a much higher, merely on this ground, that this majority had too much honeſty to act againſt their conviction, that they would not baſely profeſs ſentiments of religion which they did not feel. Until the affairs of Ireland ſhould be put in ſome train of ſettlement, he would oppoſe the idea of an honourable general, that the members could depart to their reſpective homes, ſatisfied of having done every thing that was neceſſary for the ſafety of the empire. If any doubt was entertained of the melancholy ſituation of Ireland, or that the picture was exaggerated, let a deputation be appointed by the Houſe to go over to that country, to inveſtigate the ſtate of the poor, and to report their opinion to parliament after the receſs. If ſuch a courſe were adopted, he was confident, from what he obſerved of the liberality of the Houſe, that relief would be granted to his poor countrymen. The office of deputy on ſuch occaſion, would be one of the higheſt honours, and one which no doubt any man of humanity would be happy to undertake. Certain he was, that even in the moſt diſturbed times, ſhould the arrival of ſuch ambaſſadors be announced in Ireland, the moſt profligate or deſperate in the country would not offend them. This was one of the means to which miniſters ought to reſort, to put parliament in poſſeſſion of the authentic information reſpecting a country in which, by juſtice ſolely, it was in the power of miniſters to recover the minds of the diſaffected, and to ſubſtitute the moſt zealous loyalty for hoſtility and deſperation. The reſidence of the land owners in Ireland, ought by ſome means to be enforced, at leaſt ſome branch of each family. If the juſt expectations of the people of Ireland ſhould be ſatisfied, and they ſhould be cordially attached to the Britiſh government, there was very little doubt that we ſhould be qualified to deſpiſe the menaces of that inſatiable deſpot, by whoſe machinations alone the horrible atrocity lately committed in Dublin was to be attributed; that to which no Iriſhman could advert without horror and indignation; but it proceeded from him who cared not about the means he choſe to accompliſh his ends—from him who promiſed but to deceive—who ſought for conqueſt only from a deſire to promote his military fame, and to propagate ſlavery. That any part of his countrymen could be ſo deluded as to truſt to the profeſſions of ſuch a tyrant, or count upon any good to their country through his interference, was to him a ſource of the moſt ſincere regret, but of this deluſion, he truſted that the benevolent interpoſition of this Houſe would cure them; that interpoſition which humanity and policy ſhould urge them to make, in order to protect from bloodſhed a body of men who had the ſtrongeſt claims to their kindneſs—who were their fellow ſubjects for now above ſix hundred years—who had fought their battles—who had contributed to eſtabliſh their ſtrength and conſequence, and who were ſtill capable of aſſiſting in the defence of that ſtrength and conſequence, if they were only treated with equity, if the natural reſources of the country were properly nurtured. Theſe advantages, which it poſſeſſed from nature, were generally known, and the character of its inhabitants was eſteemed wherever it was known; for, of whatever enormities ſome of its infatuated people might have been guilty in times of civil commotion—enormities which were equalled if not exceeded under ſimilar circumſtances in other countries, and very recently in this, when the paſſions had not ſo much cauſe to be inflamed, yet the reputation of Iriſhmen, for humanity, fortitude, high honour, and the moſt extenſive talents, would not be queſtioned, nor excelled in any nation under the heavens, not even in thoſe which boaſted the greateſt wealth and power, and which were the moſt ſelfiſhly conceited. It could not be pretended by miniſters that they did not poſſeſs the power of granting a complete redreſs of grievances to Ireland. It might

be ſaid, that miniſters had in contemplation to bring forward a better ſyſtem for Ireland, but that it was not yet prepared. The caſe, however, did not admit of delay. From the time that the late miniſter had accompliſhed the union, nothing in fact had been done to render that meaſure complete, or to follow up its ſpirit. The preſent miniſter, however, ſuperſeded him, and has ſince ſhewn no diſpoſition to do any ſuch thing. His appearance in office was held to be a bad omen for the people of Ireland, and his neglect to attend to them has been productive of incalculable miſchief. The honourable member proceeded to deſcribe the happy conſequences which would reſult from the appointment of the Prince of Wales to the lord lieutenancy of Ireland. If his Majeſty would give this farther proof of his parental attachment to his Iriſh ſubjects, and that his Royal Highneſs would condeſcend to accept of it, he had no doubt that his character, which was in ſtill higher eſtimation than his high rank, would excite a degree of unparalleled enthuſiaſm throughout all Ireland. The people would juſtly ſay, "We have heard of princes viſiting our iſland, but they have viſited us as conquerors and pillagers; but your Royal Highneſs comes to us with the olive of peace." The diſpoſition of this illuſtrious perſonage, and his known attachment to the Iriſh people, would naturally enough produce ſuch a ſentiment—but, there was little hope that they would have the honour and happineſs of his Royal Highneſs's preſence. If any commotion ſhould take place in Ireland during the receſs, which was not improbable, the honourable member recommended government to meet it with vigour, but exhorted them, at the ſame time, to ſend poſitive orders that no cruelty ſhould be practiſed, that vigour ſhould be blended with humanity; that ſuch meaſures as the loyaliſts reſorted to during the rebellion of 1798, and which too many of them were diſpoſed to employ at preſent, ſhall not be allowed, for he aſſured miniſters that they would only tend to create thouſands of rebels; would drive many to deſperation who are at preſent tranquil. His advice, therefore, upon this point, he hoped, would be followed by miniſters, from that humanity which formed the moſt prominent trait in the character of the right honourable gentleman. He expected that he would not tolerate any wanton ſeverity, the apprehenſion of which was now ſuch in Ireland, that he knew of many families who were anxious to quit the country, in order to releaſe themſelves from ſeeing or ſuffering ſuch dreadful ſcenes as were too frequent during the former rebellion; but he hoped they would never again occur, that the outrages of the rebel and the loyaliſt would be repreſſed, and that we ſhould hear no more of houſe-burning—of pillage, or of tortures!

He concluded with moving, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, praying he will be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions that there be laid before this Houſe, ſuch information as has been received reſpecting the late rebellious outrages in Ireland, and the preſent ſtate of that part of the united kingdom."

This motion was replied to by Lord Hawkeſbury, and was productive of a very ſerious and energetic debate, which our limits deny us to inſert; however it was ultimately negatived without a diviſion.

Next day at three o'clock, his Majeſty appeared in the Houſe of Lords, where the peers were aſſembled. His Majeſty being ſeated on the throne, a meſſage was ſent to deſire the attendance of the Houſe of Commons. The Speaker, accompanied by ſeveral members, approached the bar of the Houſe of Lords, and addreſſed his Majeſty in theſe terms:

"*Moſt Gracious Sovereign,*

"Your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the knights, citizens, and burgeſſes of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in parliament aſſembled, have at length completed the ſupplies granted to your Majeſty for the ſervice of the preſent year—a period memorable for the events which it has produced, and awful for thoſe which may be yet to come.

"In granting thoſe ſupplies, your Majeſty's faithful Commons have conſidered, that a criſis without example demanded unexampled efforts: and, by reſolving to raiſe annually a large proportion of the ſupplies for the current year, ſo long as the war endures, they have given to all the world a ſolemn pledge of their inflexible determination to render public credit unaſſailable.

"They have alſo proceeded to reviſe the ſyſtem of your Majeſty's permanent revenue. By conſolidating the duties in each of its principal branches, they have ſimplified its operations, and at the ſame time they have endeavoured to render its preſſure leſs burthenſome, by regulating its mode of collection.

"The commercial intereſts of this country, to which our attention was called by your Majeſty's gracious commands at the commencement of the preſent ſeſſion, have been maturely conſidered; and meaſures have been taken for affording material accommodations and facilities to mercantile tranſactions, by rendering our principal ports free for all nations to import, depoſit, and re-export their merchandize, without toll or tax, unleſs voluntarily brought into our own market for home-conſumption.

"Nor have we forgotten to beſtow our earneſt and ſerious thoughts upon the ſafety and efficacy of our church-eſtabliſhment in every part of the united kingdom. Upon this ſubject, as comprehending all that conſecrates our rational hopes, morals, and policy, we have deliberated with peculiar care and anxiety,

anxiety; and we preſume to believe, that the important laws which have been paſſed in aid of our church-eſtabliſhment, will materially ſtrengthen and gradually extend its influence through ſucceeding ages.

"But, Sire, theſe were cares and objects belonging to times of peace. Wiſe, politic, and deſireable as they might be, nevertheleſs, called upon now by your Majeſty's commands, we have without heſitation turned all our thoughts and efforts to meet the renewal of war, perſuaded that your Majeſty's paternal care preſerved to us the bleſſings of peace, ſo long as they could be retained with ſafety and honour, and confident, that ſince they have been openly attacked, and the juſtice of our cauſe has been made manifeſt to the world, our appeal to arms will not be in vain.

"This war we ſee and know to be a war of no ordinary character. We feel that our religion, laws, and liberties, and exiſtence as a nation are put to the iſſue, and we have prepared for the conteſt accordingly. Beſides the ſupplies of money, we have augmented beyond all former example every ſpecies of military force known in this country—we have met rebellion with prompt and neceſſary laws—and for the defence of a ſovereign endeared to us by long experience of his royal virtues, and commanding not our allegiance alone, but our hearts and affections, the whole nation has riſen up in arms.

"May then the God of our fathers go forth with us to battle, and bleſs our cauſe, and ſtabliſh with victory that throne which we revere as the bulwark of our liberties; and ſo ſhall other nations at length learn, that a free, valiant, and united people is unconquerable, and able to ſet laſting bounds to an empire of violence, perfidy, and unrelenting ambition.

"To the bills which I have now humbly to preſent to your Majeſty, your commons, with all humility, entreat your Majeſty's royal aſſent."

His Majeſty then made the following moſt gracious ſpeech:

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"I am at length enabled, by the ſtate of public buſineſs to releaſe you from your long and laborious attendance in parliament.

"In cloſing the ſeſſion, I have the utmoſt ſatisfaction in expreſſing the ſtrong ſenſe which I entertain of that zealous and unwearied regard for the welfare and honour of your country, which has diſtinguiſhed all your proceedings.

"During the continuance of peace, your conduct manifeſted the juſt view which you had taken of our actual ſituation, and of the dangers againſt which you were peculiarly called upon to provide; and ſince the recurrence of hoſtilities, you have diſplayed an energy and promptitude which have never been ſurpaſſed, in the means which you have applied for the defence of the country, and for the vigorous proſecution of the war.

"Your proceedings, in conſequence of the late treaſonable and atrocious occurrences in Ireland, will, I truſt, have the effect of preventing any further interruption of its internal tranquillity, and of convincing my loyal ſubjects in that part of the united kingdom, that they may confidently rely on that protection to which they are ſo juſtly entitled.

"In the midſt of the deliberations, which were occaſioned by the immediate exigency of the times, you have not been unmindful of other objects, to which I had directed your attention; and I have great ſatisfaction in obſerving that you have completed a ſyſtem for conſolidating the duties, and regulating the collection and management of the ſeveral branches of the revenue; and that you have adopted meaſures which are calculated to afford material accommodation to the mercantile part of the community, and to encourage and extend the navigation and commerce of my dominions.

"*Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,*

"I return you my particular thanks for the liberality and readineſs with which you have granted the ſupplies of the public ſervice.

"It is painful for me to reflect, that the means of neceſſary exertion cannot be provided without a heavy preſſure upon my faithful people; but I cannot ſufficiently applaud that wiſdom and fortitude which have led you to overlook conſiderations of a temporary convenience, for the purpoſe of preventing a large accumulation of debt during the continuance of the war. You may be aſſured that there ſhall be as ſtrict an attention to œconomy on my part as may be conſiſtent with thoſe preparations and exertions which will be beſt calculated to fruſtrate the deſigns and weaken the power of the enemy, by whoſe arrogant pretenſions and reſtleſs ambition alone theſe ſacrifices have been rendered unavoidable.

"*My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

"I am fully perſuaded that, during the ceſſation of your parliamentary duties, you will continue to be actuated by the ſame ſpirit, which has been uniformly diſplayed in your councils. It will be your duty to aſſiſt in carrying into effect thoſe important meaſures, which your wiſdom has matured for the defence and ſecurity of the realm: and particularly to give the moſt beneficial direction to that ardour and enthuſiaſm in the cauſe of their country, which animate all claſſes of my people.

"Juſtly ſenſible of the ſtate of pre-eminence, in which it has pleaſed the Almighty to ſupport us, for ſo many ages, amongſt the nations of Europe, I rely with confidence, that under the continuance of his Divine protection, the exertions of my brave and loyal

loyal ſubjects will prove to the enemy and to the world, that an attempt to ſubvert the independence, or impair the power of this united kingdom, will terminate in the diſgrace and ruin of thoſe by whom it may be made, and that my people will find an ample reward for all their ſacrifices, in an undiſturbed enjoyment of that freedom and ſecurity, which, by their patriotiſm and valour, they will have preſerved and enſured to themſelves and their poſterity."

The parliament was then prorogued to Thurſday, the 6th day of October.

Thus cloſed the firſt, and very important ſeſſion of the new imperial parliament.

CHAP. V.

Bonaparte throws off the Maſk of affected Patriotiſm.—Adopts Meaſures to ſilence the public Voice, and to ſhackle the Preſs.—Character of the French by one of their own Countrymen.—Threats of Invaſion.—Bonaparte's Viſit to Calais.—Public Spirit in England.—Volunteer Syſtem gathers Strength and Conſiſtency.—Not the Effervescence of the Moment.—Its good Effects on the Morals of its Members, &c.—The Intereſt which the Government takes in moulding that Patriotic Body.—Navy.—Domeſtic Events.—Continental Powers. Neutrality of Auſtria.—Laudable Conduct of the Emperor of Ruſſia.

BONAPARTE evinced in all his actions, that he had ſtudied the character of the French nation, and that the portrait which their own countryman Montaigne drew of them was not overcharged *. His creatures that looked up to him for bread, found that his ear was always open to flattery, and they poured it in on every ſide. Even the men of letters forgetful of that dignity and independence of mind which learning ought to inſpire, were among the firſt to trumpet forth his praiſe; he was compared by one to Alexander, by another to Cæſar, and by a third to Scipio, when in fact he had not given any one proof that he poſſeſſed the magnanimity of the Macedonian, the clemency of Cæſar, or any of the exalted qualities of Scipio. His character bears a greater reſemblance to that of Sylla than any other; among the Romans, Sylla like Bonaparte, was ſent upon a foreign expedition, Sylla returned to the city without leave of his government. The principal difference in the two characters is, that Sylla brought his army with him to ſhare the fruits of his treachery, Bonaparte ignobly abandoned his to periſh by the ſword or by peſtilence. The only perſons who appear at this period to have given the chief conſul uneaſineſs, were general Moreau and the Abbe Seyes, He knew well enough that it was not eaſy to blaſt the laurels that the former had reaped in the tented field, and that his military fame was ſtill heightened by thoſe amiable qualities which always accompany real valour, and diſtinguiſh the true ſoldier from the barbarian. He had nothing to dread from the Abbe, but his cunning, and the pliability of his politics.

The chief conſul ſaw that it was impoſſible to accompliſh thoſe ambitious views which from the firſt inſtance he appears to have cheriſhed, as long as the freedom of ſpeech, and the liberty of the preſs exiſted; and in order to ſuppreſs them both, he reſorted to power: a ſwarm of ſpies were let looſe upon the public; theſe reptiles invaded private houſes, and even bribed domeſtics to wound the very hand that fed them. The preſs alſo, that great medium through which we *think aloud*, as Addiſon ſays, was ſo completely ſhackled, that it was converted into a mere ſtate engine, calculated at the expence of all truth, to promote the ends of thoſe who trampled on the ruins of their country.

He alſo conceived it neceſſary to viſit the coaſt, in order that his vaſſals might be gratified with a view of his perſon, that he might learn to what degree of popularity his fame had aſcended; to ſee the country, and above all, perhaps, to give a conſiſtency and colour to the promiſe he had ſolemnly made, that he would invade England with fire and ſword. That he intended to have invaded this country is not to be doubted, the very name of liberty was now become odious to him, and as this is the darling idol of the united kingdom, he reſolved within himſelf, to extinguiſh, if poſſible, that ſacred flame. Again, what was the loſs of a hundred thouſand men in his conſideration! but it ſhould be recollected, that his threats were as violent againſt the inhabitants of Saint Domingo. "If you do not," ſaid he, in his proclamation to thoſe coloniſts, "return to your obedience, and fall down at the feet of the mother country, I will conſume you in my wrath, even as lightning conſumes your withered ſugar canes;" but all theſe threats vaniſhed in air, ſeventy thouſand picked French troops found a grave in that iſland, and it is now governed by a ſelf-created emperor as well as France. Bonaparte therefore, for the purpoſes already ſtated, paid a viſit to

* The French ſcarce ſee a new object but they will it. The wiſh almoſt inſtantaneouſly follows the perception, and as they ſeize with greedineſs, they let go with equal haſte. The cameleon does not change its colour with readier obedience to the objects which ſurround it, than they do their inclinations. They determine ſolemnly this moment, the next they have already changed their mind, and in one moment more come round again to the firſt thought. Their will is perpetual vibrations, and every day has its own whim. *Eſſais de Montaigne*, liv. i. chap. iv. 18.

Calais,

Calais, where he arrived on the 20th of October, 1803. The entrance of the "greateſt man in the world," as the French papers ſtiled him, was announced by a diſcharge of cannon; the town hall was decorated with boughs of trees; the windows and carriages newly painted, and a range of flags of all nations diſplayed from the balcony over the entrance; the market-place was ſtrewed with fine ſand, and all the principal ſtreets decorated with rows of artificial trees; the gates of the town were alſo ornamented with wreaths of flowers; an inſcription was hung up in the ſtreet leading to the port, "The Liberty of the Seas," and another in large characters was affixed on the gate which opens to the paſſage for embarkation, "The Road to London," which in England was tranſlated, "The Road to Ruin." Some of the young men of the town came forward as a guard of honour to attend him in all his movements. The following in letters of gold was inſcribed on their flag:

BONAPARTE,
Amidſt the deſcendants of
EUSTACE ST. PIERRE,
12th of Meſſidor, year 11.

The contraſt between this temporary glare of tinſelled pomp, and the wretched appearance of the town's people, would have excited the riſibility of any but a Frenchman.

Bonaparte was ſo well pleaſed with his reception, or affected to be ſo, at leaſt, that on his return to Paris, he ordered a letter to be addreſſed to the inhabitants of Calais, in which he aſſured them, "no requeſt they could make, would ever be denied them."

The ſpirit of the people of England exhibited itſelf in every patriotic point of view. The volunteer ſyſtem acquired daily ſtrength, and pervaded the moſt diſtant corners of the united kingdom. This ſpirit was not the effervescence of the moment, it roſe gradually, founded on a juſt ſenſe of that affection and duty which every man owes to his country, and a confidence in their own ſtrength, in the cauſe of every thing that is dear to thoſe who appreciate the hopes and conſolations of religion, and the ſweets of civil liberty. Bonaparte was not ignorant of the ſtate of the public mind in this country, but he availed himſelf of every art in his power to hide it from the inhabitants of France, who were taught to believe through the medium of French news-papers, and other publications, that the Engliſh groaned under the moſt intolerable tyranny, and that they panted for the arrival of the French. He hoped at the ſame time in all probability, that the ſpirit of volunteering would ſubſide, that the neceſſary avocations of trade and agriculture would call men aſide from the acquiſition of that military diſcipline, in which they had entered, and which joined to number, and courage that was not to be appalled, would render them formidable to the foe. The ſpirit of volunteering had another happy effect on morality. The union of the citizen and the ſoldier brought men acquainted with each other; the example of the good was prevalent, it inſpired a degree of emulation, reverence for religion, a reſpect for the laws which they had aſſociated to protect and to enforce; theſe were the glorious ties that honour loved to bind, and that we truſt never will be diſſolved.

There are many ſhining examples of patriotiſm on the page of Britiſh hiſtory, but none can exceed the ſyſtem which we have juſt mentioned. A body of men of all ranks to ſtep forward at the call of their country, at their own expence, muſt be a pleaſing circumſtance to every reader. Government ſaw the neceſſity of moulding this body into form, ſo as to derive the beſt advantages from their number, force, and ſpirit. The following letter will beſt explain this point:

"GENERAL DEFENCE.
"MIDDLESEX VOLUNTEERS.

"*Copy of a Letter from the Lord Lieutenant to the Commanders of the different Corps.*

"SIR, *London, Auguſt* 6.

"As I have found that many volunteer corps formed in the county, have proceeded upon the idea that their numbers were not limited by the King's approval of their propoſals, I take the liberty of troubling you with this letter, to requeſt that you will furniſh me, with as little delay as poſſible, with an accurate return of the eſtabliſhment of the corps under your command, diſtinguiſhing the field and ſtaff officers, if any, and ſpecifying the number of troops or companies, with the eſtabliſhed proportion of officers, non-commiſſioned officers, drummers, and privates in each, together with the number of ſupernumeraries at preſent enrolled in or attached to your corps in a ſeparate column.

"I think it neceſſary to apprize you, that without the King's approbation previouſly obtained, the corps muſt not be extended beyond the number for which the King's permiſſion has been already granted; at the ſame time I have reaſon to hope that no objection will be made to the addition of ſupernumeraries (when applied for) to eſtabliſh corps, provided it is perfectly underſtood, that they will be entitled to no exemptions, and will put government to no expence of any kind.

"I am,
"SCOTT TITCHFIELD."

Several public companies and corporate bodies gave at the ſame time the moſt laudable inſtances of their zeal. The Birmingham Canal Company ſubſcribed 500*l.* at one meeting; the inhabitants of Mancheſter, in the courſe of a few days, poured in a ſubſcription of 20,000*l.* The example was followed

lowed all over the kingdom. All party ſpirit was loſt in the one grand conſideration, the DEFENCE OF THE NATION. It ſhould not be forgotten, that all this took place in the mild adminiſtration of Mr. *Addington*. That miniſter, in the diſtribution of arms, made no invidious diſtinction, he ſaw that the monſter Jacobiniſm had nearly laſhed itſelf to death, and he truſted to the cool ſober ſenſe of the Engliſh nation, in the conduct of a point of the utmoſt magnitude, on which theſe men, and the happineſs of poſterity depended. The following addreſs, amongſt many others of a ſimilar nature, is worth recording, as it may be called a true image of the times:

The Addreſs to his Majeſty, of the Freeholders of Eaſt Lothian.

"Finally, we do moſt ſolemnly bind ourſelves to pay the utmoſt attention to our reſpective duties; to carry into effect, with the greateſt expedition, every act of parliament for the defence of our country; to obey, with zeal and alacrity, all your Majeſty's commands tending to that important end; to do all that in us lies, to encourage and direct that truly Britiſh ſpirit which pervades all ranks in this country, and to infuſe into the mind of every individual belonging to it, thoſe ſentiments of loyalty, reverence, and affection, that it becomes a free and grateful nation to cheriſh towards a ſovereign, who has ever proved himſelf the father of his people."

This ſpirit was not confined to England and Scotland, it raiſed its head in Ireland; many of the dupes of traitors and incendiaries in that unhappy country, began at length to reaſon. They could not, if even diſpoſed, ſhut their eyes to the conduct of Bonaparte, to thoſe countries which he had ſubjugated—Italy, Holland, Switzerland, not only robbed of their liberties, but plundered of their property; treated like aliens in their own countries, and deprived of the laſt privilege of the wretched, to complain. Theſe conſiderations were forcibly urged by ſome of the beſt writers in that kingdom, and made no doubt a due impreſſion. The Iriſh yeomanry preſerved the internal tranquillity; and the Iriſh militia volunteered their ſervices to any part of the united empire. Bonaparte's emiſſaries in that nation, notwithſtanding, did every thing in their power to keep the ſparks of rebellion alive, and to render the government as odious as poſſible, in the eyes of thoſe that were diſpoſed to ſhake off their allegiance to the Britiſh ſceptre, at the ſame time that every attention was paid to internal defence. The navy of England was maintained in all its parts, and rode triumphant in every quarter of the globe. Our ſeamen performed prodigies of valour, and every day almoſt added freſh laurels to their brows. Bonaparte ſaw this, and he ſaw it with a malignant eye; he alſo felt, that our manufactures carried off the prize in every market: his laſt reſource was to endeavour, as far as lay in his power, to narrow our communications with the continent. We have already ſeen that our merchants were ſhut out of Hamburgh, and that the packets were obliged to ſail to Tonningen*, which they did once a week in ſucceſſion.

A foreign writer ſays, that there is no city in which greater precautions are taken to prevent fires than in London; and yet, that it is as ſubject to the ravages of this element as Conſtantinople. On Friday, the ſecond of September, 1803, about two o'clock in the morning, an alarming fire broke out in Mr. Aſtley's Amphitheatre, near Weſtminſter Bridge, by which that capacious erection was reduced to aſhes, with ſome adjoining houſes. In the rehearſal of a ballet, ſome powder happened to flaſh on the ſcenery. The ſmell, the ſmoke, and the burſting of the flames, were perceived by a watchman going his round. The alarm was immediately given, and in the firſt hurry of the diſaſter, Mr. Taplin, a muſician of the Guards, had the preſence of mind to force open the door of the ſtable, and reſcue the horſes, which had ſo frequently contributed to the amuſement of the public. On the firſt alarm, Mrs. Smith, mother to Mrs. Aſtley, Jun. appeared at a window of the two-pair of ſtairs room; overpowered with age and terror, her ſtrength failed her in the attempt to raiſe the ſaſh; every one felt for her ſituation: Mr. Moor, a tinman, in the neighbourhood, aſcended by a ladder, but was alſo unable to raiſe the ſaſh, he came down, broke in the window with the end of the ladder, aſcended again, but the old lady in the interval had retired to a room backwards—the roof fell in, and in an inſtant ſhe was wrapped in flames. All the furniture being of a light combuſtible nature, adminiſtered to the violence of the blaze, which was awfully magnificent. The ſcene was truly affecting, mothers naked with their infants in their arms, ran through the ſtreets, in a ſtate of delirium, encreaſed the confuſion and unmanned thoſe that could have lent aſſiſtance. The body of Mrs. Smith was found the next day, half conſumed. The ruins continued to ſmoke for ſome days.

It was thought that the powers on the continent, who on all occaſions had hitherto evinced a quick ſenſe of jealouſy with reſpect to national honour, and diplomatic etiquette, would be rouſed at the inſolence of Bonaparte, that it would be their intereſt to unite in reducing France to its hereditary bounds, and by that means reſtore what is called the balance

* Tonningen is ſituated in the duchy of Sleſwig, on the north ſide of the river Eyder, which divides the duchy from Holſtein. It is navigable as far as Renſburg, where it joins the canal, which forms the neareſt communication between the North Sea and the Baltic, even for ſhips of conſiderable burthen. The roads around that town are good, and the character of the inhabitants open and friendly.

balance of power: but inſtead of ſhewing any hoſtile diſpoſition towards the firſt conſul, they publicly avowed their intention of obſerving the ſtricteſt neutrality. The emperor of Germany publiſhed an ordinance to this effect, in which he forbade any of his ſubjects to enter into the ſervice of France or England, by land or ſea. This edict conſiſted of twenty-one articles, in which the admiſſion of prizes into the Imperial harbours, and the manner in which they were to be diſpoſed of were regulated. The emperor of Ruſſia was laudably employed in the internal regulation of his immenſe empire; agriculture, manufactures, the uſeful arts, and thoſe that embelliſh human life, ſucceſſively engaged his attention. This youthful prince, who may well be called the Titus of the North, erected a univerſity in Wilnia, and placed prince Czartoriſk, a relative of the late unfortunate king of Poland at the head of it. This ſeminary conſiſts of fourteen chairs, to be filled by able profeſſors in the different departments of uſeful learning, ſuch as mathematics, chemiſtry, agriculture, &c. and what muſt be very flattering to the Engliſh nation, a profeſſorſhip well endowed for the ſtudy of the Engliſh language.

That ſyſtem of polity which had influenced the cabinets of Europe from the days of Charlemagne, down to the preſent, now ſeemed to yield to another of a very different complexion. Ambition, gratified by ſplendid victories, was the ſoul of the firſt, and ſordid intereſt of the ſecond. It was the policy of Bonaparte to haſten the diſſolution of the old ſyſtem, and to bring the other into play as faſt as poſſible. With this view, the chief conſul paid every court to the king of Pruſſia, and in all probability held out plans of territorial aggrandizement to that prince.

About this time, a paper was circulated over France, entitled, "The Creed of a Republican Frenchman," which abounded with ſuch impieties, and metaphyſical abſurdities, that the inſertion of it would ſtain the page of our hiſtory. An ingenious gentleman, a member of a volunteer corps, in the vicinity of London, in order to counteract the poiſonous influence of ſuch a production, in caſe it ſhould find its way into this country, compoſed the following:

THE BRITISH PATRIOTS MORAL AND POLITICAL CREED.

"I BELIEVE in GOD, the Supreme RULER OF THE UNIVERSE; I abjure all ATHEISTICAL, PAGANISTICAL, POLYTHEISTICAL, and FANATICAL opinions, and all the other damnable doctrines of the ſanguinary ruler of the French Republic; I ſwear true allegiance to the king; I profeſs the cardinal virtues, but more eſpecially that paramount to all others, an ardent love for the country in which I firſt breathed the vital air.

"I love and admire the morals of my Sovereign, and the bleſſings of the Britiſh conſtitution, the liberties of my nation, the mildneſs of our government, and the equal diſpenſation of laws founded in nature and reaſon, and which have been reared to an enviable pinnacle of glory by our anceſtors, and the progreſſive wiſdom of ages.

"I deteſt from my ſoul all apoſtacy, all ſacrilege, all impiety, all diſloyalty, all cruelty, all perfidy, all plunderers, all raviſhers, all aſſaſſins, all violaters of faith, all murderers of priſoners in cold blood, all poiſoners of ſick fellow-ſubjects, all treacherous and puſillanimous deſerters of companions in arms, at home or abroad, and all tyrannical uſurpers, wherever they may be found.

"I ſolemnly vow with firm adherence, loyalty, and truth, to our king, our conſtitution, our laws, our liberties, and independence; to ſupport with my life, ability, and fortune, the bleſſings enjoyed as a Britiſh ſubject, and to tranſmit them, as handed to us by our anceſtors, pure and unſullied to poſterity. In defending theſe invaluable rights againſt invaſion, rebellious inſurrections, conſpirators, treaſons, incendiaries, and diabolical machinations deviſed, planned, or to be executed by Satan, the firſt apoſtate from his God, or his archfiend who has ſo long reigned the curſe and ſcourge of mankind.

"I firmly believe, truſt, and hope, without any ſpirit of predeſtination, that the inſcrutable ways of Divine Providence, will ſhield, in the hour of peril, all thoſe patriots animated with laudable deeds of enterprize, in ſtruggling againſt nefarious invaders avowing the eternal bondage, if not the total extermination of the inhabitants of this land.

"And, finally, I believe, that the hour is approaching, when Britons will be made the inſtrument in this nether world, of the deſtinies of Providence, by hurling omnipotent wrath on the ſins of a ſecond Sodom and Gomorrah, and avenging the unparalleled crime of a chief more cruel than Herod, or any other, and whoſe aſſociates are more bloodthirſty and rapacious than the Philiſtines of old."

A Journaliſt in Straſburgh had the courage to publiſh a tranſlation of this creed in his paper, for which he was at firſt ſeverely cenſured by the prefect of that city, and his paper in a ſhort time afterwards ſuppreſſed.

CHAP. VI.

Proceedings againſt the Iriſh Rebels.—Agricultural Societies eſtabliſhed in Ireland.—Increaſe of the Volunteer Syſtem.—Patriotic Offer.—Public Rejoicings at Calcutta.—Proceedings in the Iſland of Ceylon.—Blockade of Havre de Grace.—Conſular Tyranny over the Italian Republic.—Obſervations on Britiſh Trade and Manufacture.—State of Denmark.—Alliance with Ruſſia.

IT is to be lamented, that, for ſome time paſt, as often as we turn our attention to Ireland, inſtead of detailing the progreſſive proſperity of a kingdom, "gifted," as Lord Bacon ſays, "with the choiceſt dowries of nature," we find the ſparks of rebellion burſting out into flames, at a period when every well-wiſher to the peace and happineſs of ſociety hoped they were extinguiſhed. In the month of September, 1803, ſeveral perſons concerned in the murder of that amiable nobleman Lord Kilwarden, were indicted for high treaſon, and brought to trial. The firſt on this liſt was Edward Kearney.—The Attorney General on this occaſion addreſſed the jury in a ſpeech of ſome length, in which he lamented, "that too many, grown hardened by the contemplation of their wicked projects; and inſenſible to the miſeries they were inflicting on others, had contributed to place the priſoner at the bar in that ſituation, againſt which he ſhould have been guarded by their character; men of depraved minds, and deſperate fortunes, giddy in the contemplation of the ſame ſchemes of avarice, ambition, and aſſuring their wretched victims of impracticable good, while they were implicating them in the certain evils of confiſcation and civil war."

The priſoner was found guilty and executed with ſeveral others, after fair and impartial trials.

We turn our eyes from ſo deplorable an object, and with pleaſure view the opening ſcene of benevolence. Several gentlemen of landed property throughout the kingdom, began to ſee the beneficial effects of agricultural ſocieties in the diſtribution of premiums that excited induſtry, and called forth uſeful inventions, that facilitated the labours of the plough, or other rural inſtruments. In conſequence of which, they either formed new ſocieties for theſe laudable purpoſes, or aſſociated with thoſe which had been already formed. This ſpirit extended to Ireland, where the advantages of it began to be felt. An emulation in the breeding line, in every branch, was alſo viſible in all quarters. It will always be a matter of pleaſing conſideration, and of future excitement, to reflect on the impoſing attitude of the united kingdom at this period. Gentlemen of the firſt rank daily enrolling themſelves as privates in volunteer corps. The yeomen cavalry throughout the kingdom amounted to a very large body, commanded by men of known and approved conſtitutional principles. Thoſe who from age or infirmity could not obey the warm dictates of their heart, in ſtepping forward perſonally in defence of their country, contributed to that end to the utmoſt extent of their power *.

Great hopes were about this time entertained that the mother country would experience immediate advantages from the acceſſion of Ceylon, but contrary to expectation, it appeared, that the court of Candy would liſten to no propoſition of a conciliatory nature. The honourable Mr. North, governor of that iſland, publiſhed a proclamation, which concluded with the following paragraph. "We have ſubmitted to his Candian majeſty, articles of accommodation, ſo moderate in their object, and ſo beneficial in their principles, that it is preſumed he will immediately agree to them, as well for the ſecurity of his own perſon and dignity, as for the tranquillity and happineſs of his ſubjects." We are ſorry to find that ſubſequent events have not juſtified the hopes which might reaſonably be expected to flow from propoſitions founded in ſuch moderation, good ſenſe, and ſound policy †.

The Britiſh miniſters now judged it expedient to eſtabliſh

* Amidſt the many patriotic oblations laid on the altar of true and rational liberty in this country, there is one that ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence. Mr. MILLER, of Dalſwinton, in Scotland, in a letter addreſſed to David Staig, eſq. deputy lieutenant for the Dumfries diſtrict, ſays, "In caſe of an invaſion, I will be ready to furniſh ſix-and-twenty horſes, ſixteen carts, and ſixteen drivers; and government may demand all my crops of hay, ſtraw, and grain, which I eſtimate at

16,700 ſtones of hay, at 24 lb. to the ſtone.
1,400 buſhels of peas.
5,000 buſhels of oats.
3,000 buſhels of barley.

"If," added the writer, "the French are raſh enough to land on our ſhores, they will find, to their coſt, that riches acquired by uſeful and honourable means, have not the effect to enervate a people: on the contrary, riches ſo obtained, are ſure proofs of a happy conſtitution, and of a mild and protecting government."

† Notwithſtanding our diſtant poſſeſſions had chearfully contributed to the exigencies of the late war in men and money, yet there is ſomething ſo endearing in the very name of peace, that the return of that event was hailed with becoming tranſport in every quarter under the mild ſway of the Britiſh ſceptre, particularly in the Eaſt Indies.

About this time, a ſeries of papers were received from India. The news of the peace of Amiens had diffuſed a univerſal joy throughout the preſidencies of that country. Every province ſeemed to vie with each other in demonſtration of joy on the return of an event, which they hoped would be permanent. The news was celebrated by ſeveral galas, but one given at Calcutta, eclipſed all the reſt in magnificence. A temporary gallery of conſiderable length was erected, in which the diſplay of emblematic genius was exhibited in a ſtile of ſuperior taſte. A

galley

eſtabliſh a moſt rigorous blockade at the entrance of the port of Havre de Grace, and the other ports of the river Seine, according to the uſages of war eſtabliſhed and allowed in ſimilar caſes. His Majeſty at the ſame time cauſed it to be notified to the miniſters of the neutral powers, that the navigation thereof was to be conſidered as being in a ſtate of blockade.

To evince the virulence by which the chief conſul was guided, he reſorted to every meaſure in his power to harraſs the trade of this country. He ordered a decree to be iſſued by the preſident of the Italian Republic, in which the inhabitants were called upon in the moſt peremptory tone to arm for the defence of the ſea coaſt of the republic, under the ſpecious pretext that the Engliſh ſhips had committed repeated hoſtilities upon the merchant ſhips, and the other property of the Italians. In order to carry this meaſure into effect, the Italian government, at their own expence, were to build two frigates in one of the ports of France. The one to be named the *Preſident*, and the other *The Italian Republic*. The money neceſſary for the conſtruction of thoſe ſhips, was tranſmitted to France, after which we hear no more of the matter. This is one mode adopted by Bonaparte to raiſe the ſupplies.

But notwithſtanding the efforts of the French government to cripple our trade, the excellence of our manufactures, the probity of our merchants, and the long credit which their capitals enabled them to give, triumphed over its contemptible machinations, for though all articles of Britiſh manufacture, as well as colonial produce, were prohibited in France by one conſular decree after another, yet they found their way to that country, through the ports of Bilboa and Cadiz. At the fair of Leipſic, ſeveral articles, ſuch as ſilks, cambrics, &c. for which France had hitherto been famed, yielded the palm to thoſe of England, to the great mortification of Bonaparte, and the almoſt total deſtruction of the French weaver. The demand for Britiſh goods in India, and for Indian and Britiſh goods in China, had encreaſed to an extent hitherto unknown in the annals of commerce. In Turkey, our trade was viſibly on the decline; the Italians and Germans had glutted the markets of that country with ſilks of all kinds, and cottons of a cheap but inferior quality. Our trade with Spain was ſtill open and active. In the Baltic, our commercial intercourſe branched out into ſeveral new articles of export, ſuch as implements of agriculture, which were ſought for with avidity, and purchaſed at almoſt any price in Ruſſia. We alſo engroſſed a conſiderable portion of the carrying trade of that immenſe empire. It is almoſt needleſs to obſerve, that the fiſheries might be converted into a mine of inexhauſtible wealth; the ſituation of the iſlands which form the united kingdom, the ſeas that encircle them, abounding with ſuch quantities of fiſh, the nutriment they would afford, the number of hands they would employ, and the materials, all of home manufacture, which they would conſume, ought to be objects of the firſt conſideration to a country, whoſe ſtrength, independence, and rank in the ſcale of nations, depend on her navigation.

In the plenitude of his power, Bonaparte conveyed an intimation to the court of Copenhagen that he could not view with indifference the partiality of that cabinet to this country. The crown prince of Denmark, an amiable, active, and ſpirited young man, was determined to put the ſtate that looked up to him in a poſture of defence, ſo as to place it beyond the reach even of ſurprize. The firſt object to which he directed his attention, was to encreaſe the military force of the kingdom, and to new model the army, in ſuch a manner, as to give it the greateſt effect. In the courſe of a few months, the army in Denmark and Norway amounted to 112,000 regular troops. The garriſon of Copenhagen was augmented to ſix regiments of artillery, two battalions of light infantry, a corps of marines, and one ſquadron of huzzars. The citizens of Copenhagen formed themſelves into a body of thirteen companies, and one company of artillery. The ſtudents of the univerſity took up arms and enrolled themſelves under the name of *The Prince Royal's Body Guards*, ſo that the Daniſh army, at this inſtant, including volunteers, &c. amounts to upwards of 200,000 effective men.

Our political ſituation became an object of conſiderable uneaſineſs to thoſe enlightened ſtateſmen and writers, who look beyond the petty ſquabbles of the day, and who, endowed with powers of political diſcernment, watch the growth of events, while yet in embrio. The alliance of Ruſſia, in the opinion of ſome, would have been an acquiſition of the utmoſt moment, as a power beſt calculated in every reſpect to preſcribe bounds to the domineering ambition of Bonaparte; whilſt others conceived that Alexander was at too great a diſtance to co-operate with England in any beneficial point of view—and that beſides, he was employed in ſchemes of conqueſt in Perſia, which would raiſe his power to ſuch a height, that it would not be prudent to make him a participator in European politics. The Britiſh cabinet, however, ſaw the neceſſity of courting the alliance of that prince, who was daily diſguſted with

galley was ſeen at a diſtance, with outſpread wings, crowned with the olive. The meſſenger of peace was ſucceeded by a frigate, fancifully decorated with colours; ſome curious Egyptian obeliſks, hieroglyphics, with a ſpacious and lofty temple, filled with the trophies of victory. The temple conſiſted of eight Corinthian columns, ſupporting four pediments crowned by a light dome of exquiſite workmanſhip. They were ornamented with paintings that form one of the deareſt and richeſt portions of Britiſh hiſtory. The illuminations and tranſparencies exceeded any thing of the kind ever known in the eaſtern world.

the wanton outrages of Bonaparte, on all thoſe ſtates that were too feeble to reſiſt the torrent of his power. The ſubtil conſul was aware of the views of the Britiſh government in this line, and did every thing in his power to counteract them. The cabinet of St. Peterſburgh liſtened to the ſuggeſtions of reaſon, and at this inſtant, the ties of amity between Great Britain and Ruſſia are ſo firmly united, that it is hoped they will gather daily ſtrength. As this ſubject was the popular topic of the day, it may not be unacceptable to quote the opinion of an eminent political writer (Mr. Crauford) on a matter of ſuch importance. The following extract is taken from a publication which appeared in Hamburgh, and which made a conſiderable impreſſion on the continent.

"The political powers and military force of continental Europe, are divided between the governments of France and Ruſſia. Theſe two mighty empires are come into contact: Berlin, Vienna, and Conſtantinople, can only be conſidered as three neutral poſts, ſituate in three lines of demarcation. By the reduction of other ſtates, the politics of Europe are much ſimplified; but that very circumſtance renders the reſpective poſitions of the two dictatorial powers more critical. The intermediate field of their uſual machinations is cleared, the ſlighteſt motion of the one, muſt now directly affect the other. A free, independent, and ſecure communication between the ſouthern provinces of Ruſſia and the Mediterranean, was an eſſential article in the fundamental ſyſtem of Czar Peter; it has been purſued, with more or leſs energy, by all his ſucceſſors; and, it is of ſuch importance to the Ruſſian empire, that it can never be abandoned. The navigation of the Black Sea, was a ſtanding project in the politics of the French monarchy; it now obtained, and to preſerve it is a conſideration of the utmoſt conſequence to the republic. The Turkiſh government, ſunk as it is into a lethargic effeminacy, an open paſſage through the Archipelago, and the Dardanelles, gives to France, not only the direction of the trade of that empire, but what, to the conſulate, is an object of infinitely greater importance, it lays open the only vulnerable part of the frontiers of Ruſſia. In the preſent ſtate of things, can Ruſſia and republican France go mutual ſharers in the trade and government of the Turkiſh empire; this is by no means likely; nay, we may venture to ſay, it is impoſſible. Which of the parties then is to give up its pretenſions? The cabinet of Peterſburgh muſt certainly know, that ſhould the conſulate be allowed to aſſume an aſcendancy at Conſtantinople, or, to intermeddle in the affairs of Turkey, the fate of Moſcow may again be diſputed at Pultova. Will the preſent government of France retract and leave the ſeraglio and St. Sophia to the diſcretion of Ruſſians; in that caſe a Coſſack and Highland army, ſeconded by a Ruſſian and Britiſh fleet, might yet confine the empire of Bonaparte to the government of his Gauls of the weſt; or, can the ambition of Ruſſia, and the avarice of France, be ſatisfied with a partial partition of Turkey? It is a known fact, that the conſul did propoſe to the court of Peterſburgh, to leave the Moldavia, Walachia, Beſſarabia, Bonſea, and Servia, to the diſpoſal of Ruſſia and Auſtria, on condition that France might poſſeſs Candia, Negropont, and other Greek iſlands in the Archipelago. But Ruſſia would as ſoon ſee France in poſſeſſion of the canal of Conſtantinople and the Crimea, as ſuffer her to fix her feet on poſts that might ſoon command the communication between the Black and Mediterranean Seas. To propoſe an entire partition of the European dominions of the Turks, to whom give Thrace and Conſtantinople? beſides, Ruſſia will never agree to a diviſion that ſhall leave the Grecian iſlands to France; nor can it be expected, that the conſulate will leave the Boſphorus to Ruſſia.

"Thus, between theſe two governments matters ſeem to be come nearly to a criſis. Conſidering the characters of each reſpectively, and the powers and attitude of the two empires, if the conſul poſſeſſes only the half of thoſe tranſcendant talents which his panegyriſts are willing to allow him, he muſt certainly ſee, that preſent cordiality cannot be of long duration. And he is no doubt likewiſe aware, that while Great Britain can powerfully interfere, to riſk a quarrel with Ruſſia, would be imprudent and dangerous. In this ſituation, it appears to us, and indeed daily occurrences ſeem to confirm our opinion, that the plan of the chief conſul is, to manage the court of Peterſburgh, until he diſengages his war; that is, until he ſhall tie down the Britiſh government to paſſive inactivity."

CHAP. VII.

Ignorance of the French Soldiers and People with Reſpect to the Politics of England.—Taught to confide in the Project of immediate Invaſion.—Further deluded by General Groſbert's Plan for the Conqueſt of England.

AS the circulation of Engliſh news-papers, as well as every other medium of intelligence, were interdicted in France, the ſoldiery and the people of that country were of courſe kept in a ſtate of total ignorance, with regard to all that was paſſing in England. They were taught to believe that the invaſion would immediately take place, that it would be crowned with ſucceſs, and that France would then ſit as the arbitreſs of the fate, not only of Europe, but of all the world. In order to keep

theſe

theſe flattering expectations afloat, the French journals teemed every day with accounts of rebellions in Ireland, and riots in England, ſo that the deluded Pariſians really thought that the very name of a Frenchman was muſic to the ears of an Engliſhman. It was our fleet only that made any impreſſion on the republicans; the undaunted bravery of our ſeamen, and our attacks on Boulogne, brought them at intervals to their recollection, and filled thoſe with terror who had witneſſed the effect of our cannon. In order to remove theſe impreſſions ſo fatal to the proſpects of Bonaparte, general Groſbert was engaged by the chief conſul to draw up, what was called A PLAN FOR THE INVASION OF ENGLAND. The general had ſerved in Egypt, where he had acquired no ſmall portion of military fame, ſo that his name added conſiderable weight among his countrymen, to whatever flowed from his pen. This plan was diffuſed over all France; and as it is a curious publication, we ſhall preſent the reader with a few extracts from it. "It is a received opinion," ſays the general, "ſomewhat ſimilar to the accredited reports of the treaſures contained in the banks of certain nations, that a deſcent upon England is impracticable, unleſs the Britiſh fleet be previouſly diſperſed." This argument being the moſt ſpecious, we ſhall make ſome remarks on it. It is beyond all doubt, that a numerous fleet may block up the ports in which the expedition is prepared, and that it may cut off the convoys laden with proviſions and ammunition for an army already landed. If this difficulty, which we take to be only one, did not exiſt, the ſucceſs of this operation could not have been ſo long queſtioned. It ſhould be eſtimated, however, as its real value. It is impoſſible that a fleet ſhould long oppoſe itſelf to the *ſortie* of ſuch an expedition. It is poſſible that it may attack, in its paſſage, but it is not equally true, that an army if landed, muſt periſh through the want of ammunition and proviſions, through the convoy being intercepted. It is important, that the invading enemy ſhould well calculate the firſt of theſe difficulties. The fleet may be diſperſed, by the chances of the elements, and ſecondly, by the diverſions which the ſquadrons of the enemy, or of his allies, may be enabled to create. It is for mariners to calculate how long a fleet can maintain a permanent ſituation in a narrow paſſage, or to hover about the ſame ſpot ſo unceaſingly, as to prevent the ſailing of an expedition from any of the ports of France. All the world muſt allow, that a favourable wind muſt at ſome time facilitate the *ſortie*. At ſuch a favourable moment, two fleets may attack the Britiſh force to the north and ſouth of the Channel. The latter would have then not only to engage with fleets, but to detach a part of its force, in order to continue the blockade. But the expedition itſelf, may have at its head, ſhips of war in ſufficient number, to contend with this intermediate diviſion of the Britiſh fleet. A dark night, a fog, or a violent gale, driving them from the coaſt, would give to the French embarkation, ſufficient time to croſs a ſtraight of ſeven leagues, without any loſs ſo conſiderable, as to prevent the greater part of its force from repairing to its deſtination. This operation may be repeated as often as the wind ſhall be favourable. It is to be remarked, that I ſuppoſe, in the interim, the event of the battle with two Britiſh diviſions, to be a drawn one, or even advantageous to the Engliſh; but this ſuppoſition does not deprive the expedition of its principal object—that of arriving. It cannot be reaſonably denied, firſt, that the united naval force of France, Spain, and Holland, is numerous enough to occupy all the Engliſh veſſels ſtationed to oppoſe their ſailing, obſerving, by the bye, that the cuſtom of their navy, which cannot be too much applauded, is to fight with a very decided ſuperiority of numbers, (how happens it then, that the French will never come out, and engage an equal or inferior number of Engliſh ſhips?) Secondly, it cannot be denied, that the ſuppoſition of a favourable wind for croſſing an arm of the ſea, may take place once a month: if ſuppoſition inſure the paſſage of ſeveral expeditions prepared before hand ſucceed each other, then the preſence of a numerous fleet may oppoſe ſome obſtacle, but an all powerful and unfailing means of preventing the deſcent, and if favourable circumſtances ſhould carry by a quick paſſage, enemies troops, to the coaſt of England, then may not the inconſtancy of the elements diſperſe and deſtroy a number of ſhips of war, which are fearful of coming too near the coaſt, and are unfit for a narrow channel? Are gales of wind, which force ſhips to keep a good offing, rare on thoſe ſhores?

"General Groſbert then agrees that it would be extremely difficult, by landing upon the ſouth-weſt coaſt of England, to march an army from Plymouth to London, and to proviſion them; but he dwells very ſhortly upon this part of the ſubject, becauſe he pretends that the choice of ſuch a point for landing, would be the height of extravagance and folly. Goſbert then gives the following as his plan:

"Let me be permitted to ſuppoſe, that the enemy ſhould land between Margate, which is the eaſtermoſt cape, before we come to the mouth of the Thames, and Beachy Head, Suſſex, ſouth-weſt of Dover; let me ſuppoſe that any fleet whatever, ſhould go up the Thames, whilſt troops are advancing to London, in one of the eaſterly and weſterly, or ſouthern and northern directions we have pointed out. I think it would have been rendering a real ſervice to the Engliſh government, to prove by evidence and by reaſoning, that this route is not impracticable.

"Our ſuppoſition is not deſtitute of probability; Julius Cæſar landed beyond Ramſgate, and William the

the Conqueror, in 1066, at Pevenſey, near Beachy Head. The proviſioning a French army, employed in the expedition, does not ſeem to me very difficult. I ſuppoſe the expedition would compriſe 50,000 troops, including the engineers and artilleriſts. I add 10,000 more for the civil adminiſtration and ſervants. The conſumption would be 60,000 rations for damage, loſs, and the uſe of the hoſpitals. As I ſuppoſe, the paſſage would be with a favourable wind, and that we ſhould ſail from the neareſt points, I allow two days for the paſſage, three for the landing, and five from Dover, or any other contiguous place, to London. It is therefore indiſpenſibly neceſſary to enſure the ſupply of 62,000 rations of biſcuit, for ten days, ſuppoſing the country ravaged, and all means of ſubſiſtence carried off before hand. Six hundred and twenty thouſand rations weigh 700,000 pounds, and may with eaſe be diſtributed on board ſix hundred tranſports. I preſume the quantity would be neceſſary: but if pontoons were built, each carrying four hundred men, not more than one hundred and twenty of them would be neceſſary to convey the proviſions. One piece of cannon, and two waggons, would be given to every one thouſand men, ſome beſieging pieces, tools, &c. I ſuppoſe that pontoons built for this object, carry three carriages, and the cannoneers and workmen neceſſary for them: and as the forage and carriages muſt be compriſed in this calculation, ſeventy pontoons would be the quantity neceſſary for the heavy materials. Thus the conſtruction of one hundred pontoons would inſure the rapidity of a ſimultaneous landing, and ſave a quantity of veſſels. The proviſions might be conveniently ſtowed in the deck, and the ſixty thouſand daily rations will be eaſily conveyed in forty-two carriages. *A coup de main*, a favourable paſſage, a ſingle chance depending upon the elements, a poſſible and frequent ſupply might then land upon the coaſt of England, and upon the ſmalleſt line of operation, an army, which ſhould have its ſubſiſtence inſured from Dover to London. Although the ideas we have thrown out are certainly not the baſis of a plan; although theſe ideas are only to ſhew the advantages of proceeding upon a ſhorter line, againſt general Lloyd's hypotheſis, which goes upon the moſt extenſive line, it is neceſſary to ſtate, that ſome difficulties inherent in the plan of the ſhorteſt paſſage, have been foreſeen in the expoſition which announces the poſſibility of feeding the army, independently of local reſources. It would be improper, undoubtedly, to leave behind us Dover, and the forts of Tilbury and Graveſend. It will perhaps be uſeful to make a ſecond landing on the left bank of the Thames; but the beſieging theſe forts will not check the march of the French—twenty thouſand men might be devoted to the keeping up the communication and the ſiege in queſtion.

"Dover would not occupy us long; the 30,000 men remaining are more than ſufficient to march to the capital of England. We have aſſerted that a fleet may go up to the Thames, and advance in a parallel direction with the army. Two objections may be ſtarted. 1ſt. The Engliſh have naval force ſufficient to block up all the ports of France, and her allies. If the ſailing of the fleets which are to ſecond the operations of the French army, become impoſſible, the paſſage would infallibly be more perilous, and every combined operation would ceaſe to be probable. 2d. The forts which are on both ſides the Thames, will render the navigation of that river too dangerous to be attempted. One ſingle anſwer will ſuffice for theſe two objections, namely, that facts prove the poſſibility. Admiral Ruyter ſailed up the Thames; and though unprovided with any troops for landing, had almoſt appeared before London. This incurſion, on which the Engliſh miniſters cannot dwell without ſerious reflection, is called by the multitude an uſeleſs bravado. But Ruyter himſelf was too good an officer uſeleſsly to enter upon an operation ſo dangerous. I perceive in it an eminent advantage, of which more modern aſſailants cannot fail to acquit themſelves. It proves at leaſt, that the action, though dangerous, is by no means impoſſible. The two banks of the river were not then covered with batteries. No precaution had been adopted againſt this unexpected enterprize, by obſtructing the paſſage of the river. Theſe batteries, and theſe obſtacles, however, would make but a weak reſiſtance to a triumphant army. Nelſon paſſes through the Sound under the fire of batteries, much more formidable; and there is no ſeaman, who does not know, that it is in the power of a ſhip of war, to ſilence thoſe land batteries, when ſhe can make uſe of her own at a reaſonable diſtance. They alſo know, that a ſtiff breeze will facilitate her through theſe channels, which fear or ignorance have covered with batteries. The currents, the rocks, the ſhallows, and the other natural obſtacles preſent much ſurer means of defence than thoſe numerous cannon which never can check an intrepid mariner.

"A chain of redoubts, of towers, or of other works of the like nature, would only facilitate the operations of the French, by offering to them ſo many ready-made points of ſupport, which may be rapidly ſeized upon and occupied by a vigorous aſſailant. The bay of Algiers, the coaſt of Malta, and the iſland of Goza, are covered with theſe ſmall forts, which by good troops may be eaſily carried. The advance of ſuch a flotilla, in conjunction with that part of the army which is deſtined to ſeize upon the intermediate points, would have the ineſtimable advantage of carrying with it a large quantity of proviſions, &c. thereby ſhortening the way, and diminiſhing the number of carriages to be employed on that ſervice."

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Viſit of the PRINCE *of* WALES *to Portſmouth.—Addreſs of the Provincial Synod of Orkney to the King.—Letter addreſſed to his Majeſty by Monſieur, Brother to Louis XVIII.—Bonaparte's wiſh to render the Catholic Religion predominant in France.—England and France contraſted by an eminent Divine.—Emigration from the Highlands of Scotland to America.—Affecting Relation of ſeveral Emigrant Families.—Succeſs of the Britiſh Arms in Candia.—Some Account of that Country.*

ALL the powers of Europe, nay of the civilized world, ſuſpended as it were their own public concerns, in order to mark the operations of Great Britain and France. Victory perched on the Britiſh flag in every quarter of the globe, whilſt, on the other hand, the French navy, if it deſerved that name, was reduced beyond all former examples.—Upwards of twenty-five thouſand of her prime ſeamen had fallen victims to the climate of Saint Domingo, in Bonaparte's ill-concerted expedition againſt that iſland. This ſtroke will be felt by France for many years to come, as ſeamen are not the growth of a day. The PRINCE of WALES evinced the moſt exemplary conduct and patriotiſm; his royal highneſs was very active in the inſpection of the public works that were carrying forward in the moſt vulnerable parts of the kingdom. The heir apparent alſo viſited Portſmouth, where the fleet lay at anchor, under the command of that gallant officer, admiral Montagu. His royal highneſs was received with all the honours due to his exalted rank: what he felt on this occaſion, may be collected from the following letter, written by his order, and addreſſed to the commander in chief.

"*Sir*, *Portſmouth, Sept.* 14, 1803.

"I am commanded by the Prince of Wales to expreſs the high ſatisfaction his royal highneſs experienced, in his viſit to the fleet yeſterday; the great ſkill and undaunted courage which has been ſo brilliantly diſplayed by the officers in all quarters of the world, render any remark from his royal highneſs ſuperfluous, but which alone can be produced by the ſtate of diſcipline and ſubordination, ſo juſtly the admiration of all the world.

"The Prince of Wales further commands me to ſay, how ſenſible his royal highneſs is of your's, and admiral Holloway's attention, as well as the captains of the fleet. I have the honour to be, Sir, your moſt faithful and obedient ſervant,

"B. BLOOMFIELD.

"*Admiral Montagu.*"

The Gazettes at this period were peculiarly diſtinguiſhed for a number of loyal addreſſes to his Majeſty, from the heads of different religious bodies. Out of theſe, as a matter of hiſtorical record, the following is certainly entitled to a place, in every point of view, as a model of juſtneſs of conception, manly ſtrength of compoſition, and of that union of piety, patriotiſm, and noble independence of mind, which, it is earneſtly hoped, will ever diſtinguiſh the united kingdom.

"UNTO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

"*The loyal and humble Addreſs of the Provincial Synod of Orkney.*

"We, your Majeſty's very dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the provincial ſynod of Orkney, beg leave to lay before the throne, at this momentous criſis, in uniſon with the whole Britiſh empire, the expreſſion of our cordial attachment to your Majeſty's perſon, family, and government.

"Impreſſed with a juſt ſenſe of the bleſſing, which we and our fathers have long enjoyed under the mild and equitable ſovereignty of your Majeſty's illuſtrious family; grateful to the father of mercies for our diſtinguiſhed privileges civil and ſacred; and humbly truſting in the Divine Providence for the continuance of theſe national bleſſings, we rejoice in that unity of ſentiment, and that ardour of zeal, which pervade all ranks of your Majeſty's ſubjects, for ſupporting and defending, with their fortunes and their blood, the independence, the laws, and the honour of the Britiſh empire.

"While we behold, with the indignation congenial to freedom, the miſeries inflicted on the nations of the Continent, by the arms and principles of the impious tyranny erected in France; and while we obſerve the deſperate efforts of that malignant hoſtility againſt this empire, which actuates the preſent rulers of that country, we contemplate with joy and high reſpect, the moderate, the dignified, and determined ſpirit of your Majeſty's councils, and that truly Britiſh energy, which riſes in proportion to the danger.

"In our humble ſphere, it ſhall ever be our object to inculcate and exemplify that ſubmiſſion to the laws, and that ſtrict regard to religious and civil duties, which are eſſential to the peace and welfare of ſociety. It ſhall be our unwearied endeavour to make the people entruſted to our paſtoral care, fully ſenſible of the neceſſity of bearing with patience the burthens unavoidably impoſed for our defence.

"That our glorious and envied conſtitution in church and ſtate may remain unimpaired; that your Majeſty may be long preſerved as the guardian of our liberties and laws, and that the Lord of Hoſts may go forth with your Majeſty's fleets and armies, to ſhield them in dangers, and crown them with victory; and that a ſpeedy and honourable peace

may be reſtored, is the fervent prayer of, may it pleaſe your Majeſty, your Majeſty's moſt faithful, moſt obedient, and moſt loyal ſubjects.

"JOHN DUGUID, Moderator."

The exiled branches of the houſe of Bourbon had hitherto yielded to their fate in dignified ſilence. An opportunity now ſeemed to preſent itſelf, which they wiſhed to embrace; their ſentiments on this occaſion were conveyed in the following letter addreſſed by his royal highneſs Monſieur to his Britannic Majeſty.

"*Monſieur mon Frere et Couſine,*

"It is with a feeling the moſt juſt, and with the livelieſt ſenſe of gratitude, that I avail myſelf of exiſting circumſtances, to demand of your Majeſty, in my own behalf, in that of my ſons, of the princes my couſins, and of all Frenchmen reſiding in your Majeſty's dominions, that you would be pleaſed to allow us to unite ourſelves to your faithful ſubjects, and to offer our ſervices againſt our common enemy. We are Frenchmen, Sire; and neither our misfortunes, nor the many acts of injuſtice we have experienced, have weakened the ſacred ties that bind us to our country, but the man who has for the preſent ſubjugated France, and rendered it the inſtrument of his perfidious ambition, is in truth as much the enemy of every Frenchman, as he is of your Majeſty, and of your paternal government. On taking this ſtep, we therefore fulfil a double duty; and if your Majeſty deigns to accept of our ſervices, we will enter into a rivalſhip with your loyal ſubjects, in order to prove to you the full extent of our gratitude.

"I pray your Majeſty to receive, with your uſual goodneſs, the homage equally ſincere as reſpectful, of every ſentiment with which I ſhall always remain,

"MONSIEUR MON FRERE ET COUSINE."

This offer was received with the greateſt politeneſs and attention, and the farther conſideration of it poſtponed.

Bonaparte, who had till of late ſhewn a total diſregard even to the outward ſhew of religion, was at one time a profeſſor of Chriſtianity, and the next minute the proſelyte of Mahometaniſm*, as beſt ſuited his turn. This religious Proteus began all at once to affect a zeal for Catholicity, he frequented maſs, ſeemed very devout, aſſiſted in the performances of all the rites of that church, and though he promiſed that the Proteſtants of France ſhould be placed on an equal footing with the Catholics, yet he could not diſſemble his anxiety to render the latter the predominant religion of the ſtate.

It may not be amiſs to take a ſhort view of the eſtimation in which this country was held in America: and this cannot, perhaps, be better done than by the inſertion of two extracts from the writings of the Rev. Dr. Dwight, in which France and England are contraſted. The Doctor, a native of America, a man of deep erudition, and exemplary piety, begins thus:

"The ſins of theſe enemies of Chriſt (the French) are of numbers and degrees, which mock account and deſcription. All that the malice and atheiſm of the dragon, the cruelty and rapacity of the beaſt, and the fraud and deceit of the falſe prophet, can generate or accompliſh, ſwell the liſt. No perſonal, or national intereſt of man has been left uninvaded; no impious ſentiment for acting againſt God has been ſpared; no malignant hoſtility againſt morality or religion, has been unattempted. Juſtice, truth, kindneſs, piety, and moral obligation, univerſally have been, not merely trodden under foot; this might have reſulted from vehemence and paſſion; but ridiculed, ſpurned, and inſulted, as the childiſh bugbears of drivelling ideotcy; chaſtity and decency have been alike turned out of doors; and ſhame and pollution called out of their dens to the hall of diſtinction, and the chair of ſtate; nor has any art, violence, or means been unemployed to accompliſh theſe evils. It may be ſaid, that a better order of things will ariſe under the rule of Bonaparte; that he will recal religion. Do not flatter yourſelves with this hope; the mind, when once imbrued in vice and immorality, is no longer ſuſceptible of the fair impreſſions of virtue. It is contagion itſelf, and taints every thing with which it comes in contact.—Have not ſome of us ſeen, and all of you heard—how the French converted their churches into what they called Temples of Reaſon, their Sabbath into a decade, and pſalms of praiſe into Marſeillois hymns? Have we not ſeen a ſtrumpet perſonating a goddeſs

* Bonaparte in his letter to Cardinal Mathei, January 1ſt, 1797, ſays, "It ſhall be my peculiar care to prevent any alteration being made in the religion of our fathers.

"People of Egypt, you will be told that I come to deſtroy your religion. Believe it not. I come to reſtore to you your rights, to puniſh uſurpers, and I reſpect God, his prophet, and the Koran, more than the Mamelukes. *(Bonaparte's Proclamation, July 2d,* 1798.) Tell the people that we are Muſſelmen. Are we not the perſons that ruined the Pope? *(Ibid.)*

"You may aſſure Dioceſans, that the Catholic, Apoſtolic, and Roman religion, ſhall not only be reſpected, but that their miniſters ſhall be ſpecially protected. *(Letter to the Biſhop of Malta,* 1798.) I hope the period is not diſtant, when I ſhall be able to unite all wiſe and well-informed men; to eſtabliſh an uniform regime, founded on the principles of the Alcoran, which are the only true principles, and which alone can conſtitute the happineſs of mankind. *(Letter to Chick Miſſiri, Auguſt* 29, 1798.) The real enemy of Iſlaniſm, is Ruſſia. The emperor has made himſelf Grand Maſter of Malta, that is, has made a vow to carry on war againſt Muſſelmen. Is he not the head of the great church, that is, of the moſt numerous enemies of Iſlaniſm?—*(Letter to the Grand Vizier, Auguſt* 18, 1799*).*"

on the altars of Jehovah; the Bible caſt into a bonfire, the veſſels of the ſacramental ſupper borne by an aſs in public proceſſion; and the very children either wheedled or terrified, chanting mockeries againſt God, and hailing in founds of phrenzy, the ruin of their religion, and the loſs of their ſouls! Let us turn our eyes from this ludicrous picture to that of England. There we ſee religion and morality go hand in hand—there we ſee charities diſpenſed in public and in private ſtreams, whilſt the pooreſt children in the pariſh are brought up "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord."—There the moſt rigid laws are diſpenſed in mildneſs, whilſt the different ſects of Chriſtianity are indulged to the utmoſt extent of their wiſhes, in that mode of worſhip which they deem moſt eſſential to their eternal welfare. There induſtry is excited and rewarded, whilſt public credit flouriſhes, and even the breath of malice cannot taint the public faith. I need not aſk, which of theſe two nations ought to be the more dear to us? I will not inſult your underſtanding, my countrymen, by aſking ſuch a ſilly queſtion?" This diſcourſe was very much approved by the Americans, and had a very good effect throughout all the ſtates of that country.

Towards the latter end of the ſeſſions of parliament in 1803, the legiſlature had directed its attention to the emigrations from the Highlands of Scotland to America, a ſubject worthy of the deepeſt attention, as the perſons who thus emigrated, conſiſted of the moſt uſeful and induſtrious part of the community. A committee was appointed to inquire into all the circumſtances connected with this matter, and to report their opinion thereof, which they did in the courſe of ſome weeks. The firſt object which the committee recommended was, "to regulate the veſſels carrying paſſengers to America, &c. with reſpect to the number of paſſengers which they ſhall be allowed to carry, in proportion to the tonnage of ſuch veſſels, as well as with reſpect to the proviſion of proper neceſſaries for the voyage." In the inveſtigation of this matter, it appeared that the avidity of the captains of theſe American ſhips was ſuch, that they neither conſulted the number, convenience, health, &c. &c. of theſe emigrants, nor yet their proviſions. The following relation reported by the committee, will ſet the whole in a clear point of view, and render it as intereſting to the Engliſh reader, as entitled to a place in this hiſtory. It appeared, that in 1791, an emigrant ſhip took paſſengers at Skye, for Carolina. "The veſſel was about two hundred and fifty tons burthen. The number of paſſengers about four hundred, including women and children; ſo that their ſituation was moſt uncomfortable and dangerous, there being hardly room for them to ſtretch themſelves. There were three tiers of beds fore and aft, and two midſhip. The births for a full paſſenger were eighteen inches broad. Thoſe fore and aft were only about two feet high, including the ſpace occupied by bedding, ſo that it was ſcarcely poſſible to creep into them. The others were a little higher, ſo that the paſſenger could turn himſelf on his ſide, and reſt on his elbow. To add to theſe calamities, they neither had ſufficiency of victuals, nor proper cooking utenſils, there being only two pots of twenty-four pints each, which were quite inadequate to the preparation, in any reaſonable time of a meal for four hundred perſons. Had the veſſel made out its voyage, the chief part of the people muſt have been conſumed by diſeaſe and filth, which laſt was horrible; but after being twelve days at ſea, the ſhip was diſmaſted, and put back to Greenock, where many of the paſſengers, eſpecially the children, died from the effects of the ſhort voyage which they had made. Theſe unfortunate people were completely cured of their paſſion for America, and happily found an aſylum in the benevolence of Mr. David Dale, who employed them in his extenſive cotton manufactory, in the vicinity of Glaſgow."

The example of Mr. Dale was followed by others, who have endeavoured to ameliorate the condition of a large portion of the inhabitants in the Highlands of Scotland, and the iſlands adjoining.

The honourable Mr. North having tried every meaſure without effect, that could tend to conciliate the good-will of the Candeans, was obliged to reſort at laſt to arms. On the 25th of September, 1803, intelligence was brought to England, that the natives were driven from ſeveral important poſitions, by the fifty-firſt regiment, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Logan. Theſe ſucceſſes were ſo rapid, that the king of Candia, with all the court, fled his capital, which is ſeated perhaps in one of the fineſt countries in the world *.

The Britiſh miniſtry ever alert in their actions as they

* The very mountains in Candia are cultivated to their ſummits, interſperſed with rivulets, villages, and cattle, with well trodden foot-paths, croſſing them in all directions—fruitful vallies, with groves of areca, jack, cocoa-nut, limes, oranges, plantains, and pumple-noſe trees, with fine villages and fields of Paddy, raggee, natchenee, and other grains: the paddy fields well watered by the ſtreams ruſhing down from the mountains, altogether forming ſuch ſtriking ſcenery as is but ſeldom ſeen. The palace is an immenſe pile of building, and perhaps only inferior to that of Seringapatam. The town is about two miles long, and conſiſts of one principal ſtreet, terminated by the palace at the upper end; there are alſo many leſſer ſtreets branching off on both ſides, but of no great length. The houſes are chiefly of mud, and raiſed above the level of the ſtreet, about five feet, you aſcend to them therefore by ſteps. A few of the houſes at the upper end of the ſtreet, belonging to the principal inhabitants, are tiled and white-waſhed. The palace is built of a kind of chunam, or cement, perfectly white, with ſtone gateways. It is a ſquare of immenſe extent, one face of which is new, and not yet finiſhed. In the center is

they were moderate in their proceedings, conceiving that the meaſure which they had adopted of blockading the enemy's ports was efficient for the purpoſe intended, vigorouſly purſued the plan that had already been crowned with ſucceſs; and proceeded to blockade the towns of Granville, St. Valery en Caus, and Dieppe.

The brave and intrepid Sir James Saumarez, on board the Cerberus, having been joined by the Terror bomb and the Sulphur, ſailed on the 12th from Guernſey roads, in company with the Charwell and Carteret cutters, after many impediments in conſequence of contrary winds, appeared before Granville; when, having an opportunity to reconnoitre the enemy's gun veſſels, and other craft within the pier, and the different batteries by which they were protected, he anchored as near ſhore as the tide would permit, having only ſixteen feet at low water. The other veſſels having joined, a briſk fire was commenced, which was returned from the batteries. The fire was ſo well directed from the ſhips, particularly the bombs from the Terror, that much miſchief was done to the town. The fire was kept up till late in the afternoon, when Sir James ordered her to lay by. A few ſhells were thrown in the evening; but next morning the attack was renewed with increaſed vigour, although the batteries and a line of gun boats ſtrove to annoy the aſſailants, but without effect.

Upon ſailing back to his ſtation, Sir James's ſhip grounded upon a ſand bank, and remained there three hours before ſhe floated; nine of the enemy's gun boats ſeeing her diſtreſs, attacked her from all quarters; but the veſſels that had been in company, coming to her aſſiſtance, by a well directed fire, drove the aſſailants into the port with the greateſt expedition they could make. "In no inſtance," as Sir James obſerves in his diſpatch, "could greater ſkill, gallantry, and zeal have been diſplayed, than on the preſent occaſion:" the ſervice was honourable for officers and ſeamen, of whom two of the latter were unfortunately killed.

The ſame proweſs, the ſame gallantry was evinced by the heroic conduct of the ſeamen under the command of Captain Owen, who had ſo undauntedly a a few months before affrighted the town of Boulogne, by his defeat of the gun boats, which by way of flattering compliment to the firſt conſul, had vauntingly ſet off to attack him.

This officer in the Immortalité, accompanied by the Perſeus and Exploſion bombs, commenced an attack upon the batteries which protected the town of Dieppe, as well as upon ſeventeen veſſels which were building there. At eight o'clock in the morning of the 14th, the firing was continued on both ſides till paſt eleven, when the tide making ſtrong, and the town having taken fire badly in one place, and ſlightly in two others, the veſſels weighed, and proceeded till they arrived off St. Vallery en Caux, where ſix veſſels were conſtructing. At three in the afternoon, Captain Owen opened his fires for an hour, and the enemy were not only ſoon driven from the batteries; but the town's-people were compelled to ſeek ſhelter in the country.

From ſuch circumſtances as theſe, it was very clearly to be underſtood what proſpects the enemy muſt conceive, ſhould they perſiſt in the idea of invaſion. The difficulties they muſt neceſſarily encounter, the dangers they had to forego, the unanimity of a great and loyal people' and the bravery evinced by the Britiſh in defence of their land of liberty, were obſtacles not to be ſurmounted; and although the proweſs of the firſt conſul himſelf might have hazarded the enterprize; like another Philip he might have dared with his Invincible Armada—but like another Philip he would have been defeated.

The day of retribution was alſo taking place in Ireland—and the fomenters of treaſon received the due puniſhment of their crimes. Amongſt thoſe who had forfeited their lives to the offended laws of their country, in caſes of high treaſon, was R. Emmet, who from his trial appeared to be the grand director of the conſpiracy. He was of talents, improved by an excellent education, and deſcended from an ancient family, many branches of which had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the learned profeſſion. In his addreſs to the court, immediately previous to ſentence of condemnation being paſſed on him, he ſaid, "I have been accuſed of being actuated by a wiſh to bring about a revolution of this country, through the means of French influence. I deny that either myſelf, or the proviſional government had an ſuch idea in contemplation. As to French influence, it cannot be too much deprecated; and I exhort the people of Ireland to beware of ſuch aſſiſtance. I urge them in the ſtrongeſt manner to burn their houſes, nay, even the very graſs on which a Frenchman ſhall land." In his way to the place of execution, his demeanor did not appear of that ſerious caſt which might be expected from a perſon in his ſituation, or the religious ſentiments he had uttered on his trial; he gazed about with a kind of light inattentive ſmile, approaching to a laugh; ſpoke and nodded to ſome of his acquaintances, until he reached the temporary gallows. On mounting the platform, he addreſſed the ſurrounding crowd in a

is a ſmall ſquare incloſure, which is a cemetery, and contains the tombs of the kings of Candia. The palace contains a great number of rooms, the walls of which are painted in the moſt groteſque manner you can imagine, and covered with a multiplicity of inſcriptions. Many of the walls are covered with immenſe pier glaſſes, of about ſeven feet by four. In one room is a gigantic braſs image of Buda, in a ſitting poſture, with two ſmaller ones at his feet. The river of Candia is a very noble one, and ſwarming with fiſh, as their kings never allow them to be moleſted.

few

few words, ſaying, that he died in peace and univerſal love with all mankind; while the executioner was adjuſting the rope about his neck, he became very pale, and in the courſe of a few minutes, he was quite motionleſs.

As Emmet appears to have had a conſiderable influence over the Iriſh traitors, his ſpeech made no doubt a deep impreſſion on all thoſe who were not too hardened to be moved by example or perſuaſion.

The Roman Catholic archbiſhop of Dublin, Dr. Troy, publiſhed a moſt loyal and affecting addreſs to the Catholics, exhorting them to regularity, order, and peace: this exhortation was read in all the chapels of his dioceſe.

Theſe diſturbances in Ireland naturally called for every attention from his majeſty's miniſters. The firſt ſteps were the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the Martial Law Act, theſe two were tranſmitted to Ireland by a ſpecial meſſenger, and arrangements were made for ſending large bodies of troops over, ſo that every meaſure which prudence could ſuggeſt, or courage dictate, were adopted with the utmoſt promptitude.

CHAP. IX.

Affecting Situation of Switzerland.—Wiſh of the Britiſh Government to ameliorate the Fate of that Country.—Amity of Sweden.—Great military Preparations in France.—Aliens.—French threaten to invade Portugal, as the Ally of Great Britain.—Attack of the Gun Boats in Calais.

THE political events of the moſt diſtant parts of Europe were ſo intimately interwoven with the affairs of England at this period, that they may be ſaid to have formed a portion of its hiſtory. We ſhall therefore advert to a few of them. It is in the recollection of almoſt every reader, that the fate of Switzerland was univerſally lamented. A country that purchaſed her liberty at the expence of the beſt blood of her children, and when ſhe obtained it, made the beſt uſe of it, by the eſtabliſhment of thoſe laws, that rendered public and private property ſacred, that protected the weak, and reſtrained the powerful within due bounds—ſo that the Marquis of Lanſdowne was fully juſtified, when he declared in the Houſe of Lords, that if wiſdom was hunted out of all the other parts of Europe, ſhe would find an aſylum in Switzerland. It is well known, that the Swiſs maintained a dignified neutrality throughout the whole of the war between Auſtria and France, and that her interference would have turned the ſcale in favour of either of the contending powers at any time, for the Cantons could have poured out two hundred thouſand fighting men into the field; and it is as certain, that the belligerent powers repeatedly courted their alliance: yet France, unmindful of this noble conduct, invaded their peaceful territories under the maſk of friendſhip; and not content with plundering the induſtrious inhabitants of their property, robbed them of their liberty, which they always prized as the moſt precious of all earthly bleſſings. When Bonaparte firſt ſeized on the reins of the government of France, he promiſed that the Swiſs ſhould be left to the formation of their new conſtitution: as this promiſe was voluntary, and as the obſervance of it would have reflected no ſmall degree of credit on the firſt conſul, they began to digeſt the heads of a new conſtitution on a ſcale ſufficiently large to embrace all parties. They had ſcarce publiſhed theſe heads, when they found that "lowlineſs was young ambition's ladder." That Bonaparte was determined they ſhould neither think for themſelves, nor yet ſpeak for themſelves; the people thus cajoled and menaced on every ſide, by French intrigues, and French troops, caſt their eyes to Auſtria, Pruſſia, and Ruſſia, but in vain. The Engliſh government, as well as the whole of the people, felt for their ſituation, and would have gladly rendered them that aſſiſtance, which a gallant nation is ever ready to grant on ſuch occaſions; but circumſtances interfered, which rendered our good offices ineffectual for the preſent. The Swiſs, however, were ſo well convinced of the ſincerity and warmth of our wiſhes, that they ſtill hold them in grateful recollection. Talleyrand complained in very ſharp terms of our attempts to ſtir up commotions in Switzerland, which that artful miniſter repreſented as ſupremely happy under the government of Bonaparte. Some of the Swiſs patriots had courage enough to contradict theſe aſſertions, even at the riſk of life; and ſuch is the power of truth, that Talleyrand was completely ſilenced on this head.

It now appeared, that the firſt object of the Firſt Conſul, on the renewal of hoſtilities, was to endeavour by every act which ſubtilty could ſuggeſt, to alienate if poſſible, thoſe affections, which the continental cabinets had almoſt on all occaſions profeſſed for this country. As this could be only done by falſehoods and miſrepreſentations, it is aſtoniſhing to reflect on the means that were employed for this purpoſe. His agents were diſtributed over all the continent, and flattered him, no doubt, with the ſucceſs of their miſſions. His mortification muſt have been great indeed, to find that in the midſt of theſe expectations, the courts of London and Stockholm had concluded a convention on ſuch liberal terms, and in ſuch unqualified expreſſions, as left no room

for future miſunderſtanding on any one of the points enumerated in that treaty *.

Before we quit the continent, it may not be irrelevant to take a ſhort view of the affairs of France. It was the general opinion, that Bonaparte would attempt the invaſion, towards the end of October, 1803, or the beginning of the month following. The preparations in the ports of France and Holland, for that boaſted enterprize were immenſe. Every ſhip-carpenter, nay, every man that could handle an ax, was put into a ſtate of requiſition, and obliged to work night and day. Troops were marched from every quarter of France, to the coaſt; and camps were formed at Boulogne and Calais, ſo that it was really thought Bonaparte intended to put his threat immediately into execution, eſpecially as every thing he wiſhed was at his nod: men, money, and gun-boats.—Men who were deſperate; money that dared not be refuſed; and gun-boats built chiefly at the expence of the plundered Dutch.

With all theſe hoſtile arrangements, almoſt within our view, it is gratifying to look back to the calm, ſteady, but at the ſame time active preparations which were going forward in this country, to repel the foe, if he dare to attempt a landing on any part of our ſhore. It will not be riſking a contradiction, to ſay, that the Britiſh empire, at that day, exhibited an example of patriotiſm, courage, and dignity, any one of which would have ſhed luſtre on the brighteſt page of Greek or Roman hiſtory.

Bonaparte's threats of invaſion was not confined to this country, it was extended to our old ally Portugal. General Laſnes, the French ambaſſador to the court of Liſbon, had preſented ſeveral notes to the Prince Regent, in which he made the moſt exorbitant demands in the name of his government. This inſolent upſtart, who had been originally brought up a dyer, aſſumed the moſt conſequential airs; and as he did not conceal his enmity to the Engliſh, he inſiſted, that the Portugueſe harbours ſhould be ſhut againſt all the ſhipping of that na-

* This convention is ſtill the more excellent, as it is founded on mutual advantages, and is not calculated to raiſe any jealouſy in the courts of Peterſburgh or Copenhagen, which is a matter of ſomething more than a ſecondary conſideration: the following is a correct copy:

"His Majeſty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majeſty the king of Sweden, being equally deſirous of promoting the good underſtanding which happily ſubſiſts between them, and of preventing the recurrence of thoſe differences, which have heretofore ariſen reſpecting the eleventh article of the treaty of alliance concluded and ſigned at Whitehall, on the 21ſt day of October, 1661, have named and authorized for that purpoſe, viz. his Britannic Majeſty, the right honourable Robert Banks Jenkinſon, Lord Hawkeſbury, one of his ſaid Majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, and his principal ſecretary of ſtate for the foreign department, and his Swediſh Majeſty, Joran Uldrick de Silverhjelm, his envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary to his Britannic Majeſty, and knight of the order of the polar ſtar, who, after having duly communicated to each other their reſpective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles.

Article I. "In the event of one of the contracting parties being neutral during a war, in which the other contracting party may be belligerent, the veſſels of the neutral party ſhall not carry to the enemy or enemies, of the belligerent party, money, arms, or bombs, with their fuſees, and other appurtenances, fire-balls, gun powder, matches, cannon-balls, ſpears, lances, pikes, halberts, guns, mortars, petards, grenadoes, muſket-reſts, bandeliers, ſaltpetre, muſkets, muſket-bullets, helmets, head-pieces, coats of mail, commonly called cuiraſſes, and the like kind of arms, or troops, horſes, or any thing neceſſary for the equipment of cavalry, or piſtols, belts, or any other inſtruments of war, or ſhips of war, and guard-ſhips, nor any manufactured articles, immediately ſerving for the equipment of the ſame, under the penalty, that if either of the contracting parties ſhall ſeize the ſame, theſe articles ſhall be liable to confiſcation.

II. "The cruizers of the belligerent power, ſhall exerciſe the right of bringing in the ſhips of the neutrals going to the ports of an enemy, laden with cargoes of proviſions, or with cargoes of pitch, tar, hemp, and generally all unmanufactured articles whatſoever, ſerving for the equipment of ſhips of all deſcriptions, and likewiſe all manufactured articles ſerving for the equipment of merchant veſſels, (herrings, iron in bars, ſteel, roſe copper, braſs, and braſs wire, deal, planks not being oak, and ſpars, however excepted), and if the cargoes ſo exported in the bottoms of the neutral power, are the produce of the territories of the ſaid neutral power, and going on account of the ſubjects thereof, the belligerent power ſhall in that caſe, exerciſe the right of purchaſing them, upon condition of paying a profit of ten *per centum*, upon a fair invoice price, or the fair market price in England, or in Sweden reſpectively, at the option of the owner, with an indemnification for detention, and neceſſary expences.

III. "If the cargoes ſpecified in the preceding article (not being enemy's property) are proceeding with a profeſſed deſtination to the ports of a neutral country, and are brought in under ſuſpicion that their true deſtination is to the ports of the enemy, and it ſhall turn out upon due inquiry, that they were really bound to neutral ports, they ſhall be at liberty to purſue their voyages, after being indemnified for their detention, and neceſſary expences, unleſs the government of the belligerent country, from a reaſonable apprehenſion of their falling into the hands of the enemy, ſhould deſire to purchaſe them, in which caſe the full price ſhall be paid which they would have obtained in the ports of the neutral country to which they were going, with an indemnification for detention and neceſſary expences.

IV. "Herrings, iron in bars, ſteel, roſe copper, braſs, and braſs wire, deal, planks not being of oak, and ſpars, ſhall not be liable to confiſcation or pre-emption on the part of the belligerent powers, but ſhall be permitted to paſs free in the ſhips of the neutral country, provided they are not enemy's property.

V. "The preſent convention ſhall be ratified by his Britannic Majeſty, and by his Swediſh Majeſty, and the ratifications exchanged at London, in the ſpace of two months, or ſooner, if it can be done. In witneſs whereof, we the underſigned plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majeſty, and of his Swediſh Majeſty, have ſigned the preſent convention, and have cauſed the ſeals of our arms to be affixed thereto. Done at London, the 25th day of July, 1803.

"(L. S.) HAWKESBURY.

"(L. S.) JORAN ULDRICK SILVERHJELM."

The convention was accordingly ratified in the time preſcribed.

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tion; at the ſame time, he exacted the moſt extravagant pecuniary ſubſidies, and threatened, that if every requiſition was not complied with, an invaſion would be the immediate conſequence. The Prince Regent, however, was not to be alarmed by theſe menaces, into any action that would have tarniſhed his dignity as a prince, or that would have thrown his country out of the arms of England into that of France, the foe of every ſtate that aimed at ſelf-ſecurity or independence.

The actions of our naval commanders at all times ought to be recorded in our hiſtories, as well as they are written in our hearts. A gallant enterprize ought not to be eſtimated by the ſucceſs or failure of it, which, in both caſes, depends on many unforeſeen circumſtances, but true courage is ſtill the ſame. For, as the prince of the Roman orators obſerves,

Nunquam ſuccеſſu creſcit honeſtum.

Truth, like the ſun, her ſteady courſe will run,
The ſame ſucceſsful, and the ſame undone.

The London Gazette, of the 1ſt of October, 1803, contained an account of the attack of Captain Jackſon, of the Autumn ſloop, on the enemy's gun-boats in the port of Calais. "After we anchored a-breaſt," ſays Captain Jackſon, "of the town (Calais) and pier head battery, the enemy opened their fire on us from all directions, amongſt which I found they had mortars. The firſt ſhell fell within a ſhip's length of us, and burſt under water, our veſſels at that time were ſo cloſe, that I thought there was a great probability ſome of their ſhells might fall on board, whilſt I found our ſhot, though they all reached the pier head, would not go ſo far up as their ſhips. I therefore made the ſignal to weigh, and open to a greater diſtance, remaining at anchor myſelf. The ſquadron has been very fortunate in receiving no damage from the fire of the enemy. The bombs were now keeping up a well directed fire, many of the ſhells evidently falling in the midſt of their gun-boats. The ſhells that fell over the boats, went into the town, and muſt have done great damage; the eaſt end of the town appeared to be on fire for ſome time. From the enemy's boats and veſſels being covered under the land, it was impoſſible to judge what damage they ſuſtained; but it muſt have been conſiderable." What added to the brilliancy of this attack is, that it took place within view of their very troops which were encamped in the neighbourhood of the ſcene, ſo that thoſe amongſt them who had only heard of the bravery of the Britiſh tar, might now witneſs it with their own eyes, and thence judge of the reception they were likely to meet with on the Engliſh ſhore.

The government were well aware of the neceſſity of keeping a ſtrict eye on all foreigners, in every part of the kingdom; this was a meaſure of prudence and precaution, which could not give offence to any one of that deſcription. The following circular letter was ſent by Mr. ſecretary Yorke to the Lord Lieutenants of the counties, dated October 5th, 1803.

"*My Lord,*

"As there is reaſon to apprehend, that his Majeſty's proclamation of the 31ſt of Auguſt, requiring the aliens therein deſcribed, to depart the realm, within the period ſpecified in the ſaid proclamation, has been diſobeyed in many inſtances; and that ſeveral aliens of the deſcription therein mentioned, ſtill continue to reſide in this country, without having received licences for that purpoſe; I am to ſignify to your Lordſhip, his Majeſty's commands, that you do earneſtly recommend it to the magiſtrates of the county of to enforce the proviſions of the alien act of the laſt ſeſſion, chap. 115, againſt all ſuch aliens deſcribed in the ſaid proclamation, as continue to reſide within your county."

CHAP. X.

Arrival of Elfi Murad, a Mameluke Chief in a Diplomatic Capacity.—Anecdotes of him.—Bonaparte ſends for Blood Hounds to the Iſland of Cuba.—Account of this Animal.—Several Stands of Hanoverian Colours tranſmitted by General BERTHIER *to Paris, accompanied by a Letter written in the true Style of French Gaſconade.—Students of the Univerſity of Cambridge form themſelves into a Volunteer Corps.—Dreadful Fire in St. Alban's.—Lord Mulgrave's laudable Attention to his Tenantry.—Mr.* TEMPLE'S *Fete on opening the Jarrow Colliery.*

AN event as novel as it was unexpected, occurred at this time. The bravery and humanity of the Britiſh officers, and the troops under their command, during the conflicts in Egypt, had won the confidence of the Beys in that country. Theſe chiefs, on finding that they were deceived by the French, reſolved amongſt themſelves to ſend one of their own body on a ſpecial miſſion to England: for this purpoſe, they pitched on one who had frequently diſputed every inch of ground in their cauſe with the enemy. Elfi Murad, a ſoldier of fortune, whoſe talents in the camp and in the cabinet, had raiſed him to the rank of a Bey. His addreſs, fine perſonal figure, and his attachment to the cauſe in which he had often bled *, pointed him out as a perſon every way worthy of this important charge.

As

* This Mameluke chief, who fought ſo bravely at Alexandria, where he was wounded in the ſide by a muſket-ball, which he concealed for two days, leſt if known, his danger ſhould produce a cabal among the other rival chiefs, and diſmay among

As he was not inveſted by any crowned head or ſtate capable of maintaining the relations of peace and war, he was not of courſe accredited as a foreign miniſter, conſequently he was not introduced at court. He had the honour, however, of a private interview with his Majeſty previous to his return to Egypt. He was introduced by Lord Blantyre. His audience continued a conſiderable time; on his return to London, he expreſſed the higheſt pleaſure, and declared that the manners and converſation of the king had made ſo deep an impreſſion on his heart, that he ſhould remember it to the lateſt moment of his life. He embarked a few days afterwards, on board the Argo frigate, at Portſmouth, and was preſented with a portrait of his Majeſty, ſet in diamonds. He alſo took out with him ſeveral articles of Britiſh manufacture, particularly a fire engine, with which he ſeemed highly delighted. The main object of his miſſion never was publicly known, but it is conjectured, that one part of it related to the mediation of England, ſo as to bring about a reconciliation between the Ottoman Porte and the Beys of Upper Egypt, eſpecially thoſe who had revolted againſt the Grand Seignior. Whatever may have been the primary cauſe of his viſit, it is a certain proof of the high eſtimation of the Britiſh character in Egypt, where a power at ſuch a diſtance could repoſe ſo high a confidence in the faith of this nation, as to ſend one of the moſt illuſtrious of its chiefs to ſolicit our interference in the moſt delicate cauſe that can be agitated between the prince and the ſubject; and it is ſuppoſed, that the object of the Mamelukes was in a great meaſure obtained through the medium of our ambaſſador at Conſtantinople *.

In purſuing the thread of our narrative, it is not eaſy to turn aſide from Bonaparte. A ſingle circumſtance frequently marks the character of a man even more ſtrongly than a number united, eſpecially when that circumſtance is of rare emergence. The firſt conſul did not think that he found ſufficient ſecurity in his guards—legion of honour—prefects—and the hoſt of ſpies whom he had created; he did not wiſh to truſt entirely to man, he was reſolved to have recourſe to the brute creation. He ordered a number of blood-hounds to be purchaſed in the iſland

among his troops. His life was ſaved by the valour of the Engliſh. His ſuite, on his arrival in London, conſiſted of ſeventeen perſons, but the moſt valuable part of it, to the amount of thirteen, were daily expected by a veſſel from Malta, but never arrived. It included three beautiful females; one a favourite Georgian, the remaining two were Circaſſians, who, if report may be depended on, excelled in ſinging and dancing. During his ſtay in England, he lived in a ſtyle of Eaſtern magnificence; whilſt at dinner, he was waited upon by four pages, and a ſecretary, who acted as interpreter; he did not help himſelf at table, but when he ſignified a liking to any particular diſh, one of the pages helped. His epicuriſm was evinced in the delicacies of his table, the firſt the ſeaſon could afford. Champagne and Burgundy were his favourite wines; and what may ſeem a little extraordinary, he was very fond of ſpruce beer, but drank no malt liquors. He ſeemed to be very highly pleaſed with the cuſtoms of this country, and one day told the prince of Wales, that he was not ſurpriſed to find we did not import any Circaſſian beauties, as nature had been even prodigal to the Britiſh fair in all thoſe charms that faſcinate the heart of the moſt capricious lover.

When Elfi Bey dined with the prince, he was ſhewn the armoury of his royal highneſs, and paſſed ſome time in examining its contents. He tried the weight of the more ancient European inſtruments, and endeavoured to eſtimate their degrees of utility. He was particularly gratified by the ſight of the Aſiatic weapons, eſpecially the choice collections of ſcymitars. As he was viewing theſe, and had half drawn one from the ſcabbard, he ſuddenly threw it down, ſeemed to experience a ſtrong emotion, and leaned upon the arm of one of the company. When the cauſe was enquired, it was found, that this was the ſcymitar of his great patron, Murad Bey. He knew it inſtantly on drawing it, for he had often had the care of it when a boy. The prince preſſed him to accept it, but he refuſed the offer, ſaying, "It cannot be in better hands."

In his viſit to the Tower, Elfi Bey was ſhewn the manner of proving ſabres, which is done by ſtriking them as hard as poſſible, firſt on the two flat ſides, upon a kind of table, and then with edge and back on a block. He approved the method, but ſeemed to doubt the ſtrength of the perſon employed. Being deſired to prove a blade for his own uſe, he bared his muſcular arm to the elbow, made a large circle for himſelf by ſigns, and ſtruck it four ſeveral times, with a force which aſtoniſhed moſt of the company. He put it to more than the uſual proof, by bringing the part neareſt the hilt down upon the table and block. The ſecond that was preſented, perfectly ſatisfied him. In the firſt he diſcovered a ſlight flaw by his eye, and would not try it.

During his ſtay in this country, he never ſlept in a bed, but ſtretched on a couch in his clothes, with his mantle thrown over him; he ſat up twice or thrice during the night, to ſmoak his pipe, which was lighted by one of his attendants who ſat up; two of his officers ſlept on couches in the adjoining apartment. The Bey never ſtript but when he wanted to change his apparel. The following biographical outline of this illuſtrious viſitant may not be unacceptable to the reader.

* Mahommed Bey Elfi, was born in Georgia, and was purchaſed when a child, by Murad Bey, for a thouſand ſequins. He was uncommonly beautiful, and got the ſurname Elfi, which in the Turkiſh language ſignifies a thouſand ſequins. About the age of fifteen, he was made an Aga, for the extraordinary bravery he diſplayed againſt ſome rebel Beys. In conſequence of an inſult offered him by Murad, he deſerted from that chief, and joined the inſurgents. Murad, however, repenting of what he had done, recalled Elfi, and loaded him with freſh favours. Paſſing over the intermediate rank of hiaſchief, he raiſed him to a rank equal to his own. At the time he was in this country, he was ſecond in command, but by far the richeſt and moſt powerful of the Beys. He was married to the daughter of one of the principal Bedouin Sheiks, and had in his intereſt nine of the ten tribes. His Mamelukes were commanded in his abſence by Solyman Aga, an officer of inferior rank, but great reputation. Elfi Bey was remarkable for his courage, agility, and uncommon addreſs and powers on horſeback. He has repeatedly cut off the head of a buffalo at full gallop, with one ſtroke of his ſabre. He was forty-three or forty-four years old, about five feet eight inches high, and very corpulent. His countenance was open, and his manners affable; but ſtill the deſpot was ſtamped on his brow. He was a man of ſtrong natural abilities; but his mind uncultivated. He could read and write, which is a very uncommon thing among the Mamelukes. He never was brought to terms by the French during the whole time of their continuance in Egypt, but conſtantly

iſland of Cuba, in order to be imported into France. Theſe ferocious animals * actually were purchaſed, and put on board a French ſhip for that purpoſe. The veſſel was taken by an Engliſh frigate, which was carried with the precious cargo into Jamaica, which ſo far defeated the ſanguinary views of the Corſican, that it was with great difficulty he was appeaſed, when he was told of this diſaſter as he called it.

The beneficial reſult of our convention with Sweden began to be felt in a commercial point of view by this country. Swediſh merchant-ſhips might be ſeen in every one of our ports, arriving with the uſeful produce of their own country, and carrying off the manufactures of this, particularly hats and pottery ware, which at this day find a ready market in all parts of that country, eſpecially Stockholm. The Ruſſians and Danes alſo evinced the moſt friendly diſpoſition to us, as will be ſhewn in the progreſs of this hiſtory, ſo that all the flattering hopes which the firſt conſul had indulged of raiſing an enemy to this empire in the northern powers vaniſhed away, to the mortification of that ambitious ruler, who had not even the art to conceal his uneaſineſs on this occaſion, but gave way to his paſſion in ſo indecent a manner, that the foreign miniſters at St. Cloud took notice of it, and made repreſentations of it to their reſpective courts.

If we look to home, we ſhall find that every meaſure was adopted that could enſure the ſafety of the country at this period: for this purpoſe, talent and known experience were conſulted, and every plan that promiſed ſurety and ſucceſs was put in execution. An immenſe number of volunteer corps were brigaded. Beacons were eſtabliſhed at Canterbury, Shorncliff, Barham, Iſle of Thanet, Shottenham, Hythe, Poolingdown, Weſtwell, Pluckley, Lynham Hill, Coxheath, Boxley Hill, Chatham Lines, Wrotham Hill, Tenterden, Hankhurſt, and Goodhurſt, which beginning from Canterbury or Shorncliff, were intended to be ſucceſſively fired on the near approach or actual landing of the enemy on the coaſt of Kent, and on which ſignal, every one was to aſſemble at his known place of rendezvous, and there to receive orders from the general officer, under whoſe command the ſeveral volunteers and other corps were to be placed, and to whoſe quarters, on the firſt alarm of ſuch an event, the commanding officer of every corps, was to diſpatch a mounted officer, or non-commiſſioned officer, to receive ſuch orders as might be thought neceſſary.

We have already remarked, that no general officer of any diſtinction in France, could be induced to join the army of England, as the French affected to call it, either through the hopes of plunder or promotion. This did not eſcape the notice of the Pariſians, many of whom began to ridicule the idea of ſending a force into ſuch a warlike country as England, without experienced and gallant leaders. Nay, the very army of Invaſion itſelf, began to aſk who was to be the commander in chief? In order to counteract the effects which ſuch inquiries would eventually produce, Bonaparte employed ſome of his confidential agents to ſound generals Macdonald, Duroc, and Moreau, on this head. The two former profeſſed their readineſs to ſerve the republic on any preſſing occaſion, but excuſed themſelves by ſaying, that the meaſure in queſtion, namely, an invaſion of England, would require an officer, who ſhould

ſtantly remained in the deſert (on which account he called himſelf the Antelope, and baffled five diviſions of Bonaparte's army, who were in conſtant purſuit of him. He uſed frequently to ſurprize and carry off parties from fifty to one hundred of them. He commanded in November 1802, at El-Hoche, a body of 1100 Mamelukes and Bedouins, the latter never came into action, except in purſuit of a flying enemy, and killed 3000 Turks, took ſeven field pieces, with all their ſtores, baggage, &c. On this occaſion, he had but ſix men killed, and twenty-four wounded.

* The dogs carried out by the chaſſeurs del Bey, are perfectly broken in, that is to ſay, they will kill the object they purſue, unleſs reſiſted. On coming up with a fugitive, they bark at him till he ſtops; they then couch near him, terrifying him with a ferocious growling if he ſtirs. In this poſition, they continue barking, to give notice to the chaſſeurs, who come up and ſecure their priſoner. Each chaſſeur, though he can hunt only with two dogs properly, is obliged to have three, which he maintains at his own coſt, and that at no ſmall expence. Theſe people live with their dogs, from which they are inſeparable. At home, the dogs are kept chained, and when walking with their maſters, are never unmuzzled, or let out of ropes but for attack. They are conſtantly accompanied with one or two ſmall dogs, called finders, whoſe ſcent is very keen, and always ſure of hitting off a track. The male and female hunt equally well, and the chaſſeurs rear no more than will ſupply the number required. This breed of dogs, indeed, is not ſo prolific as the common kinds, though infinitely ſtronger and hardier. This animal is the ſize of a very large hound, with ears erect, which are uſually cropped at the points; the noſe more pointed, but widening very much towards the after-part of the jaw: his coat, or ſkin, is much harder than that of moſt dogs, and ſo muſt be the whole ſtructure of the body, as the ſevere beatings he undergoes in training, would kill any other ſpecies of dogs. There are ſome, but not many, of a more obtuſe noſe, and which are rather ſquarer ſet. Theſe, it may be preſumed, have been croſſed by the maſtiff; but if, by this, the bulk has been a little increaſed, it has added nothing to the ſtrength, height, beauty, or agility of the native breed.

The chaſſeur has no other weapon than a long ſtrait muſchet, or couteau, longer than a dragoon's ſword, and twice as thick, ſomething like a flat iron bar, ſharpened at the lower end, of which about eighteen inches are as ſharp as a razor. The point is not unlike the old Roman ſword: the ſteel of them is excellent, and made at Guanabaco, about three miles from the Havannah. The handle of the muſchet is without a guard, but ſcolloped to admit the fingers, and ſuit the graſp. Theſe men, as we have ſeen, are under an officer of high rank, the alcade provinciale, and receive a good pay from the government, beſides private rewards for particular and extraordinary ſervices. They are a very hardy, brave, and deſperate ſet of people, ſcrupulouſly honeſt, and remarkably faithful.

carry a council of war in his head; "and that if Bonaparte himſelf would lead on, they were ready to follow him." When this anſwer was communicated to the firſt conſul, he flew into a violent paſſion, but even in the midſt of it, he took care not to commit himſelf by any declaration, that he would head the army himſelf. Moreau was to be conſulted next. Bonaparte had a double view in this propoſition if it ſhould ſucceed. He knew in the firſt place, that Moreau was the idol of the military, and of courſe, that they would readily follow him, even to the cannon's mouth: ſecondly, that in caſe of a ſhameful defeat, which undoubtedly under Divine Providence would have been the reſult, he would then get rid of a dangerous rival, for it is well known, that Moreau was the moſt popular man in France at that day, and even at this moment, if the French dare to declare it. When the queſtion was put to Moreau, he very candidly anſwered, "That he never was a friend to maritime expeditions," on ſuch, added he, "the force of France has been waſted, and the conſequence is, that her legions are filled with raw levies, inſtead of veterans." The general did not ſtop at theſe words; for he gave it as his opinion, that the projected expedition of the invaſion of England, carried all the appearance of being founded in deſperation, that would end in the total ruin of France, as a maritime ſtate, and at the ſame inſtant enfeeble her as a continental power. The chief conſul did all he could to conceal this anſwer, but it got abroad, and made a very great ſenſation on the public mind.

It is rather extraordinary that Bonaparte expected that he ſhould have any partizans in England, his conduct in Holland and Switzerland, was ſo bare-faced and tyrannical, that it was impoſſible for any rational being to ſhut his eyes to it. How could an Engliſhman expect that the chief conſul would treat him better if he had him in his power, than he treated a Dutchman or a Swiſs? and if additional examples of his tyranny were wanting, Hanover undoubtedly preſented one that would affect any heart that was not quite inſenſible to the feelings of humanity. In that devoted country, the natives were ſtripped of all the fruits of honeſt induſtry; the priſons were crouded with thoſe that were not able to pay, to the laſt farthing, the requiſitions that were impoſed one day after another; and if any of the wretched inhabitants attempted to eſcape the iron hand of oppreſſion, they were puniſhed with death, which ſome preferred to an exiſtence fraught with every miſery. As we have been led to touch on a country, the affairs of which have always found a place in Engliſh hiſtory, ſince the acceſſion of the houſe of Brunſwick, we ſhall conclude with the following paper, which is really worth recording, as a true ſpecimen of French gaſconade, independent of a buſſue of falſehoods.

Report delivered in to the Government of the Republic, by the Miniſter at War, October 3d.

"*Citizen Conſuls,*

"General Mortier has ſent to Paris nineteen pairs of colours, and ſixteen ſtandards, taken at different periods, by the Hanoverian troops, from the French, and laid up in the grand arſenal of Hanover.

"The greater part of theſe trophies torn, ſtained with blood, and conſiſting only of tatters, ſhew how dearly the enemy muſt have paid for them.

"A ſtandard repreſenting on both ſides a ſun, had been taken on the 11th of September, 1709, at the battle of Malplaquet, when the army of the allies, ſuperior in number, and commanded by the duke of Marlborough, and the prince Eugene, obtained over the French, led on by Villars and Boufleers, a victory ſo long diſputed.

"A ſingle tri-coloured ſtandard, with the motto, "Liberty, or Death," had belonged to a republican battalion, at the commencement of the war. The part of the ſilk on which the name of the battalion ſhould have appeared has been cut away.

"Other inſcriptions referred to the affair of Veltengen, of Langhenſalza, of Villinghauſen, of Minden, and the dates of 27th of June, 1748, 1ſt June, 1758, 1ſt Auguſt, 1759, 15th February, and 16th June, 1761, and 24th June, 1762. The remainder of ſtandards and colours appear to belong to the ſame epochs, and to have been loſt in the unfortunate actions which followed the battle of Roſbach.

"Thus they recal the war of 1755, begun by the Engliſh, without any previous declaration, and ſignalized by an aſſaſſination that of Junonville. They recal ſucceſſes very little honourable to the enemy, ſince they were in a great meaſure owing to the perfidy which violated the convention of Cloſterſeven. They recal the weakneſs which then reigned in the councils of the French government, and which at laſt conſented to the ignominious treaty of 1763.

"In the very beginning of a new war, undertaken to avenge the faith of treaties, to puniſh perfidy, and to work out the many inſults offered to the French name, we ſee the monuments of our ancient misfortunes changed in our hands, into monuments of glory; we may now place with pride theſe colours which we have recovered, in the midſt of thoſe taken from the enemy, with which French valour has decorated the dome of the invalids, more than one veteran, recognizing with emotion the ſtandard under which we had fought, which he had perhaps ſtained with his blood, will bleſs thoſe who have made an ornament of his laſt aſylum.

"The new trophies added to thoſe which ten years of victory had accumulated, are the preſage to Frenchmen, of the freſh ſucceſſes promiſed them

by the juſtice of their cauſe, the heroiſm of their warriors, and the genius of him who commands them.

" I have the honour to propoſe that government ſhall order the colours ſent home by general Mortier, to be hung up in the Temple of the Invalids, with the following inſcription.

* " Segira noſtris reſtituit ſacris
" Direpta Parthorum ſuperbis
" Poſtibus———. HOR.

" (Signed) ALEX. BERTHIER."

Whatever view is taken of England, it muſt afford a never-failing ſource of gratification. The military tone of the country was lofty and firm! it was not merely heard in cities, towns, and villages, it was re-echoed even in the quiet retreat of the muſes. The young gentlemen of the Univerſity of Cambridge, propoſed to form themſelves into a volunteer corps: for this purpoſe a grace was paſſed by the ſenate, in theſe words:

" *Cum Bellum in Dies ſingulos ingraveſcat, Hoteſquæ jam tandem ſeſſe in ipſam Britanniam Irrupturos eſſe minitentur:*

" Placiat vobis, quo melius juvenes academeci patriæ periclitanti opitulentur, aut ii ſcolares in quacunque facultate hunc terminum complecciſſe cenſeantur, qui militandi cauſa cum conſenſu parentum, aut eorum qui ſunt parentum in loco, ab academia abfuerint: proviſo tamen, ut uniſquiſque eorum literas teſtimoniales ſecundum formulam ſequentem producat, quæ vos certiores faciant eos bona fide militarem operam navaſſe." [*Here follows the form.*]

" At a meeting of the heads at King's Lodge, a requeſt from the lay members of the Univerſity having been made, that an hour be fixed on for the time of drilling, which ſhall not interfere with public lectures; and to which the tutors of the different colleges ſhall, on that account, have no reaſonable cauſe of objection; it was agreed, " That twelve o'clock be the hour fixed on for the drill. That the tutors of the different colleges recommend to ſuch of their pupils as mean to be drilled, that they be regular in their attendance; that no military uniform be worn at the drill; but that ſuch alteration be permitted in the dreſs of its members, as the captain of the drill may deem eſſentially requiſite towards the performance of its duties: and this dreſs to be worn only at the drill. That regular officers of the army, or ſerjeants, may be allowed, from time to time, to be provided for the inſtruction of the drill, until ſome of its members, by their proficiency in military knowledge, be deemed capable of ſupplying their place. And we moreover recommend it to the univerſity to defray the expences incurred by the drill from the 10th of October.

" HUMPHREY SUMNER, ISAAC MILNER,
" CHAN. L. BARKER, P. DOUGLAS,
" W. CRAVEN, R. T. CORY,
" W. PEARCE, W. L. MANSELL."
" F. BARNES,

In a ſhort time, the ſons of Alma appeared in a military array, and at this day, are allowed to be one of the fineſt corps in the kingdom in every point of view, youth, figure, diſcipline, &c.

In noticing domeſtic events, we have to record a dreadful fire which happened on the 11th of October, 1803.

Between four and five in the morning, the ſtables of the White Hart Inn, at St. Alban's, were diſcovered to be on fire, ſuppoſed by the negligence of the ſoldiers of the 48th regiment, who were ſetting off for Horſham; and, loading their baggage, left a candle burning at the back of the ſtable. The lofts being full of hay and ſtraw, ſoon fell in upon, and ſtifled nine horſes belonging to the Leeds True Briton Stage, and three pointers belonging to ſome gentlemen who were on a ſhooting party, in the houſe. Aſſiſtance being immediately given, and a prompt ſupply of water, for the town engine, handed by a line of ſoldiers, and of women, headed by the dowager Lady Spencer, herſelf aſſiſting in performing the kind labour in perſon, and furthered by the excellent engine from Hatfield Houſe, the inn was preſerved, except a room or two near the laundry, and the injury done to the furniture, by haſtily removing it, or toſſing it into the ſtreet; but before the end of the week it was nearly replaced. The ſtables, with the lofts of thoſe on the oppoſite ſide of the yard, were conſiderably damaged: Mr. Dom—ville, till they could be repaired, moſt kindly gave up the uſe of thoſe belonging to the Old Bull Inn, which he had lately purchaſed. The premiſes were inſured in the Sun Fire Office; and, by the attention and liberality of thoſe who have long diſtinguiſhed this ancient and well eſtabliſhed inn, there is every reaſon to believe the loſs will be lightly felt. It being the time of St. Alban's fair, and the town particularly full of people, the preſent Mayor, T. Baſkerfield, eſquire, indulged the players, under the auſpices of Lady Spencer, with an additional night, for the relief of the ſervants of the inn, and one or two poor tenants, whoſe loſs was the moſt conſiderable. The Archdeacon being on his ſecond annual viſitation, his curricle was involved in the cataſtrophe, and the chair cuſhions of his official, which were depoſited in it. It being ſuggeſted that the baggage waggon contained ſome gun-powder, it was drawn out of the yard, by the exertions of a number of men, and up the hill, by a team of horſes.

At t

* He has wreſted our ſtandards from the haughty Parthians, and reſtored them to our temples.

At Leatherhead fair, a party of the tenth light dragoons, began to diſplay their addreſs, in performing the ſword exerciſe, which created ſome confuſion, and drew on them the diſpleaſure of the croud, who attacked them; and driving them into a field, aſſailed them with ſtones. The ſoldiers charged the people with drawn ſwords, but the croud ſtood firm, and proved victorious. One ſoldier was ſeverely wounded in the face and eyes. A poor woman received a cut acroſs her arm and breaſt, but ſuppoſed not to be dangerous; and a man had his hand or fingers nearly cut off. Two officers arriving, interfered, and put an end to the affray, with the aſſiſtance of Lord Leſlie and Mr. Boulton, who ordered full amends to be made to the wounded parties; and the ſoldiers ſoon after left the place for Guildford.

In time of war, when the public prints ſtream with blood and carnage, it muſt be a grateful relief to the feeling mind, to turn aſide from ſuch ſanguinary ſcenes, to thoſe acts of benevolence and humanity that have long diſtinguiſhed the Engliſh character. Amongſt theſe it would be little leſs than criminal to paſs over the following.——On Monday, the 3d of October, 1803, *Lord Mulgrave* diſtributed his annual preſents among his tenants and cottagers. The rewards to the tenants for the beſt management in different branches of huſbandry, conſiſted of ſilver cups and medals of different value; to the cottagers the rewards were ſubſtantial, and to them of great value.

To the cottager who had brought up the greateſt number of children, and given them a religious and uſeful education, and without any pariſh relief, a good milch cow; to the ſecond moſt deſerving cottager, under the ſame regulations, a cow alſo; and a ſuit of clothes to the third.

As his lordſhip has given to his cottagers gardens, rewards were given to thoſe who had their gardens in the beſt condition, and had rendered them moſt productive in uſeful vegetables. Theſe rewards were cloaks, bonnets, and ribbons.

In delivering the rewards, his lordſhip accompanied each with an excellent and ſuitable exhortation. He recommended perſeverance in induſtry, whilſt at the ſame time, he ſoothed and encouraged ſuch as were diſappointed.

His addreſs to the old cottagers was particularly intereſting, and he was led to animadvert on the circumſtances of their children, which called forth the moſt tender feelings.

The advantages of this inſtitution, though this was only the ſecond year, are already viſible on his lordſhip's eſtate. It excites a happy ſpirit of emulation in every farmer. Good management is ſure to meet with encouragement and applauſe; and the ſluggard will be expoſed and puniſhed.

In a moral and religious point of view, it is ſtill more important. It will become an annual review, not only of the induſtry, but alſo of the morals of every one connected with the eſtate. Induſtry and a ſpirit of independence will be cheriſhed, and idleneſs and diſſipation checked.

His lordſhip and amiable lady enjoyed much this delightful entertainment; and in this ſatisfaction the numerous ſpectators ſhared.

The whole concluded with a moſt hoſpitable dinner, at Mulgrave Caſtle, for the tenants and cottagers.

As this may be truly called the *fête* of humanity, we ſhall preſent the reader with another of a ſimilar caſt. On Tueſday, the 4th of October, 1803, being the day appointed by Mr. *Temple* to celebrate the opening of his colliery at Jarrow, the fineneſs of the day, and the general invitation, brought many thouſands of people to witneſs the paſſage of the coals to the ſhip Fox, which lay highly decorated with colours to receive them. Early in the morning, the South Shields bells merrily announced the intended feaſt; and all the ſhips in Shields harbour, immediately on this ſignal, hoiſted their gayeſt enſigns. About ten, Mr. Temple arrived at Shields, to proceed with the ſhipwrights, attended by the Northumberland and Angleſea bands, to the place of feſtivity, celebrated in early times, as the birthplace of the venerable Bede, the father of Engliſh hiſtory. No ſooner was the carriage at the market-place, than the ſhipwrights took out the horſes, and drew him, attended by his father, and three ſons, to Jarrow, with flags flying, the martial muſic playing various appoſite airs. On Jarrow Bridge, he was met by a large cavalcade of gentlemen, headed by Sir Cuthbert Heron, baronet, who greeted him on his arrival.

The firſt ſtep was to lay the foundation of a ſchool for the education of the poor children of the various workmen employed by Mr. Temple. This was done by his eldeſt ſon, Mr. William Temple, amidſt the plaudits of the whole company. This noble act was followed by another equally praiſe-worthy; that of laying the foundation-ſtone of a building, intended as a ſeminary for the inſtruction of poor females in offices more ſuitable to their ſex, than ſeveral of their preſent employments in the north of England. Theſe commendable acts being finiſhed, the proceſſion moved to another part of the eſtate, to lay the foundation of a fever-houſe, and an hoſpital, for ſuch of the females employed in Mr. Temple's various works, as may require theſe comforts. By this time, ſeveral of the clergy of the dioceſe of Durham, the corporation barge of this town, with ſeveral members of that body, and a great number of the moſt reſpectable gentlemen from all parts of the country had arrived. The proceſſion being thus greatly increaſed, they proceeded to the more immediate cauſe of their meeting; and the waggons being

being loaded with coals, were taken to the ſhips, under the banners of the South Shields Loyal Volunteers, which were then unfurled, under a general diſcharge of artillery, the muſic playing the enlivening air of, "Weel may the Keel row," and other appropriate tunes. It is ſuppoſed, that not leſs than twenty thouſand people were aſſembled on this occaſion, for all of whom it was impoſſible to find accommodations. In the tent prepared for their entertainment, about three hundred gentlemen ſat down to dinner; the workmen, five hundred in number, dined at a long table without. After dinner, a great number of loyal and applicable toaſts were given. Upon Sir Ralph Milbank's health being drank, he addreſſed the company in a very neat ſpeech, aſſuring them and the country of his beſt and unremitting ſervices. Mr. Temple gave a ball the following evening at South Shields, which was attended by about three hundred ladies and gentlemen, wearing buff and blue favours, being the colours of the cockades worn by Mr. Temple's workmen the day before.

The Roman hiſtorians have laboured to detail the triumphal proceſſions of their victors, in the moſt captivating colours, over peaceable and unoffending nations, but the proceſſion and fête juſt related will ever be dear to humanity, religion, induſtry, and trade.

The immediate cauſe of this *fête* will naturally ſuggeſt the peculiar advantages which this country derives from her collieries. It is worthy of remark, that the gold mines of South America, and the coal mines of England were diſcovered much about the ſame time. What have been the effects of both—very different indeed; a miſerable number of ſlaves are doomed to perpetual damps and darkneſs in the firſt, whilſt the ſecond are worked by freemen, who enjoy the light of the ſun, and the pleaſures of ſociety in common with their fellow-ſubjects. The gold of the new world beſides, has unnerved a nation that once aſpired to univerſal empire, whilſt the *harmleſs ore*, as Cowley calls our coal, may be ſaid to be eſſential to almoſt every branch of Britiſh manufacture.

Our intrepid tars now ſucceſſively bombarded Calais, Boulogne, &c. It may be curious to hear the French account of one of thoſe bombardments: the following is taken from the Moniteur:

"*Granville, October 9th.*

"The Engliſh have bombarded us for two ſucceſſive days; on the fourth, they did us no damage; on the fifth, one man was killed, a ball ſtruck a merchant ſhip, and the roofs of two houſes were damaged. In the mean time, the Engliſh frigate, which had the command, ran aground. The diviſion of flat bottomed boats immediately weighed anchor, and the Engliſh ſhips ſurrounded the frigate; our boats approached very near, and the cannonade was extremely vigorous. The frigate which was aground, would certainly have fallen into our hands, had not two ſmaller ſhips of war appeared off our coaſt. The batteries of Puy, and one of the batteries of Dieppe, fired ſome ſhot at them. They anſwered with a dreadful fire, and diſcharged from two hundred and fifty to three hundred bombs, and above four hundred balls againſt the town; the greater part of which flew half a mile beyond it. About thirty ſhot ſtruck the houſes; a ſhell ſet two houſes on fire, in the ſuburb de la Barre, and one of them was much damaged; chimnies were knocked down, balls entered the windows, and damaged the furniture, &c. &c."

Letters about this time were received from Botany Bay, which contained a flattering account of the flouriſhing ſtate of that colony. It may be eaſily recollected, that when this diſtant poſſeſſion was firſt planned, thoſe that ſuggeſted the idea were held up to ridicule; the climate was repreſented as unhealthy, chearleſs proſpects, a barren ſoil, and lightnings that blaſted vegetation. On the contrary, we now find that the climate is one of the moſt temperate, the proſpects the moſt varied, and vegetation the moſt rapid. Theſe letters contained an account of the phyſical and civil progreſs of ſociety in that iſland. Schools had been planted, and a ſyſtem of education eſtabliſhed, calculated to improve the mind, and render the pupils uſeful members of ſociety. A theatre was alſo erected, and ſome of our beſt plays acted to crouded audiences. A newspaper was alſo eſtabliſhed, often replete with intereſting matter. One thing, however, damped the expectation which might be entertained of the proſperity of the coloniſts,—the introduction of ſpirituous liquors. It is hoped, however, that means will be employed to diminiſh the conſumption, of what may be truly called one of the greateſt enemies of population and morality ever known in Europe. Botany Bay is well ſituated for conqueſt, and it is not an unreaſonable hope, that the time may come, when our Indian armies may be recruited from that ſettlement.

Accidents of a diſtreſſing nature have in all ages fallen within the province of hiſtory, eſpecially thoſe that may be held out as warnings. The following is of that kind:

On October 3d, about two o'clock in the afternoon, a melancholy accident occurred at Ibbetſon's Hotel, in Vere-ſtreet, Oxford-ſtreet, an accident which is the more to be lamented, as it deprived the country of a valuable officer, at a period when ſuch a loſs was doubly felt, and inflicted a deep wound on the mind of his ſurviving friend, who unintentionally, was the cauſe of it. Thomas Beſt, eſquire, an officer in the army, had lodged at Ibbetſon's, for ſome days, and was on the eve of departure to join his regiment, on its march to the coaſt. A poſt-chaiſe

was at the door of the hotel to receive him. His particular acquaintance and friend lieutenant Charles Jones, of the Eaſt India company's ſervice, had, in the mean time, called on, and was to accompany him to the country. Their piſtols were lying on the table, ready to be put into the pockets of the poſt-chaiſe. In the courſe of a converſation about highwaymen, excited by their intended journey, lieutenant Beſt took one of the piſtols, to ſhew what he would do if attacked by any of that fraternity. At this period, the piſtol unfortunately went off, and ſhot lieutenant Jones through the body. There were ſome carpenters at work in the hotel at the time, ſo that the report of the piſtol, if heard at all, was not believed to be a piſtol-ſhot, and lieutenant Beſt, wild and diſtracted, ran for aſſiſtance into the coffee-room, where he was the firſt to announce the fatal cataſtrophe which had happened. No time was loſt in carrying his wiſhes into effect. Mr. Ibbetſon, with the moſt humane attention to the deceaſed, ran himſelf to ſurgeons Ford and Heaviſide, who, with the moſt commendable alacrity, were at the dying man's bedſide in an inſtant after; but human aid was, unfortunately, of no avail. After exchanging forgiveneſs with lieutenant Beſt, declaring, in the moſt generous manner, that his death was accidental, and that he felt more for his friend than for himſelf, Lieutenant Jones expired in leſs than an hour after the accident had taken place, but in full poſſeſſion of his ſenſes till the laſt. He was a man of very poliſhed manners, of a very reſpectable family, and had returned a few months before from the Eaſt Indies. Lieutenant Jones was a Weſt Indian, and the ſame gentleman who was to have fought a duel with lieutenant Crohen, on the 22d, at Harrow, but was prevented by the interference of the magiſtrates; in conſequence of which, lieutenant Crohen was apprehended, and brought to the public office, where he was obliged to find bail to keep the peace, himſelf in 500*l.* and two ſureties in 250*l.* each. It appeared on inveſtigation of the cauſe of the diſpute, that it originated like the duel ſo fatal to colonel Montgomery, about a Newfoundland dog belonging to lieutenant Crohen. A warrant was alſo iſſued for the apprehenſion of lieutenant Jones, but he kept out of the way. Lieutenant Beſt was to have been his ſecond.

As the Edinburgh miſſionary ſociety has always been a laudable object of public attention, the reader will no doubt be gratified with the outline of an account which that highly reſpectable body received in the middle of the month, from the miſſionaries whom they had ſent out in the preceding ſpring to Ruſſian Tartary. Theſe miſſionaries left St. Peterſburgh, on the 28th of May, O. S. and proceeded by Moſcow and Tamboff, to Sarepta, on the Volga, where they arrived on the 17th of July, 1803. From hence, inſtead of going by Aſtracan, as they originally intended, they ſhortened their journey conſiderably, by croſſing the immenſe Steppe or deſert that lies weſt of that city, in a ſtraight line to Georghiveſk and Karoſs, at which laſt place they arrived in the beginning of Auguſt, after performing a journey, by land, of nearly two thouſand miles. They found the Rev. Mr. Brenton, and his two companions, who went out the preceding year, in good health, and living on friendly terms with the natives, whoſe language (the Tartar) they had already learned to ſpeak. They had begun to tranſlate the New Teſtament into that tongue, and had many converſations with the people around them. Many of whom appeared to pay great attention to the doctrines of Chriſtianity, particularly the prieſt of a Mahomedan village. Before they left St. Peterſburgh, agreeably to their inſtructions, they communicated their deſigns to the Ruſſian government, who highly approved of them. His Imperial majeſty was pleaſed to ſend along with them, at his own expence, a courier of the ſenate, and an interpreter, and his excellency Count Novaſſelzoff, gave them an open letter, in the emperor's name, requiring all governors of provinces, commandants, and magiſtrates, through whoſe juriſdiction they ſhould paſs, to give them all neceſſary protection and aſſiſtance. The place which they have choſen as the ſcene of their labours, is on the borders of Cabardia, not far from the northern range of the mountain Caucaſus, about an equal diſtance between the Euxine and the Caſpian Sea. The country is healthy, fertile, and beautiful; but the inhabitants, who are very numerous, are ſunk in the groſſeſt ignorance, barbariſm, and vice. The ſociety are ſatisfied that the place they have choſen is peculiarly proper for miſſionary attempts, but the expence of conveying to ſuch a diſtance, ſo many perſons, no fewer than eighteen, old and young, was felt by the ſociety, as their funds were rather low at the time.

CHAP. XI.

Sentiments of a Daniſh Writer on the menaced Invaſion of England.—Letter of Admiral Bruix to the French Army, &c.—Day of Faſting and Humiliation obſerved with great Reverence and Decorum.—Oath of Allegiance taken by the Volunteers on that ſolemn Occaſion.—Jews alſo take the Oaths on that Day.—Ten Thouſand Engliſh Troops land in Ireland.

IT is remarkable, that the German Journaliſts at this time abſtained from all reflexions on the menaced invaſion of England. Nay, their Publiciſts obſerved the ſame ſilence. A writer, however, in Altona,

Altona, had the courage to break through it. He published a paper in the Danish language, on the subject; and as this publication is scarce known in this country, the following translation of one of the passages may not be unacceptable. "I do not know," says the writer, "why the French should assume an opinion that has no foundation in common sense, that the English are not as brave by land as they are by sea. Their own history, as well as the relations of foreigners, are filled with the gallantry of the British soldiery in attack and defence. The British soldier never degenerates. In the burning climes of India, his courage never forsakes him; the first on the breach, and the last on the mine. What hope then has the first consul that he should succeed in the conquest of England, even though he should land 100,000 of his troops in that country. Are these hopes built on the former invasions of England, when the country was divided in political and religious opinions? This is not the case at present.—They are a united people; they have but one interest, and that is the interest of their country; they have but one enemy, and that is the deluded people of France. They talked of Jacobins in England—that monster, to use the words of one of their own senators *, has lashed itself to death. Are the French united? Not at all. The nobles of France, though permitted to return to the bosom of their country, hold Bonaparte in abhorrence. The Jacobins execrate him. He can only be a favourite then with those who have started into power, and who wish to retain it by any means; but these are wretches that will not be trusted by any party, not even by the chief consul himself. Then as to the invasion, how is it to be carried into execution? In the transport of a sufficient number of men, innumerable contingencies are to be calculated, winds and waves.—To waft 100,000 troops to the shores of England, will require an immense number of flat-bottom boats—such a number will necessarily cover a large tract of the sea. The English cruizers are as vigilant as they are brave. The invading army will occupy a considerable time in embarkation: it cannot be done in one night; and in the day, it cannot be executed in secrecy. They talk of a fog,—but this is the language of those that know nothing of the coast of England; it is bold and dangerous, and the best English pilots will not venture to approach their own shores even in hazy weather, much less in a fog. These transports besides are to be filled with landmen, and even the best French sailors are not very dexterous in landing on the most commodious coasts. A single accident will throw the whole flotilla into confusion. The wind must blow from France to convey them to their destination; that very gale will raise a surf on the English coast, that they cannot attempt a landing till it subsides; this may continue two or three days, and even more. In that interval, the British troops will have sufficient time to assemble in every quarter, and it cannot be reasonably supposed that the French toss at sea, will be in a condition to oppose a body of men ready to fight for every thing that is dear to a rational being. It is not in the nature of things to suppose it. In short, I do not hesitate to declare, that the English will laugh at his numbers, as well as the blustering letter of Bruix into the bargain †." These are the sentiments of a foreigner, who has evinced that he considered this matter in all its bearings.

Whilst the Parisians were entertained with theatrical exhibitions on the Roman maxim, *panem et circenses*, the people of this country were called to the temple of the living God, in order to offer up the sacrifice of contrition for their sins, and to pray for the success of our arms. The 19th of October, was appointed as a day of General Fast, and perhaps there never was a day of fasting and humiliation observed with more decorum, and a more just sense of Divine favour. The solemnity was rendered still more impressive and memorable, as several volunteer corps, who had not before taken the oath of allegiance, did so this day, either on their drill-grounds,

* Mr. Sheridan.

† The following is the curious letter alluded to:

"*E. Bruix, Councellor of State, and Admiral of the Flotilla destined to carry War to England.*

"The first consul, when he signified to me your destination, honoured me with the title of your admiral. He sends me to you to conduct your exertions in the career of glory, which his genius has prepared for you. What man at this distinguished proof of the confidence of a hero, would not be raised of a hero himself? Who could doubt [illegible] his own powers? brave seamen, the choice of Bonaparte renders me worthy to march at your head. Your zeal and your bravery are pledges to me that we shall fulfil his expectations. Already you hear the cry of vengeance——our towns and our districts bring in their voluntary gifts in multitudes; all Frenchmen are ready to march to punish a government which is an enemy to the peace of the world, and especially an enemy to the glory and welfare of our country. You are first called to this great enterprize—to you, your country first commits the care of satisfying her just vengeance. Be certain that you will fulfil your noble destination.—Recollect that the victory begins in your docks, and in your marine and military exercises. Those ships which insolently exercise along our shores, had sight of your labours, nay, let them return and say to their government, "a fear fulday is preparing; the winds and sea, again favourable to the conqueror of Egypt, may in a few hours bring him to our coasts, and with him, the innumerable companions of his glory." To hasten this result, it is my first duty to establish a severe discipline in the national flotilla. Subordination will regulate your efforts; that can alone add to the activity of your labours. Sailors, we are on the field of battle; to lose a moment would be criminal cowardice. Redouble, therefore, your zeal; multiply your services, and the nation which oppresses the seas, will be conquered by terror, before it experiences the fate of arms, and sinks beneath the blows of you our heroes.

"BRUIX."

grounds, or in their reſpective churches. Every principal church in the city and liberties of Weſtminſter, was crowded with thoſe loyal patriots, who had voluntarily enrolled themſelves in thoſe military aſſociations, which have called forth the applauſe of the ſurrounding nations. The honourable Artillery Company, commanded by Alderman Le Meſurier, one thouſand ſtrong and upwards, the two troops of Loyal London Cavalry, commanded by colonel Anderton, and the third regiment of Loyal London Volunteers, commanded by John Pooley Kenſington, eſquire, marched to St. Paul's, accompanied by their band, in a moſt ſuperb uniform. This awful ſpectacle was heightened by the attendance of the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs, and other city officers, with their different inſignia. The whole of the morning ſervice, both at the deſk and the altar, was moſt impreſſively and diſtinctly delivered by the Rev. John Pridden, one of the minor canons; and the ſermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Hutchins, chaplain to the Lord Mayor. The firſt, ſecond, fourth, ſeventh, eighth, and ninth regiments of Loyal London Volunteers, &c. &c. attended in their reſpective churches. The Loyal City of Weſtminſter Volunteers attended divine ſervice at the drum-head, in Weſtminſter Hall, and notwithſtanding it is the largeſt in Europe, yet it was crowded by perſons of the firſt reſpectability. The St. Giles's and St. George's, after attending divine ſervice at St. Giles's, proceeded to the Toxopholite ground behind Gower Street, where they received their colours, amid an innumerable crowd of ſpectators. The Law Aſſociation repaired to the Temple church, headed by their colonel, the honourable Thomas Erſkine, where a moſt impreſſive diſcourſe was delivered by Dr. Rennell, whoſe eloquence as a preacher, will hand down his name to the lateſt poſterity. The learned divine, after deſcanting on the public evils which ſurrounded us, combated with irreſiſtible force of argument, the opinions of ancient philoſophers, that there were two diſtinct principles of good and evil. He ſhewed, from holy writ, that God was the author of all evil as well as good; but in doing this he juſtified the ways of God to man; he ſhowed that mankind, by their wickedneſs, had provoked the Divine diſpleaſure, whoſe juſtice had ever been adminiſtered in the extremity of mercy; and thence took occaſion to admoniſh his hearers, that they ſhould conciliate, by the amendment of their lives, the favour of the Deity, ſo that when they went forth to the protection of all that was dearer than themſelves, they might have his countenance to ſhine upon them, whether they ſunk in death, or roſe in glory. It is but juſtice to the clergy who preached in town and country on this occaſion, that it was the general opinion, that they diſplayed a zeal, a ſoundneſs of doctrine, and a richneſs of appropriate language, that reflected great honour on the clerical character of every denomination.

The Chriſtian churches were not the only ones that were crowded.—The Jewiſh ſynagogue was filled at an early hour, by almoſt all the members of that perſuaſion in the city and the vicinity. Amongſt this number, upwards of three hundred of the moſt reſpectable took the oaths to government, with their high prieſt at their head. They were ſworn upon the book of *Leviticus*, having their heads covered.

The ſoldier-like appearance of our volunteers, their number, orderly behaviour, and the whole of their conduct on this occaſion, made a great impreſſion on the populace; in ſhort, ſuch a patriotic ſcene would have intereſted the moſt indifferent ſpectator. Such a military body joined to the regular forces of the kingdom, filled every heart with a confidence that was not to be damped by a hoſt of gallic foes. The only apprehenſion that remained was for the ſafety of Ireland, and even that was in a conſiderable degree removed by the intelligence received from Cork, ſtating that 10,000 troops from England had landed in Bantry Bay; this reinforcement added to the regular and militia forces at that time in Ireland, together with the yeomanry, conſiſting of 70,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry, left the government little to fear from the attempts of the enemy *.

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* The following extract we preſent to our readers, as it diſplays ſome of thoſe ſanguinary meaſures which have diſtinguiſhed the different periods of the French revolution, by Thomas Paine, to the inhabitants of the United States, in which he gives an account of his impriſonment in France, and his ultimate eſcape from the guillotine.

"I was one of the nine members that compoſed the firſt committee of conſtitution. Six of theſe have been deſtroyed. Sieyes and myſelf have ſurvived. He, by bending with the times, and I, by not bending. The other ſurvivor joined Robeſpiere, and ſigned with him the warrant of my arreſtation. After the fall of Robeſpiere, he was ſeized and impriſoned in his turn, and ſentenced to tranſportation. He has ſince apologized to me for having ſigned the warrant, by ſaying, he felt himſelf in danger, and was obliged to do it.

"Heraulte Sechelles, an acquaintance of Mr. Jefferſon, and a good patriot, was my ſuppleant, as member of the committee of conſtitution, that is, he was to ſupply my place, if I had not accepted or had reſigned, being next in number of votes to me. He was impriſoned in the Luxembourg, was taken with me to the tribunal, and guillotined, and I his principal, was left.

"There were two foreigners in the convention, Anarchis Clootes, and myſelf. We were both put out of the convention by the ſame vote, and arreſted by the ſame order, and carried to priſon the ſame night. He was taken to the guillotine, and I was again left. Joel Barlow was with us, when we went to priſon.

"Joſ. Lebon, one of the vileſt characters that ever exiſted, and who made the ſtreets of Arras run with blood, was my ſuppleant, as member of the convention for Pas de Calais, when I was put out of the convention, he came and took my place. When I was liberated from priſon, and voted again in the convention, he was ſent to the ſame priſon, and took my place.

The Dover Caſtle about this time arrived from Madras, and brought an official account of the loſs of the ſhip Nautilus, which was wrecked on the Ladrones. This fine veſſel having experienced a ſeries of foul weather, which ſhe encountered with for many days, was at length obliged to yield to the violence of the waves. Twenty-ſeven of the crew were loſt, including the captain and chief mate. Nineteen were ſaved. An account was alſo received of a dreadful fire in Bombay, by which nearly 500 horſes were burnt to death. The damage was computed at 650,000 *l.*

It would be curious to trace all the arts that Bonaparte employed to leſſen this country in the eyes of the French. The Engliſh were repreſented as a ſpiritleſs race, indifferent to the very occurrences of the day, ſedulous only to provide for taxes, and the preſſing wants of the moment. Some years previous to the revolution, M. Chaſtelleux, a Frenchman, who had reſided ſome years in England, publiſhed a pamphlet, on his return to his native country, in which he very juſtly appreciated the wealth, public ſpirit, and population of this nation. Bonaparte ordered this pamphlet to be bought up, and one publiſhed in its ſtead, in which it was boldly aſſerted, that the population of England ſcarcely amounted to four millions *, that the ſoil was ſo barren, as ſcarcely to produce a ſufficiency to maintain that number; on the other hand, the extent, population, and fertility of France depicted was in all the colouring that language could impart. In the official report of the ſtate of that country, it was ſet forth, that nearly one million ſterling was to be appropriated to the repairs of roads and canals †. But it is a fact,

place there, and went to the guillotine inſtead of me. He ſupplied my place all the way through.

"One hundred and ſixty-eight perſons were taken out of the Luxembourg, in one night, and one hundred and ſixty of them guillotined the next day, of whom I now know, I was to have been one, and the manner I eſcaped that fate is curious, and has all the appearance of accident. The room in which I was lodged, was on the ground floor, and one of a large range of rooms under a gallery, and the door of it opened outward, and flat againſt the wall, ſo that when it was opened, the inſide of the door appeared outward, and the contrary when it ſhut. I had three comrades, fellow-priſoners with me, Joſeph Vanhuel, of Bruges, ſince preſident of that town, Michael Roberts, and Buſtinis of Louvain, when perſons by ſcores, and by hundreds, were to be taken out of the priſon for the guillotine, it was always done in the night, and thoſe who performed that office had a private mark or ſignal by which they knew what rooms to go to, and what number to take. We, as I have ſaid, were four, and the door of the room was marked, unobſerved by us, with that number in chalk; but it happened, if happening is a proper word, that the mark was put on when the door was open, and flat againſt the wall, and thereby came on the inſide when we ſhut it at night, and the deſtroying angel paſt by it. A few days after this, Robeſpiere fell, and Mr. Muroe arrived and reclaimed me, and invited me to his houſe."

* The following extract from M. Chaſtelleux, will ſerve as a ſpecimen of the pamphlet alluded to.

"The inhabitants of England are commonly rated at ſeven millions. As England is not much more extenſive than a third of France, it muſt be peopled, if the above calculation be exact, preciſely in the ſame proportion; but it muſt be obſerved, that England enjoys ſeveral advantages not to be met with in France. Being in moſt parts rather a level country, it is, of courſe, peculiarly adapted to the culture of corn, and paſturage. Beſides, it is ſurrounded by the ſea, and the nature of its ſoil, is the occaſion of its good and eaſily repaired roads. On the other hand, its commercial concerns are attended with particular conveniences, on account of its poſition between Europe and America, whilſt its inſular ſituation ſecures its tranquillity. Compare England only to the richeſt provinces of France; as to Scotland and Ireland, it will be ſufficient to oppoſe to theſe countries, thoſe of Limoſin, Auvergne, Provence, and ſome parts of Champagne. Under this point of view, England would be ſpecifically leſs populous than France, for Scotland and Ireland together, do not contain four millions of inhabitants. But I am much inclined to believe, that the Engliſh are alſo infected by the rage of depreciating their population. Their only mode of enumeration is by houſes, of which there are ſuppoſed to be twelve hundred thouſand; and the calculations allow but five or ſix perſons to each houſe. Now, we may obſerve from the calculations of Mr. de Meſſence, that in Paris, he allows twenty-four perſons to each houſe. It is true, that there, the numbers run higher than in England. But in London, Briſtol, Oxford, Cambridge, and Birmingham, one may very well allow fifteen or eighteen perſons to each houſe. The ſame calculations gives us for the provinces, five perſons to each hearth, or fire; and as there are always many more hearths than houſes, every circumſtance concurs to prove, that twelve hundred thouſand houſes muſt include many more than ſeven millions of inhabitants.

"Although I cannot preſume to calculate with any degree of accuracy, the number of the inhabitants of England, yet, whilſt I confeſs that ſome of theſe writers have fixed it ſo low as ſeven millions, I muſt obſerve, that in 1753, it was rated, and that, from very moderate computations, at eight millions. In a memorial which was put into the hands of the late Mr. Charles Townſhend, the number of houſes, cottages included, were reckoned at one million three hundred thouſand. Now, if we allow but five inhabitants to each houſe, either in London or in Weſtminſter, and fifteen inhabitants to each houſe within theſe two cities, ſuppoſing the number of houſes to be only one hundred and fifty thouſand, which is certainly much below the mark, the total of the inhabitants will be eight millions. As in this calculation, only five inhabitants are allowed to each houſe in ſuch populous places as Southwark, Briſtol, Oxford, Cambridge, and Birmingham, it cannot ſurely be a wild conjecture, ſhould we fix the total amount of inhabitants at ten millions. I am greatly miſtaken, if an accurate calculation would not go far beyond that number. When it is conſidered how eaſily exact liſts of all the inhabitants might be annually collected, it ſeems aſtoniſhing that the government, who have, on ſome occaſions, been warmly engaged in more contemptible purſuits, ſhould not imagine that ſuch an object was deſerving of their notice.

† "On the banks of the Rhine, from Bengen to Coblentz, a neceſſary road is cut through inacceſſable rocks. The neighbouring communes aſſociate their labours to the ſacrifices of the public treaſury, and the people of the other bank, who ridiculed the folly of the enterprize, are aſtoniſhed and confounded at the rapidity of the execution.

"A great number of workmen are employed on the canal of Saint Quintin.

"The canal of Oureg is opened, and ſoon will Paris people enjoy the benefit of its waters, and the ſalubrity and the embelliſhments which they promiſe.

a fact, after all this boasting, that the roads in France are now scarcely passable, that the canals are choaked up, and that not a single shilling has been applied to the reparation of one, or excavation of the other; and what is still more extraordinary, the very instant the money was voted for these purposes, the workmen employed on these labours were dismissed: such is the uncertain application of the public purse in France.

A subject now presented itself, that must ever be dear to the hearts of Englishmen, this was the volunteer system; a system not to be paralleled in the annals of any other country, not even in Greece or Rome, in their brightest days of patriotic zeal and disinterestedness.

The 26th of October, 1803, was truly a proud day for this country. It presented the sublimest spectacle that a nation can exhibit, a patriot monarch, meeting the brave citizens of his metropolis in arms, for the defence of a king that reigned in the breasts of his people, and that constitution which was cemented by the blood of their ancestors. This day, therefore, must have been to his Majesty, and the people of London, the most grateful of all the solemnities which they ever celebrated together. The armed citizens of London came to convince their sovereign, that they were ready to shed the last drop of their blood in his defence, and in defence of all that can be dear to freemen. And the sovereign came to witness their ardour in the glorious cause, and to mingle his patriotism with that of his people.

The corps reviewed were: the Loyal London volunteer cavalry—honourable Artillery company—the first, second, and third Royal East India Company volunteers—the eleven regiments of Loyal London volunteer infantry—Bank regiment volunteer infantry—Bank Supplementary—first regiment Tower Hamlets—White Chapel—Mile End—St. George's in the East—Ratcliffe—Shoreditch—Bromley St. Leonard—Bethnal Green—St. Catharine—Christ church, making up a number to the amount of nearly 12,000 effective men.

A few minutes before ten, a twelve-pounder was fired, as the signal of his Majesty's approach, and immediately the whole line shouldered arms. On entering the gate of Hyde Park, he alighted from the carriage, and mounted his charger. His Majesty then rode forward, preceded by the life guards, and the royal grooms, with four led horses, elegantly caparisoned. He was met by the Duke of York, the Earls of Harrington, Chesterfield, and generals Calvert, Stewart, Burrard, &c. As the procession advanced, it was joined near the ring by Monsieur, dressed in green, with red facings; the Prince de Condé, in white, faced with blue; the Duke de Bourbon, in white, faced with red, and the Duke de Berri, in green. The French princes were on horseback, attended by several of the French noblesse, decorated with the insignia of several military orders. Generals Dumourier and Pichegru, were in their train. A second cannon announced his Majesty's arrival at the centre of the line. The officers immediately saluted, the corps presented arms, and the bands played, "God Save the King." The fog, which had dimmed the brilliancy of the scene in the earlier part of the day, was by this time nearly dissipated, so that the whole of the royal procession, and the immense croud that followed in the train, became nearly conspicuous. So grand a sight perhaps never presented itself to the eye, in point of numbers, movement, &c. The whole of the ground in the rear of the royal train, was covered to the top of the hill, with women elegantly dressed, intermingled with volunteers, and officers in uniform. The general orders with respect to accommodations, were so well planned, and so rigidly observed, that notwithstanding the immense croud, yet every person was indulged with a full view. His Majesty having passed to the extremity of the line, returned again, and took his position in the centre. Then on the signal of the seventh gun, three vollies were fired by battalions, from the centre to the flanks; and on the firing of the eighth gun, three loud huzzas were given, with hats and hands waving in the air, drums beating, and music playing martial airs. On the firing of the ninth gun, the whole of the corps wheeled backwards on their left, by divisions; and, having passed his Majesty, in the order prescribed by the general instructions, proceeded by the most convenient way to their different quarters.

"The canal, intended to unite the navigation of the Seine and the Saone, of the Danube and the Rhine, is almost entirely finished, as far as Dole, and the public treasury already receives, in the increased price of wood, to which that canal opens the approach, a sum equal to that which it has furnished for the continuance of the work.

"The canals of Argues, Mortes, and the Rhone, the draining of the marshes of the Charente, are begun, and will open new channels to commerce, and afford new lands for cultivation. Works are going forward for the reparation of the dykes of the isle of Cadsand, of Ostend, of the Côtes du Nord, and the re-establishment of the navigation of our rivers. This navigation is no longer given up solely to the labours and the cares of government. The owners of boats plying on these rivers, have already felt that it was their patrimony, and they fix on themselves the taxes by which the works are to be kept in proper repair. In the ocean, forts are erecting, to cover the roads of the Isle of Aix, and to protect the vessels of the republic. Every where funds are raised for the reparation and improvement of our ports. A new bason and locked sluices will terminate the harbour of Havre, and will form an excellent port for the commerce of La Manche. A company of pilots is formed to secure the safe navigation of L'Escant, and to free foreign pilots from the danger to which an unknown navigation must expose them." *Official View of the State of the Republic.*

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The review being over at twenty minutes paſt one, the royal party, with the foreign princes, and the generals, returned by the Serpentine, to Piccadilly Gate, and thence to Buckingham Houſe, followed all the way by an immenſe concourſe of people of all ranks and conditions, who teſtified their loyalty and ſatisfaction by repeated huzzas.

The rapture and enthuſiaſm which the review of the London diſtrict volunteers had inſpired, excited a laudable ambition in the breaſts of the Weſtminſter corps, to equal their brethren in arms, zeal, and military appearance; accordingly, on Friday the 28th of October, 1803, the following corps were reviewed:

London and Weſtminſter light horſe volunteers—Weſtminſter regiment of volunteer cavalry—Southwark troop of yeomanry—St. George's regiment of volunteer infantry—St. James's—Bloomſbury and Inns of Court—Royal Weſtminſter—Prince of Wales—St. Margaret's and St. John's—Loyal North Britons—Royal York Mary-le-Bone—Duke of Glouceſter's—Firſt Surrey—the Somerſet Place—Lambeth—firſt and ſecond battalion Queen's Royals—St. Giles's and St. George's—Loyal Britiſh Artificers—St. Andrew's and St. George's—the Clerkenwell—the St. Sepulchre—the Loyal Britons—the Knightſbridge—the St. Saviour's—the St. Clement's Danes—the Loyal Southwark—Duke of Cumberland's Sharp Shooters—Gray's Inn Rifle Men, amounting in number to nearly 13,500 effective men.

Exactly at ten o'clock, a ſignal gun announced the entrance of his Majeſty into the Park. His Majeſty advanced to the centre of the line near the ring, attended in nearly the ſame order as before, by the Dukes of York, Clarence, Cumberland, and Cambridge, the French princes, Lord Harrington, and ſeveral general officers, and followed by the queen and princeſſes, in two coaches and four, eſcorted by a ſtrong detachment of life guards.

After the king had inſpected the line, the whole formed into companies, and paſſed his Majeſty in review, preciſely in the ſame manner as the London corps on the preceding Wedneſday, and then retired in quick time. The concourſe of ſpectators was immenſe. Yet not a ſingle circumſtance occurred to excite regret. A ſpectacle ſo ſublime, and ſo truly grand, called forth many poetical effuſions—and amongſt others the following:

——See gaily dreſt the patriot bands appear,
Dear to their country, and to freedom dear!
Awake, alive, poſſeſt with glory's charms,
'Tis virtue, virtue calls the hoſt to arms.
They blend the citizens' and ſoldier's name,
And reaſon ſanctifies the martial flame:
Each ſacred pledge that human life endears,
Each awful call that ſounds to virtuous ears:
The riſing energies of free-born mind,
The glorious ties that honour loves to bind;
And laſt, the promiſe of a deathleſs meed,
See prompts, nor vainly prompts th' heroic deed.
What honeſt flames from every eye-ball dart!
What God-like tranſports heave the grateful heart!
Now virtue reigns, ſublime, ſupreme, confeſt
A nation feels her like a ſingle breaſt.

The following general orders were iſſued from the office of the commander in chief, to the commanding officers of the ſeveral volunteer corps:

"*Horſe Guards, October 29th.*

"His royal highneſs the commander in chief, has received the king's command to convey to the ſeveral volunteer and aſſociated corps, which were reviewed in Hyde Park, on the 26th and 28th inſtant, his Majeſty's higheſt approbation of their appearance, which equalled his Majeſty's utmoſt expectations.

"His Majeſty perceives, with heartfelt ſatisfaction, that ſpirit of loyalty and patriotiſm, on which the ſyſtem of armed volunteers throughout the kingdom was originally founded, has riſen with the exigencies of the times, and, at this moment, forms ſuch a bulwark to the conſtitution and liberties of the country, as will enable us, under the protection of Providence, to bid defiance to the unprovoked malice of our enemies, and to hurl back, with becoming indignation, the threats which they have preſumed to vent againſt our independence, and even our exiſtence as a nation.

"His Majeſty has obſerved with peculiar pleaſure, that, amongſt the unprecedented exertions which the preſent circumſtances of the country have called forth, thoſe of the capital of his united kingdom have been eminently conſpicuous; the appearance of its numerous and well-regulated volunteer corps, which were reviewed on the 26th and 28th inſtant, indicates a degree of attention and emulation, both, in officers and men, which proceed only from a deep ſenſe of the important objects for which they have enrolled themſelves, a juſt eſtimation of the bleſſings we have ſo long enjoyed, and a firm and manly determination to defend them like Britons, and tranſmit them unimpaired to our poſterity.

"The commander in chief has the higheſt ſatisfaction in diſcharging his duty, by communicating theſe, his Majeſty's moſt gracious ſentiments, and requeſts, that the commanding officers will have recourſe to the readieſt means of making the ſame known to their reſpective corps.

"(Signed) FREDERICK,
"Commander in Chief."

The French news-papers ſcarcely took any notice of this review.—It is obvious, however, that the prime ruler of France, felt that it was not a matter of trivial conſideration, and that the French could ſtill eſtimate the ardour and noble thirſt of glory that would animate a body of freemen armed and ready,

to ruſh forward in ſupport of their king and conſtitution, and that the encreaſing ſpirit of the volunteer aſſociations could not be concealed from thoſe whom the hand of power had ſubjugated: in order, however, to remove theſe impreſſions as far as lay in his power, Bonaparte publiſhed an addreſs to the military of France. Thoſe who wiſh to preſerve a ſpecimen of the true bombaſtic, in all the glittering tinſel of language, will be pleaſed with the following extracts from that extraordinary paper.

"French ſoldiers, I have not to lay before you political intereſts. It is in cabinets and not in camps that they are to be weighed. It matters little whether extenſive territories, or a rock, be the object of war. For this rock, a great country has juſt armed the whole of its population; covered the ſea with its veſſels, and Europe with its emiſſaries; for this rock, a civilized nation has juſt broken a ſolemn treaty, has braved all the evils of war, all the ſhame of perfidy. Behold thoſe ſhowers of bombs, hear that thundering artillery: thoſe are the calls that demand Malta of you. They demand of you all the honour of France, all the glory of your victories.

"It is in vain that you have filled the earth with the fame of your arms; it is in vain that you have triumphed over the froſts of Holland, over the rocks and precipices of Mount St. Gothard, and over the ſands and winds of the deſert; a new element is preſented to you as the field of battle, and oppoſed to your inexperience. You muſt be left ignorant of nothing. All England already celebrates your defeat. The fogs of the Thames, promiſe themſelves to wither the laurels of Arcola and Lodi; the cupola of St. Paul's to ornament itſelf with your ſtandards, and the white cliffs of Dover, to redden themſelves with your blood.

"Far be it from me to ſeek to excite your enthuſiaſm. Frenchmen have only to guard againſt impatience and temerity.

"Never was it more neceſſary for you to reſtrain your courage. Every thing is new in this year. I know not that maritime diſcipline has added itſelf to the diſcipline of camps; you have gone through your exerciſe upon land; you are now going to perform it upon the water. To know how to form on the waves, to peceive each other in the night, to make yourſelves be heard in the tempeſt, to combat at once the ſea, the enemy, and the winds—ſuch is to be your taſk.

"In the midſt of ſo many new and minute precautions, in the midſt of ſo many foreign and faſtidious details, I dare implore even that hatred which you bear to the enemy. Little vexations are cool; a feeble animoſity is not durable, but very different are the characteriſtics of a noble anger. Docile, becauſe it is confident; patient, becauſe it is ſure; it bears towards things a wiſdom which it would diſdain to oppoſe to men. It knows that it ſhould then direct its conduct by prudence, arrange its plans with calmneſs, and keep its impetuoſity and zeal for the proper time to exerciſe them.

"As your combats will ſhortly be different, ſo will alſo your glory. Every thing is changed for you upon this new theatre, but in like manner every thing enlarged. Courage never looſes its ſplendour. In all ages, glory belongs to the heart that is callous to a vulgar love of life; but if your former trophies have borne this mark, their object has, perhaps, not always had an unanimous aſſent. You have not yet forgotten thoſe times of civil feuds and of diſtreſs. In that horrible night, when your ancient country was no more, and the new one did not yet exiſt, your noble foreheads were not always crowned by pure hands. Now, that our diviſions are extinguiſhed, that the war is no longer tarniſhed by principles of deſolation and ruin—now that funeral ſorrow has been baniſhed by the gladſome ſentiment of our internal peace, of our future hopes, the return of our ancient grandeur; it is now in particular that your character is great, for you have the wiſhes and approbation of all hearts.

"Behold the auſtere republican, the extravagant admirer of monarchy, the untamed partizan of ſavage equality, they all equally pour forth their benedictions on your arms. You may thus reckon the oppreſſors and the victims, thoſe who have fallen in the torrent of revolution, and thoſe who have paſſed through it without a ſtain. You will likewiſe reckon the hundred thouſand families who took refuge in the wreck of their fortune, proud of having fallen with their country, and of riſing with it.

"All France at this time twines you laurels. She has beſpoke all your courage, and is determined to cover herſelf with your glory. But the honour of your names will not belong to your country alone; it is, above all, the inheritance of your families.—Oh! how miſerable is man, when he perſiſts in keeping within the little dimenſion of himſelf. On the other ſide, how ridiculous is he, when in the plenitude of his pride, he ſeeks to embrace the whole univerſe. Providence has formed us for neither ſo vaſt a ſphere, nor for ſo confined a circle. When its kindneſs permitted us to eſcape a frail and tranſitory exiſtence, it was by giving us the ſafeties of families and countries."

Here follows a rhapſodical appeal to the obſcure warriors, who, for their various acts of ferocity, had received hatchets of honour, &c. The addreſs then terminates:

"Alas! perhaps, in a new public delirium, theſe relics of your courage may be ſnatched from your children, but revolutions, which change many things, at leaſt do not change the eternal baſis of glory and juſtice. After great deſtruction, we know that every thing

The Apprehending of Russell the leader of the Irish Rebels.

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thing rifes again. Seated upon ruins, the worthy man once more appears with all his ancient virtues; a matter leſs eaſy to be diſſolved than the metal of weathercocks, or the cement of towers.

CHAP. XII.

Ireland.—United Iriſhmen, their Views.—Ruſſel, the Rebel General arreſted, tried, and executed.—Account of him.—State of Ireland.—Capture of the Duquesne Ship of War.—Surrender of Demerara and Eſſequibo to his Majeſty's Forces in the Weſt Indies.—Attack on the French Gun-boats.

IRELAND has been very juſtly called by Mr. Pitt, the right hand of England *, and by Mr. Sheridan, the vital part of the Britiſh empire †. It is deeply to be regretted, that any circumſtances ſhould have taken place to weaken that arm, or thoſe vital parts. Rebellion is undoubtedly the greateſt misfortune with which any country can be viſited, as it is an evil that does not merely terminate in itſelf. There have been two parties for ſome years paſt in that kingdom, Orange Men and the United Iriſhmen ‡. The former were zealots in the Proteſtant cauſe, and the latter affected to be as zealous in the Catholic. It is but juſtice, however, to the two reſpectable bodies in that country, Proteſtants and Catholics, that they are not to be confounded with either of thoſe parties: the liberality of their religious ſentiments deſerve the higheſt praiſe.

Some of the leaders of the United Iriſhmen fled to France, ſome were tried, convicted, and executed. Their declarations on the moſt ſolemn occaſions were at variance with their conduct §. It is certain, however, that they all looked to rebellion for the accompliſhment of their diabolical ſchemes. They diſſeminated their agents and emiſſaries throughout the kingdom with a ſecrecy and vigilance that often eluded the moſt active purſuit. On the execution of Emmett, they turned their eyes to Thomas Ruſſel, a man well calculated by nature and art to win the confidence of ſuch a deſperate claſs: they inveſted him with the title of "the General of the Northern "Diſtrict." Government offered a thouſand pounds by proclamation for his apprehenſion; he found means, however, to conceal himſelf for a conſiderable time, notwithſtanding the moſt unabating purſuit of the officers of juſtice. He was at length arreſted in the following manner.

Mr. Emerſon, a member of the attorney's corps, having obtained information that a ſtranger of ſuſpicious appearance was accidentally obſerved in the houſe of a Mr. Muley, a gun-maker, in Parliament-ſtreet, Dublin. Mr. Emerſon loſt no time in communicating this circumſtance to Mr. ſecretary Marſden, who referred him to Major Sirr. Mr. Emerſon, Major Sirr, and lieutenant Minchin, with a detachment of captain Green's corps of yeomanry, repaired about ten o'clock at night, to Mr. Muley's, where they diſcovered the perſon, who had excited ſuſpicion, ſecreted in a garret. On putting ſome queſtions to him, he inſtantly drew forth two loaded piſtols, which he ſnapped at them, but each of them miſſed fire. He was inſtantly ſeized, and carried to the Caſtle, where his perſon was immediately identified by the honourable captain Knox, ſon of Lord Northland, under whoſe patronage he would have riſen to high rank in the army, if he had not forfeited it by a dereliction of his former political principles. After he had acknowledged his real name, he avowed his purpoſe in returning to the country, and ſpoke in the boldeſt tone of "the glorious cauſe" in which he had embarked. "It is that," ſaid he, "for which I would meet death with pleaſure, either in the field, or on the ſcaffold; but do not imagine that my death, or the death of hundreds, will avail to ſecure the exiſtence of your power. No! though my arreſt may prove ſome embarraſſment to my friends, the organization is too extenſive, and the plan too well laid, to entertain a doubt, that it will be relinquiſhed." It is not eaſy to ſay, whether this was the language of confidence or deſperation, but on his examination, he kept up the ſame boldneſs of expreſſion, and inſtead of any attempt to ſoften down his guilt, launched out into an abuſe of the ſyſtem of government. He was fully committed, and on the twentieth of October, was put on his trial at Carrickfergus.

After a trial which laſted from ten in the morning till half-paſt eight in the evening, he was convicted on the cleareſt evidence of having conſpired to levy war againſt the king, &c. &c.

* Mr. Pitt's ſpeech on the union.

† Mr. Sheridan's ſpeech at the meeting of the Benevolent Society of St. Patrick, March 18th, 1805.

‡ The United Iriſhmen undoubtedly coupled political with religious views. From their own declarations, joined to their conduct, it is now evident that the main object of this party was to ſeparate Ireland from England. To gain this abominable end, they availed themſelves of every art that could inflame the paſſions of the unthinking, or work upon the feelings of the ambitious. They diſſeminated their ſentiments through every medium, and artfully miſrepreſented every argument that oppoſed their favourite plan. They conferred by means of their deputies, with general Hoche, and interrupted the negotiation at Liſle, by repreſenting to the French directory, that England wiſhed only to make a peace, becauſe Ireland was on the eve of an open revolt.

§ Emmett in his defence on his trial, made uſe of theſe expreſſions, "I am charged with being an emiſſary of France, it is falſe, I am no emiſſary, I did not with to deliver up my country to a foreign power, and leaſt of all to France."

Having been aſked in the uſual form, if he had any thing to ſay, why ſentence of death ſhould not be paſſed upon him, he addreſſed the court in a ſpeech of ſome length, in which he took a review of his life for the laſt thirteen years, and on which he said he looked back with triumph and ſatisfaction, as he declared that all he had done was from the conviction of his conſcience. He was executed on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month, and died with a fortitude that would have done honour to him in a good cauſe *.

The death of ſuch a man muſt have blaſted the deſigns in a great meaſure of the reſt of the conſpirators. The adminiſtration, however, it will be ſeen, took the moſt effectual meaſures to ſecure and ſtrengthen the tranquillity of the country.

As the ſea may be called the native element of our ſailors, it is but juſtice to that intrepid race to record the actions in which they have been engaged, and in which they never fail to convince the enemy of their invincible courage, and the ſuperiority of their nautical ſkill.

The Gazette of the 6th of November, 1803, contained a diſpatch from Sir T. Duckwortk, dated on board the Bellerophon, off Cape Maize, in which the admiral introduced the following letter, with a juſt encomium on the zeal and gallant conduct of the captain.

" Sir,

" In purſuance of your orders, relative to the blockade of Cape François, with the ſquadron under my command, in the performance of which, I truſt, my endeavours may not be found deficient, I beg leave to inform you, that, on Sunday, the 24th ultimo, at ſix P. M. being off that port, a heavy ſquall came on from the land, which induced the two line of battle ſhips to attempt an eſcape. The weather ſoon moderating, they were immediately diſcovered, and the ſignal for a general chace was made. On their clearing the harbour, they hauled to the weſtward, to take advantage of the land-wind; every effort poſſible was made to keep ſight of them during the night, which was effected principally by the vigilance of captains Evans and Perkins of the Æolus and Tartar. At half-paſt nine o'clock, I was informed, by an officer from the Elephant, who had been on board the Tartar, that one of the ſhips had tacked to the eaſtward, and the other ſteering to the weſtward, cloſe along the ſhore; in conſequence of which, I directed captain Dundas to tack, and endeavour to cut off the former, the Elephant being the weathermoſt ſhip, and purſued the other with the two frigates; the Theſeus and Vanguard being to leeward, in the firſt of the ſquall, did not join me till about twelve o'clock at night; at day light, we were within gun-ſhot of the chace. On hearing a heavy cannonading to the eaſtward, I made the Theſeus ſignal to chace eaſt, having been unfortunately unable to make a ſimilar diſpoſition during the night; and at half-paſt three P. M. on the twenty-fifth, we came up with, and, after exchanging ſeveral bow and ſtern chaſes with the Vanguard and Tartar, who were headmoſt ſhips, ſhe ſtruck her colours, and proves to be the Duqueſne, of ſeventy-four guns, commanded by Monſieur Kerangel, capitaine de vaiſſeau, from Cape François, bound to

* Mr. T. Ruſſel was a native of the North of Ireland, and deſcended of a family that once lived in eaſe and elegant hoſpitality. His father lived on a few paternal acres, which with induſtry and œconomy, enabled him to give his children an education ſuitable to their birth, and even beyond their proſpects in life. Thomas having evinced an early paſſion for learning, was placed under the care of the Rev. Mr. Stoupe, one of the firſt claſſical teachers in that part of the country. The progreſs of the pupil drew the attention of the maſter, who was highly pleaſed with his taſte and reflexions, that would have done credit to a boy of riper years. Mr. Stoupe, adviſed Mr. Ruſſel to bring up his ſon to the church, in which he was certain, from the promiſe of his moral and literary character, he would one day become an ornament. But when the pupil was told of it, and deſired to ſpeak his mind freely, he anſwered, that he had a very high reverence for the clerical character, but at the ſame time, notwithſtanding his youth, he was not ignorant of the great and important duties that devolved on a miniſter of the goſpel, ſo that he preferred a military life to that of any other, and that he did not think the time he had paſſed in the ſtudy of the dead languages was loſt, for in his opinion, a claſſical education was a neceſſary appendage to that of a military one. He was immediately ſent to learn mathematics, and at the age of twenty-two, was preſented with a pair of colours by his relative general Dilkes. He ſerved with no ſmall reputation in America, under the command of general Knox, during the unhappy war in that country; towards the cloſe of which, he was raiſed to the rank of a captain. His officer-like behaviour, and rigid obſervance of all the duties of his profeſſion, were ſpoken of in a manner highly gratifying to his friends and acquaintances. On his return to his native country, he quitted the army, and was introduced to ſome of the beſt families in the North of Ireland. Through the intereſt of the Northland family, he was appointed a magiſtrate for the county of Tyrone. In 1792, he was arreſted with Samuel Nelſon, and conveyed to Newgate, Dublin, in which he remained a priſoner till 1798, when he was ſent with Arthur O'Connor and others to Fort St. George, Scotland; at the concluſion of the laſt peace, he was permitted to withdraw to France.

He lived in Paris during the peace, where he frequently mixed with ſeveral of the French revolutionary generals, and admirers of the new philoſophy, which at one time convulſed that country, and ſet aſide the experience of ages, and all thoſe maxims, which had influenced the thinking part of mankind up to that period. Soon after the declaration of war, he returned to Ireland, with a view no doubt, of diſſeminating thoſe principles which led to the loſs of his life, and that fair fame which he had once acquired, and which he might have encreaſed, if he had followed the advice of his friends. Few men, unhappily, were better calculated to carry on the cauſe in which he had engaged. He was reſerved to thoſe above him, open and of the moſt conciliating manners to his equals, and to thoſe of inferior rank, and poſſeſſed of that ſpecies of popular eloquence, that can inflame the paſſions at will, at the expence of reaſon, and ſober reflexion.

He was ſix feet high, well proportioned, a military air, a marked countenance, and a determined voice.

Europe. I am ſorry to ſay one man was killed, and another wounded on board the Vanguard; none on board the enemy's ſhip. In paſſing between the two iſlands of St. Domingo and Tortuga, near Port-au-Paix, we took the French national ſchooner Oiſeau, of ſixteen guns, and ſixty men, commanded by Monſieur Druault, lieutenant de vaiſſeau, which I have ordered, with the Duqueſne, to Port Royal, under charge of the Vanguard and Tartar.

" I have the honour to be, &c.
" JOHN LORING."

Every intelligence brought from the Weſt Indies in the courſe of this month, (November) confirmed the ſucceſsful operations of our navy in that quarter. As the forces, however, in thoſe iſlands were found to be inſufficient for the entire conqueſt of the French and Dutch ſettlements, additional regiments were immediately ordered on that ſervice *. The French were preparing to make an attempt from Guadaloupe againſt Antigua, which was fortunately defeated by the vigilance of captain O'Brien of the Emerald. This gallant officer ſuddenly diſcovered thirteen armed ſchooners, in the movement off Guadaloupe. Twelve hundred troops were, at the ſame time, on the ſhore, in that iſland, and ready to embark. On ſight of the Emerald, the ſchooners were ſteered back in haſte for Guadaloupe; captain O'Brien gave chace, and took three of them.

The expedition under the command of general Grinfield, deſtined againſt Demerara and Eſſequibo †, ſailed from Barbadoes, the 2d of September. On the appearance of the fleet off the coaſt, the Engliſh in Starbrock retired into the country, to avoid any demands of the government, and moſt of their colony boats were ſent out to aſſiſt and ſupply the fleet, and facilitate the landing of the troops, if the leaſt appearance of oppoſition had rendered it neceſſary; but the Dutch coloniſts ſaw the inefficacy of oppoſing five hundred of their men to one thouſand five hundred of ours, ſo that they quietly ſurrendered. The following is the official account of the reſult of this affair, as publiſhed in the Gazette of November 15th.

" *Demerara, Starbrock, Sept. 20th*, 1803.

" My Lord,

" I have the honour to acquaint your Lordſhip of the ſurrender of this colony and Eſſequibo, which capitulated yeſterday, and this day we are in poſſeſſion.

" I take the opportunity of a veſſel going to Barbadoes to ſend this, with the hope of its reaching your Lordſhip ſooner than that which commodore Hood and myſelf ſhall diſpatch, as ſoon as we can convey more particulars.

" I have the honour to be, &c.
" W. GRINFIELD, Lieut. Gen."

" *To the right honourable*
Lord Hobart, &c. &c."

" *Centaur, off Demerara, Sept. 15th*, 1803.

" Sir,

" Thinking it of the utmoſt importance to the mercantile intereſt the earlieſt information ſhould be ſent, of the ſurrender of this colony, and that of Eſſequibo, to his Majeſty's forces, I beg leave to acquaint you, for the information of the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, the capitulation was ſigned on board the Heureux yeſterday morning; in the evening, the Hornet and Netley entered the river, and two hundred troops took poſſeſſion of Fort William Frederick, and this day the colonies ſurrendered.

" The Hippomenes ſhip corvette, of eighteen guns, the only veſſel of the Batavian republic here, is included in the capitulation †.

" I have the honour to be, &c.
" SAM. HOOD."

Notwithſtanding the eaſy fall of theſe ſettlements, yet the articles of capitulation were ſuch, that the vanquiſhed had no reaſon to regret the change. The very firſt article provided, that the laws and uſages of the colonies ſhould remain in full force, that the inhabitants ſhould enjoy the full exerciſe of their religion, and that no new eſtabliſhments ſhould be introduced without the conſent of the court of police, as the legiſlature of the colony, and that the conſtituted authorities, and public officers, whether in the civil law, or church eſtabliſhments, as well as the members of the reſpective courts (except the governor general), ſhould be continued in their reſpective offices, and ſituations, until his majeſty's pleaſure be known. It was alſo ſtipulated, that the inhabitants ſhould be protected in their perſons, and have the free enjoyment of their property, with many other conditions equally favourable, which have been religiouſly obſerved on both ſides to the preſent moment. Immediately after the Gazette announcement of the capture of theſe iſlands, a great number of ſhips were taken up to bring home the produce of them.

* The 16th, 46th, and 70th regiments, ſailed immediately for the Weſt Indies.

† Demerara and Eſſequibo, on the Spaniſh Main, are in a high ſtate of cultivation, and very productive.

Return of the Shipping found in the River Demerara.

Hippomenes, Batavian corvette, pierced for eighteen guns; Sophia, a ſhip claimed as Engliſh property; Rotterdam, ditto; Diana, ditto; Eliza, detained by the Dutch, before our arrival, under Britiſh colours; Nile, ditto; Admiral Kingſbergen, a ſloop, Dutch property, Aurora, ditto; Leesfield, ditto; Maria, ditto; Wilhelmina, ditto; Boodes Walfaeren, ditto; Wilhelmina, ditto.

At Berbice.

Serpent, national ſchooner, and five merchant veſſels.—Total, nineteen.

them. An expedition was alſo meditated againſt Martinique, which, if a ſufficient number of troops could have been ſpared, would no doubt have been crowned with ſucceſs, as that iſland at the time, was in great want of proviſions; the town of St. Pierre was quite deſerted, and the garriſon, which a few months before had been defended by eight thouſand regular troops, was reduced by the flux and other diſorders, to a mere ſkeleton. The militia was ſo thinned by ſickneſs, that it could have made but a feeble reſiſtance. The generality of the inhabitants were beſides favourably diſpoſed to the Engliſh government, under which they once enjoyed the greateſt proſperity; but the garriſon was ſtrong by nature and art, and would have coſt more lives, perhaps, to have taken it by *a coup de main*, than could be prudently ſpared under all the circumſtances of the day.

Our cruizers profited not a little from the diſtracted ſtate of St. Domingo. The Snake ſloop of war, captain Roberts, on the ſecond of Auguſt, captured twelve veſſels, which were coming out of Jeremie, and carried them into Jamaica. Our ſquadron cloſely blockaded Cape François, where three frigates, and ſixty merchant ſhips lay, with their cargoes; many of which fell into our hands.

The once flattering proſpects of the enemy being thus entirely blaſted in the Weſt Indies—St. Domingo wreſted out of their hands—Martinique and Guadaloupe ſo cloſely blockaded, that veſſels of any kind could not paſs in or out of either.—The rich ſettlement of Surinam*, menaced by our arms, and the diſtribution of our naval force in every ſea, ſo judiciouſly appointed, ſo well manned, and ſo gallantly commanded, that Bonaparte centered all his threats againſt the united kingdom. It really ſhould appear, as if the chief conſul at this time entertained ſome hopes of making a deſcent on this country. On the fourth of November, he arrived a ſecond time at Boulogne, about two o'clock in the afternoon, and immediately went on board one of the ſhips, where he remained till midnight in the port, inſpecting the different works; the next day, the advanced guard of the flotilla, conſiſting of upwards of two hundred veſſels, went into the harbour, a number of Engliſh ſhips ſailed along the line of coaſt. The cannonade then began, and even the French accounts could not conceal the effects of our fire, and the confuſion which it occaſioned even in the preſence of Bonaparte.

It would be endleſs, as it would be diſguſting to the reader, to take notice of all the publications in the French papers, on the ſubject of the projected invaſion; but there are ſome of them of ſo ſingular a caſt, that it would be unpardonable to paſs over them in ſilence. On the very day of the arrival of the chief conſul in Boulogne, the following paper was poſted over all the town.

"MINISTRY OF THE MARINE.

"*Order of the Day of the National Flotilla, under the Orders of Admiral Bruix.*

"*Boulogne, Nov. 4th.* 1803.

"The fourth day which the flotilla has paſſed without the harbour muſt impreſs the men with a ſentiment of its force, when drawn up in a hoſtile line. The veſſels of the enemy were afraid to come within cannon-ſhot. They conſtantly kept one or two leagues off, without accepting the combat which we offered them from our anchorage. The effect of the movement executed by the flotilla, was to keep the Engliſh ſquadron in obſervation before Boulogne, whilſt ſeveral diviſions of our gun-boats came from the north and the ſouth to rally round us. Our veſſels have alſo acquired, by this ſortie, the practice of acting together, with that celerity which is ſo neceſſary in nautical movements; they have learned to paſs promptly and without confuſion from the harbour into the road, and from the road again into the harbour.

"(Signed) LA FOND,
"Chief of the Staff of the National Flotilla."

At the very inſtant almoſt this placard was publiſhed, the boats of the Merlin, captain Brenton, deſtroyed the French lugger *Les Sept Freres*, off Calais. The Britiſh ſhips Raiſonable, ſixty-four guns, the Immortalité and Leda frigates, attacked eighty-four gun-boats on the coaſt of France, ſunk two of them, and damaged many more. Lieutenant Shepherd, in the armed cutter, Admiral Mitchell, drove a French gun-boat on ſhore; and a gun-brig which was armed with twelve guns, thirty-two pounders, off Boulogne. A French gun-boat taken † was off Dunkirk, by lieutenant Chambers, in the Conflict gun-brig. A French brig, with a ſloop and a lugger, were alſo taken off Cherbourg. The Griffin ſloop of war likewiſe fought an action between Boulogne and Calais, with eleven French gun-boats. The gun-boats were quickly driven under the ſhelter of the French batteries. Sir Sidney Smith, with a ſquadron of five ſhips of war, off the Texel, drove twelve armed veſſels of the enemy on ſhore, on the coaſt of Holland. Of theſe, three were taken. The Dutch complained in their news-papers, that the Engliſh took their gun-boats, even when they had been run aground on the ſhore. Many of the Dutch fiſhing-boats were taken; which at firſt might ſeem rather

* Surinam, at preſent in our poſſeſſion, has a number of excellent plantations, and was always conſidered by the Dutch as the moſt valuable of all their colonies. Its chief articles of trade are ſugar, coffee, cotton, tobacco, flax, ſkins, and ſome valuable dying drugs. It is advantageouſly ſituated on the continent of South America.

† This was the firſt gun-boat that was captured from the enemy.

hard,

...LOGNE.

Drawn & Engraved by J. Rupell

hard, but this was a measure of precaution, as they could be easily converted into gun-boats and invasion transports.

As we are on the subject of invasion—the question remained in doubt, whether Bonaparte would head it or not, as he had all along preserved a profound silence on that point. Many were of opinion that he would be the first to partake in that glory which he had promised to his deluded soldiers. Some of his creatures, under the impression of this opinion, had, it was said, secretly advised him from hazarding his person in an expedition fraught with so many dangers. The senate at length took it up, and presented him with an address, in which they entreated him to preserve his precious life for the good of the republic. His answer to the speech of Nurand de Galles, who carried up this address, is too remarkable to be omitted.

"The senate is wanting in a sufficiency of confidence in our institutions, but they have arrived at such a degree of strength and maturity, as no longer to require the assistance of the hand that formed their original basis: their bias only, is that which stands in need of a guide. I had made use of much reflexion before I determined upon adopting the measure you wish me to retract. I believe my presense is indispensibly necessary in this expedition, and, that without it, there would neither be order, subordination, or union. The conflict will be terrible, but a secret impulse assures me, that if I did direct it, the result will be to our advantage. I regret the shock that may be propagated by the opinion expressed by the senate. Upon the eve of a catastrophe so important, a crisis so decisive, we have need of calmness and confidence; and it is the duty of the first authority to inspire both the one and the other by its attitude and resignation. I shall leave nothing unfinished, and I have the consolation of seeing the whole head of the state in full vigour, and in complete organization. I do not despair of the undertaking; fortune has always performed miracles in my favour: and I no longer require them. I want no extraordinary assistance—I ask no more than those common succours which she always affords to measures well conceived and conducted. I cannot accede to the demands of the senate." This discourse, says the French writer, "was listened to with that religious respect due to the last words of a great man." M. de Jacourt, member of the tribunate, adds the journalist, was to have replied, but his emotions only left him the power of throwing himself upon his knees, and offering his hand to the consul, who immediately advanced and embraced him. This answer was instantly followed by an address to the soldiers and sailors of the flotilla destined for the invasion, in which they were called upon, "to assist in its organization, to expedite its junction, to hasten its departure, and to follow the hero who had been created by victory to avenge human nature." This address, according to the French papers, had a wonderful effect on the French army—"they burned," said a writer in the Moniteur, "to land on the English coast; Bonaparte, however, did not think proper to avail himself of their impatience, for after inspecting a certain portion of the craft, he returned to Paris, contrary to the expectation of the generality of the citizens, who from his answer to the senate expected that his visit to Boulogne was for the direct purpose of invading England. The Parisian prints, nay, even Bonaparte's own official journal disseminated this opinion *.

* "It is determined, we are assured, that Bonaparte will put himself at the head of the expedition against England, and go on board one of the landing vessels. Bonaparte is establishing a marine guard, to consist of chosen sailors, who will form the crew of the ship on board of which he embarks." *Moniteur.*

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's.—Yeomanry of Ireland.—Inſtructions to the Edinburgh Volunteers in the Event of Battle.—Earl of Moira.—Inſtructions iſſued by the Commander in Chief.—Army of Reſerve.—Extract from the Moniteur.

THE internal ſtate of the united kingdom exhibited one of the moſt gratifying ſcenes that can poſſibly be drawn, if every circumſtance ſhould be compared: little party feuds and political bickerings had entirely ſubſided; thoſe petty ſtreamlets were loſt in the bold and ſwelling tide of patriotiſm. Amongſt the moſt eminent inſtances of public zeal, the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's will ever ſhine with undiminiſhed luſtre. The managers of that fund began by an act of ſignal encouragement to heroiſm: they aſſigned an annuity of 40*l.* a year to the widow of lieutant Scott, and another of 10*l.* a year to his infant ſon*. The force upon the coaſts of Great Britain and Ireland were ſtill further augmented in the courſe of this month (November). The garriſon of Plymouth amounted to thirteen thouſand ſeven hundred landmen, beſides one thouſand five hundred ſeamen and marines. A battery was erected for the defence of the Humber, at Paul Point, in Holderneſs; officers were appointed to regulate the conveyance of the cattle from the coaſt, for Pevenſey Rape, in caſe the French ſhould effect a landing.

The face of affairs in Ireland began to aſſume a more placid mien. The yeomanry of Ireland who had contributed ſo highly to this, were reviewed in the Phœnix Park, near Dublin, on the the tenth of November, by Lord Cathcart, the commander in chief of the forces in that kingdom; the following brigade orders were read on the ſeveral parades:

Royal Hoſpital, Nov. 10, 1803.

Major general Duane has received the following communication from the commander of the forces, expreſſing to the corps of yeomanry of the city of Dublin, the ſatisfaction he this morning had in ſeeing the performance of ſo numerous and moſt reſpectable a body of them in the Park. "I am no ſtranger to the extent of duty done by the yeomanry in this city; and having been a witneſs of the manner in which that taſk is performed, I was extremely gratified to find that their appearance in the field ſo fully correſponded with their alertneſs, good order, and perſeverance in the laborious ſervices, which peculiar circumſtances render of much importance to the ſecurity of the city of Dublin. From the whole of my obſervation, it appears to me, that the true principle of the yeomanry inſtitution is underſtood and acted upon by the corps; and from the zeal which is manifeſted by ſo many perſons of rank, and independent fortune, whoſe habits of life had been directed to purſuits of a very different nature, there appears no doubt, but if circumſtances ſhould unfortunately demand either a continuance, or a renewal of theſe exertions and privations, the ſame loyal and patriotic ſpirit which dictated the firſt eſſay, will inſure their perſeverance in the fulfilment of the ſame undertaking.

"CATHCART, Lieut. General."

Colonel Hope, of the firſt battalion of the Edinburgh volunteers, iſſued orders to the officers and privates of that corps on almoſt every point that regarded their military conduct. As theſe orders were drawn up by an able and experienced officer, and as they are eminently calculated to inſpire that diſciplined courage ſo neceſſary in the heat of battle, we inſert the following extract from them as highly worthy of peruſal on all future occaſions.

"As to the field, the lieutenant-colonel has little to ſay, much will be expected by their country, by ſuch a regiment. The lieutenant-colonel has no anxiety on the ſubject, except from impetuoſity. If the regiment were acting ſingly againſt another ſmall body, this might produce no bad effect, but acting in combination with other troops, perhaps in the centre of the line, or chain of poſts, all movements muſt be relative, and ruſhing forward prematurely, the line may be broken, and other regiments or poſts expoſed to be taken in flank, and the whole plans of the commander diſconcerted by the neceſſity of ſupporting a body, which has improperly puſhed forward, or reinforcing the poſt it has quitted. The regiment will therefore recollect, that true courage conſiſts as much in ſuffering as in acting; as much or more in coolly facing danger, as in furiouſly

* Lieutenant Scott fell in a glorious action, which he fought, as commander of the Princeſs Auguſta, armed cutter, with two Dutch privateers. Two hundred pounds ſterling were alſo preſented to Mr. Thomas, who acted as maſter and commander of the cutter in the ſame action.

ruſhing

rushing on it. There is little probability that the general will allow young and high-spirited troops to be long galled by distant fire. The regiment may be assured, that they will be allowed to close with the enemy, whenever it can be done to advantage.

"When that moment comes, the lieutenant-colonel reminds the regiment of the instructions he has been inculcating in them at drill, to make their charge with the utmost steadiness and precision, so that all parts of the line, by coming in contact with the enemy, at the same instant, may support one another. The leading company will take care not to trust too much, but to carry on the line, so that each individual may preserve the entire command of his person; that he may be able freely to use his bayonet, not only to thrust, but to parry. If the charge is made with too great rapidity, the line will be broken;—one part of the regiment will be cut to pieces before another comes up, and the whole will rush on certain destruction, whereas, if the charge is made steadily and correctly, the superior strength and impetus of this regiment must bear down whatever is in its way.

If the force of the enemy in immediate contact with this regiment be broken, the pursuit is by no means to be made without orders. It may be necessary to wheel to the right, or the left, to support other parts of the line.

"In firing, the regiment will see the folly and danger of firing at random, if their fire is ineffectual, they may as well stand to be shot at with ordered arms. Every individual must take a steady aim, so as to be certain that a shot will take place in some part of the platoon opposite to him; if the smoke prevents the regiment from seeing the enemy's line, they will always see the flashes from the muzzles of their muskets, by which the regiment can direct its own fire. In short, let the object rather be to keep up a well directed fire, than a very quick fire, always remembering that as little time be lost in loading as possible. It will be the business of the supernumerary rank in the rear to look over the shoulders of the ranks in front, and to correct any error in the aim.

"When prisoners are taken, they are immediately to be disarmed, and passed to the rear.

"If the regiment, which is not likely, should be charged in front by cavalry, they will on no account fire till ordered, and then only the two front ranks. The front rank taking aim at the horses, then the center rank at the men. If the fire is reserved, and then given within a few yards, in the faces of the cavalry, one half will drop, and the horses in all probability will carry the other half to the right about; and at all events, if the regiment will only receive them steadily, without breaking, though the whole may be overthrown, very few will be killed or hurt. Receiving a charge from cavalry, each rank will charge their bayonets, one over the other; supernumerary rank to close well up to the rear, so that the cavalry may have no time to make a cut at them.

"Should the regiment be drawn up on a beach, to oppose the landing of the enemy, it will probably be ordered to reserve its fire, as the horizontal fire of musketry against men well covered, in boats, must be very ineffectual. In such cases, it is only cannon which can play on the enemy with effect. The battalion, therefore, will reserve its fire, till the boats take the ground, and each officer, commanding a platoon, will pour in his fire on the boat opposite to him; at the instant the enemy will expose themselves by rising up in the boat, in order to leap on shore; a well directed fire against men so huddled together, must be destructive, and the battalion will instantly give them the bayonet, before they have time to form and recover from their confusion. It is hardly possible, that any troops can withstand this mode of attack, whereas, if met only by a distant fire, from the heights, they will suffer little,—will infallibly land and form, and push on with all the spirit and advantage which usually attend the assailants. This was precisely the error which the French committed when opposing the landing of our troops in Egypt.

"Should the boats of the enemy be fitted with guns in their bows, the battalion will endeavour to shelter itself behind sand-hills, walls or broken ground, while the enemy pull for the shore, it will not be advanced to the beach, till the boats are near aground, when of course, the enemy cannot give but one discharge of their guns, which becoming useless the moment they attempt to land, the regiment will attack them as already directed.

"Adhering to those hints, steadily obeying orders, restraining their impetuosity, and fighting with a cool determined courage of their native minds, instead of imitating the intoxicated and blind fury of their enemy, and above all, calling on the God of battles to aid them in the preservation of those blessings which he has conferred upon them, this regiment may hope to render essential service, and to merit a large share of that glory, which shall be acquired by all the forces of their country, in repelling the threatened invasion.

"By order of the commanding officer,

"BAIN WHYT,

"Captain and Adjutant."

Lieutenant general Vyse, with an activity and vigilance beyond description, laboured to prepare the whole military force in North Britain for the most prompt, effective, and steady service: and that no advantage of heroism or generalship might be wanting for the defence of that part of the empire, the Earl of Moira was appointed to the chief command of the army in Scotland.

As ſoon as this gallant ſoldier had arrived at Edinburgh, his firſt act was to review the regulars, whom he very juſtly complimented on their fine ſoldier-like appearance, diſcipline, and ſteadineſs. In his addreſs to the volunteers, whom his Lordſhip alſo reviewed, he concluded in theſe words: "Lord Moira declares to theſe young troops, that he would now lead them againſt the enemy with entire confidence. The diſcipline which he witneſſed, has diſpelled the only apprehenſion he could have entertained, namely, that an irregular, though genuine ardour, on their part, might prevent him from improving thoſe advantages againſt the enemy, which it is the object of military ſcience to meaſure, and the buſineſs of a general to ſecure with the leaſt poſſible expoſure of the troops under his command."

The following official return of the volunteer force was made out at the war office, on Thurſday, the 10th of November, 1803.

Infantry - - - - - - -	297,502
Cavalry - - - - - - -	31,600
Artillery - - - - - - -	6,207
Total - - -	335,309

Such a force raiſed on the moſt patriotic principles, is not to be equalled in the annals of any nation, and what is ſtill more worthy of remark, that force has ſince increaſed, and it is hoped, that the ſpirit which gave birth to it will never ſubſide.

The following is an extract of the inſtructions recommended by his royal highneſs the commander in chief, for the uſe of the volunteer infantry of the united kingdom, at that period.

"The nature of the ſervice will require every individual being in the higheſt ſtate of equipment: beſides his arms and ammunition, each volunteer will only carry one ſhirt, one pair of ſhoes and ſtockings, and combs and bruſhes. It will be eſſential that, if poſſible, each man will ſtart with three days bread, four pounds and a half. In the infantry, one horſe for each effective officer will be allowed, including ſtaff, and one extra for each field officer, and one *per* company, for officers portmanteaus, one light two-wheeled cart will be allowed for each company, but no other carriage: in the light cart, tin kettles ſufficient for the company muſt be carried. It would be eligible that each volunteer ſhould bring a light baſket or great coat; each company ſhould alſo have a proportion of bill-hooks, one for every five men, for hutting, as indiſpenſible; a canteen for water, is alſo eſſential, or in its place a ſtrong bottle, ſlung over the ſhoulders, and a linen haverſack for the neceſſaries and bread; a ſmall portmanteau will contain the baggage of each officer. It is evident, that the neceſſity of the ſervice requires this light ſtate of equipment, to which every individual will with cheerfulneſs accede."

A circular letter was alſo tranſmitted to the different general officers commanding the diſtricts in the united kingdom, which ſtated, that it was the commander in chief's order, that all men who were at the time ſerving as ſoldiers in the army of reſerve, ſhould be permitted to extend their ſervices, by enliſting, without limitation, either with reſpect to time, or place, in the regiment to which they were attached, or in the royal artillery, foot-guards, or any other regular regiment of infantry.

Thus we ſee that every meaſure was daily adopting that could call forth the energies of the country, in the army, volunteers, &c.

On the 16th of November, beacons were lighted at the following places—Colcheſter, Wigborough, Danbury, Langden Hill, Cane Green, Ongar Park, Good Eaſter, Weathersfield, and Littlebury Broom.

In Ireland, the important meaſure of communication by telegraph was adopted by government, and one of the lines between the capital and the ſea coaſt, eſtabliſhed by the ingenious Mr. Edgeworth, upon the ſame plan which he propoſed to adminiſtration in 1796. The Lord Lieutenant, and ſeveral perſons of the firſt rank in the kingdom, were preſent, and highly gratified with the experiment.

The zeal and alacrity with which all ranks of people in Great Britain and Ireland preſſed forward in defence of their country, gave a flat contradiction to all the aſſertions in the French papers*, namely, that the bulk of the people of England were by no means heartily diſpoſed in favour of the government.

Notwithſtanding the French prints did not attack the volunteer ſyſtem, they could not abſtain, however, from reflections on the *Levy en Maſſe*, as ſoon as the bill had paſſed into a law for that purpoſe†.

CHAP.

* The principle which at this moment actuates the privileged claſſes of the Engliſh nation, is a ſecret to nobody. The object which the landed men, the journaliſts, and the government, inceſſantly preſent to the anxious ſolicitude of the men whom they call to their aſſiſtance, is the preſervation of their treaſure, which they ſay are threatened by the *ſans culottes* of France. It is obvious at firſt ſight, that the *ſans culottes* of England have nothing to loſe, and that conſequently it muſt be difficult to inſpire them with hoſtility againſt the French; who even, according to the confeſſion of the Britiſh government, convey no ſentiments of danger to them. The difference of the motives explains ſufficiently the difference of the efforts which the different ranks in England exhibit. *Moniteur*, November 16, 1803.

† "Some people have attempted to compare the *Levy en Maſſe* of the inhabitants of London, and of ſome other countries, with the *Levy en Maſſe* of the French people in 1789. The men whom the alarm and apprehenſions of the Britiſh government drive every day from their territory, and all impartial travellers who have given their opinion, diſcover no reſemblance, but in terms only.

"That which in 1790, overran our populous departments, met

EARL MOIRA.
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CHAP. II.

Affecting Relation of the Loſs of the Circe Frigate.—Opinions of a celebrated Political Writer.—Mr. Pitt's Negociation with Mr. Addington.—Speech of the Chief Baron to the Lord Mayor.—King's Speech.—Debates of the Movers and Seconders of the Addreſs in both Houſes of Parliament.—Mr. Windham's Character of Mr. Addington and his Colleagues.—Addreſs.—Remarks.

THE Britiſh hiſtorian is particularly called on to detail every thing that relates to the navy, at once the pride and ſecurity of the empire.

On the 16th of November, 1803, the Circe frigate, at three *p. m.* had the misfortune to ſtrike on the Lemon and Oar, whilſt in chace of a French privateer; the ſhock was ſo violent, that it tore away her rudder, and ſo damaged her keel, that ſhe immediately ſprung a leak. She did not remain long on this dangerous ſandbank, but was beat off by the violence of the waves into deep water, where ſhe was left to the mercy of the winds and ſurges, and quite unmanageable in conſequence of the loſs of her rudder. The leak gained ſo conſiderably, that every hand on board was employed at the pump, the officers with the utmoſt alacrity took their turn with the men; all their exertions, notwithſtanding, could ſcarce keep her above water. In this alarming ſituation, they continued till ſeven o'clock the next evening, when their ſtrength became nearly exhauſted, and almoſt every one reſigned himſelf to the fate that now ſeemed inevitable. Their ſignals at length luckily brought three fiſhing ſmacks to their aſſiſtance, which were prevented from reaching them ſooner, in conſequence of the boiſterous ſtate of the weather. The ſmacks immediately took the whole of the crew on board, in the moſt diſtreſſing ſituation, worn out with fatigue, and not able to ſave a ſingle article of their cloathing or any thing elſe. When all was ſafe on board, the captain requeſted they would not ſail immediately, till he ſaw the frigate go down, which happened about half an hour after they had quitted her. She went down head foremoſt. Not a word for ſome time was uttered by the gallant commander and his brave tars on this mournful occaſion. The fiſhing boats then made ſail for Yarmouth, where they arrived on Friday, the 18th of the ſame month, and put the crew on board the Repulſe, admiral Ruſſel's ſhip, where they experienced the moſt humane and hoſpitable attention. After the ſhip's company had been refreſhed, they were conſigned to the Galgo armed ſhip, and ſent to Sheerneſs.

Having taken a view of our foreign affairs, our domeſtic of courſe is entitled to the next place. As the ſtate of parties at this time ran high, and as the public opinion was very much divided on the ſubject, a pamphlet was publiſhed which arreſted the attention of almoſt every politician; as it was aſcribed to the pen of a writer, who was allowed to be well acquainted with the topics in all its branches. An extract or two from this publication will enable the reader to draw his own deductions, and to judge of the negociation between Mr. Addington and Mr. Pitt.

The great object of the writer was to juſtify the reſignation of Mr. Pitt and his friends, in the firſt inſtance, and to defend them againſt the charge of inconſiſtency, in departing from the ſupport which immediately after their reſignation (according to this writer) they gave to the adminiſtration of Mr. Addington. With reſpect to the firſt point, he ſays, "as far as was conſiſtent with their duty to their ſovereign, the miniſters did not heſitate to acquaint the public with the motives which had induced them to relinquiſh their ſituations. Feeling it (they ſaid) an incumbent duty on them to propoſe a meaſure on the part of government, which they thought of great public importance, when they met with circumſtances which rendered it impoſſible for them to propoſe it, as a meaſure of government, they felt it equally inconſiſtent with their duty and their honour, any longer to remain a part of that government." The ſecond point to which the writer adverts, was the promiſe given and withdrawn on the part of Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville, "of conſtant, zealous, and active ſupport of Mr. Addington." The author admits, that ſuch a promiſe was given, but inſiſts that it was merely conditional, obſerving, that to give any body of men a promiſe of a conſtant ſupport, let their conduct be what it would, was as inconſiſtent with every idea of public duty, as it certainly was with common ſenſe or common honeſty. The ſupport, he adds, was promiſed by the ex-miniſters, in conſequence of their ſucceſſors having "both publicly and privately profeſſed their intention

met every where, not ſome bodies and profeſſions of men only rallied round the banners of their country, but whole cities raiſed at the ſignal of the country's being endangered, and making the air reſound with their patriotic ſongs and hymns, in celebration of liberty. The man whom his zeal, and ſometimes his modeſty placed in the ranks, where age, talent, and merit mingled promiſcuouſly, knew well it was not to defend the military trappings of his captain, that he abandoned his wife and children, that he expoſed his life, and ſhed his blood. Another motive, perhaps, ſtill more forcible, called them to arms. The neceſſity of emerging from that inſignificance, into which a degenerate race had plunged all France, and of diſputing with hereditary and privileged orders, that might and importance which ought to belong to merit only. This is the grand principle which raiſed by one movement the great nation; this is what recruited for a long time an army, which at firſt conſiſting of above a million of men, was uniformly and eaſily preſerved in a ſtate able to meet the dangers and neceſſities of the country." *Moniteur*, November 18th, 1803.

tention of continuing to act upon the same general system, which had been adopted by their predecessors;" but their subsequent conduct, he insists, was "a departure from the principles upon which that support was offered," and "afforded a proof of the incapacity of ministers sufficient to authorize and require a systematic opposition. The next topic of which the author treated, was the negociation that took place in March, for the re-admission of Mr. Pitt into the councils of his majesty, which negociation he thus describes.

"Towards the end of March, or at the beginning of April, upon the eve of the war, after it was distinctly known to Mr. Addington, that Mr. Pitt strongly disapproved of some of the leading measures of his government, and after an overture had been made on the part of Mr. Addington, too foolish, I had almost said, too insulting to be noticed, a distinct proposition (originating, not, as has been insinuated, with Lord Melville, but entirely with Mr. Addington himself) was made to Mr. Pitt, the object of which was his return to the official station he formerly held in the administration; and, as I understand, the arrangement was to have taken place whenever the negociation, then pending with France should have been brought to a conclusion. It was also signified, that vacancies would be made for the purpose of admitting Lord Melville into the cabinet, and some other of Mr. Pitt's friends, into different official situations. To this proposition Mr. Pitt replied, that he would not enter upon the question of arrangement, *until he was distinctly informed by a message from the highest quarter, that his services were thought essential;* that if so called upon, in spite of the precarious state of his health, he should not decline the offer of his best advice and assistance; that he was fully aware of the great and encreasing difficulties of the country, and that he saw the necessity of a *strong, vigorous,* and *efficient government*; that if called upon by his majesty, he should feel it to be his duty to propose an administration, consisting principally of the members of the present (Mr. Addington's) and of the late (his own) administration; that in the general arrangement which he should submit for his majesty's consideration, he should, if they assented, include the Lords Grenville and Spencer; that he should press no person whatever upon his majesty, only reserving to himself the power of declining the undertaking altogether, if he could not form such a government as would enable him, in his judgment, to conduct the affairs of the nation, with a fair probability of success. No *sine qua non* was insisted upon. All that Mr. Pitt required was, that he should be at liberty to submit to his majesty whatever he thought best for his majesty's service, unfettered by any previous condition, and he positively declined committing himself upon the question of particular arrangements, until his majesty's pleasure had been distinctly signified unto him.

"Such I may venture to assert was the substance and spirit of Mr. Pitt's conduct through the whole of the transaction. What was that of Mr. Addington? in bringing forward the proposition of which I have spoken, he endeavoured to make it a preliminary, that Lord Grenville should not, in the first instance, be included in any arrangement whatever. His majesty of course was not advised to send to Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Addington's proposition fell to the ground."

As this statement of the negociation remains uncontradicted, it is so far a proof of correctness. Mr. Pitt and his friends undoubtedly called for a *strong, vigorous,* and *efficient government*, as the only means of saving the country: how far that call has been accomplished, will be the subject of future observation*.

On the ninth of November, John Perring, esquire, was sworn into the office of Lord Mayor, in the Exchequer Chamber,—the chief baron's (Macdonald) address to his lordship on that occasion, was truly solemn and impressive. "It is impossible," said the chief baron, "but that men must feel uncommon anxiety in whom the tranquillity and repose of a vast metropolis rests. In ordinary times, he must forego many domestic enjoyments he would otherwise participate in, as his necessary attention to the criminal justice of the country would occupy a considerable portion of his time. If so, what must be the duties at present! the keys of the metropolis are placed in your hands, at a moment when the enemy are at your gates." Having taken a view of the state of the country, the means of its defence, and the patriotic efforts of all ranks, the chief baron concluded in these words: "It must afford you great satisfaction, that the city of London is placed in a posture of defence fully equal to the purpose for which it was raised: such a scene was never before exhibited, a band of British freemen embodied and trained to arms, determined to transmit to posterity their rights,

* In this situation of things, it was natural that the administration should look to some means of strengthening themselves in parliament, and of retrieving the ground they had lost in the estimation of the public; among whom a sense of their insufficiency had, for sometime past been rapidly, though silently growing up. There were in parliament, three leading descriptions of public men, unconnected with the existing ministry, from each of whom separately, ministers had much to apprehend; and whose union, even if it could be effected for that single object, would manifestly be at any moment sufficient to overthrow the whole system of Mr. Addington's government. Of these it was generally understood, that the party at the head of which Mr. Pitt was placed, though much dissatisfied with the conduct of ministers, was however less alienated from them than those with whom either Mr. Fox or Lord Grenville acted. To Mr. Pitt, therefore, ministers made their overtures. *Dodsley's Annual Register for* 1803, p. 214.

their

their franchiſes, nay, every thing that is dear to man, or nobly periſh in defence of ſuch invaluable bleſſings."

At the approach of the ſeſſion of parliament, public curioſity was anxious to know if the reports of the coalitions and ſeceſſions of parties, which were in circulation, had any foundation in truth. Several members of the *old oppoſition* had on many important queſtions ſupported the miniſter, (Mr. Addington) particularly Mr. Sheridan. That gentleman was well aware, that it was not a time to haraſs adminiſtration with wanton and vexatious oppoſition. The ſituation of the country, the magnitude of the conteſt in which we were engaged, called for the united talents and authority of ALL. This ſeemed to be the general wiſh, and it was hoped that it would be gratified.

On the twenty-ſecond of November, his Majeſty opened the parliament, with the following moſt gracious ſpeech*:

" *My Lords and Gentlemen*,

" Since I laſt met you in parliament, it has been my chief object to carry into effect thoſe meaſures which your wiſdom had adopted for the defence of the united kingdom, and for the vigorous proſecution of the war. In theſe preparations, I have been ſeconded by the voluntary exertions of all ranks of my people, in a manner that has, if poſſible, ſtrengthened their claims to my confidence and affection; they have proved that the menaces of the enemy have only ſerved to rouſe their native and hereditary ſpirit; and that all other conſiderations are loſt in a general diſpoſition to make thoſe efforts and ſacrifices which the honour and ſafety of the kingdom demand at this important and critical conjuncture. Though my attention has principally been directed to the great object of internal ſecurity, no opportunity has been loſt of making an impreſſion on the foreign poſſeſſions of the enemy. The iſlands of St. Lucia, of Tobago, of St. Pierre, and Miquelon, and the ſettlements of Demerara and Eſſequibo, have ſurrendered to the Britiſh arms. In the conduct of the operations by which thoſe valuable acquiſitions have been made, the utmoſt promptitude and zeal have been diſplayed by the officers employed on thoſe ſervices, and by my forces acting under their command by ſea and land. In Ireland, the leaders, and ſeveral inferior agents, in the late traitorous and atrocious conſpiracy, have been brought to juſtice; and the public tranquillity has experienced no further interruption. I indulge the hope, that ſuch of my deluded ſubjects as have ſwerved from their allegiance, are now convinced of their error, and that having compared the advantages they derive from the protection of a free conſtitution, with the condition of thoſe countries which are under the dominion of the French government, they will cordially and zealouſly concur in reſiſting any attempt that may be made againſt the ſecurity and independence of my united kingdom.

" *Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*,

" I have a perfect reliance on your public ſpirit for making ſuch proviſion as may be neceſſary for the ſervice of the year. The progreſſive improvement of the revenue cannot fail to encourage you to perſevere in the ſyſtem which has been adopted, of defraying the expences of the war, with as little addition as poſſible to the public debt, and to the permanent burthens of the ſtate. I lament the heavy preſſure which, under the preſent circumſtances, muſt unavoidably be experienced by my people; but I am perſuaded that they will meet it with the good ſenſe and fortitude which ſo eminently diſtinguiſh their character, under a conviction of the indiſpenſable importance of upholding the dignity, and of providing effectually for the ſafety of the empire.

" *My Lords, and Gentlemen*,

" I have concluded a convention with the king of Sweden, for the purpoſe of adjuſting all the differences which have ariſen on the ſubject of the eleventh article of the treaty of 1661. I have directed that a copy of this convention ſhould be laid before you; and you will, I truſt, be of opinion that the arrangement,

* In the courſe of a few days, a long ſtring of remarks appeared in the Moniteur, on his majeſty's ſpeech; one or two will ſerve as a ſpecimen.

" As to the preſumptuous threat of which the king of England accuſes his enemies, it would certainly puzzle his miniſters to quote them. When did the firſt conſul, who has the ſole direction of all the military diſpoſitions, ſay, that it was his intention to ſend an army into England? He has hitherto ſaid only, there ſhall be an encampment at the Texel, Oſtend, St. Omer's, Breſt, Bayonne; and the army has been encamped accordingly. Cannot then, during war, troops be aſſembled in camps, without executing preſumptuous threats?

" You admit that the French may penetrate into the heart of England. On this ſuppoſition, you offer to your people the defence of your head and hand, and you aſſure them, in a prophetic tone, that the conſequence will be to the French army, " diſcomfiture, confuſion, and diſgrace." Granted; but what would you gain by it? the advantage which you will derive from it, will be " the glory of ſurmounting preſent difficulties;"—it was much eaſier not to occaſion ſuch difficulties, " of repelling immediate danger;" it was much ſafer not to expoſe yourſelves to that danger—" of fixing the ſafety and independence of the kingdom on the baſis of acknowledged ſtrength," but the treaty of Amiens had fixed the ſafety and independence of the kingdom of Great Britain;—" the reſult of its own tried energy and reſources." What! who ever doubted that your people, who rule both hemiſpheres, are rich, brave, and full of energy?

" Theſe expreſſions, " its own tried energy and reſources," ſhould indeed be heard over all Europe. Thus, it appears, that you fight merely to ſhew that you can fight, You load your people with taxes, to ſhew that you are rich. You inflict calamities on the exiſting generation, to prove that energy, which no perſon was deſirous of diſputing with you. Europe will decide whether ſuch ſentiments are the reſult of greatneſs, of wiſdom, or of folly.

rangement, whilſt it upholds our maritime rights, is founded on thoſe principles of reciprocal advantage which are beſt calculated to maintain and improve the good underſtanding which happily ſubſiſts between the two countries. In the proſecution of the conteſt in which we are engaged, it ſhall be, as it has ever been, my firſt object to execute as becomes me, the great truſt committed to my charge. Embarked with my brave and loyal people in one common cauſe, it is my fixed determination, if the occaſion ſhould ariſe, to ſhare their exertions and their dangers in defence of our conſtitution, our religion, our laws, and independence. To the activity and valour of my fleets and armies, to the zeal and unconquerable ſpirit of my faithful ſubjects, I confide the honour of my crown, and all thoſe intereſts which are involved in the iſſue of this momentous conteſt. Actuated by theſe ſentiments, and humbly imploring the bleſſing of Divine Providence, I look forward with a firm conviction, that if, contrary to all juſt expectation, the enemy ſhould elude the vigilance of my numerous fleets and cruizers, and attempt to execute their preſumptuous threat of invading our coaſts, the conſequence will be to them, diſcomfiture, confuſion, and diſgrace; and that our's will not only be the glory of ſurmounting preſent difficulties, and repelling immediate danger, but the ſolid and permanent advantage of fixing the ſafety and independence of the kingdom on the baſis of acknowledged ſtrength, the reſult of its own tried energy and reſources."

His Majeſty's ſpeech having been read by the Lord Chancellor, the Marquis of Sligo roſe to move the addreſs. His lordſhip ſaid, the unanimity which prevailed among all claſſes of men, on the principal topics in the ſpeech, would render it unneceſſary on his part to detain the houſe any time on the language in which their lordſhips ſhould addreſs his Majeſty. There were ſome points, however, on which he hoped their lordſhips would indulge him in the expreſſion of his feelings. The country, at the moment he was ſpeaking, exhibited a ſcene truly intereſting and glorious.—A nation in arms, not from the impulſe of revolutionary furor, not from any falſe principle of military glory, that urged to aggreſſion againſt unoffending ſtates; not from the ſtill fouler motives of rapacity and plunder, but armed for the ſole purpoſe of repelling unprovoked hoſtility, and in defence of its "conſtitution, religion, laws, and independence." But while the attention of his Majeſty's miniſters had been laudably directed to the moſt important object—the internal defence of the country, the various and important conqueſts enumerated in his Majeſty's ſpeech, proved that their activity and increaſing vigilance had been employed in digeſting and adopting the moſt effective meaſures abroad. Thoſe conqueſts were valuable to this country in a double point of view, firſt, as they tended to increaſe our commercial reſources, and ſecondly, as they cut of all hopes off the enemy, as to the permanency of a naval force in thoſe quarters. In addition to thoſe acquiſitions in the commencement off the war, care had been taken to block up the ſhattered remains of their navy which had eſcaped in the late hoſtilities. With reſpect to the ſituation of Ireland, he could ſpeak of it from perſonal and local knowledge; the government of that part of the united kingdom were entitled to the higheſt praiſe, for their vigiliance in detecting the moſt foul conſpiracy that ever diſgraced a nation, and for that ſound diſcretion that led them to temper juſtice with mercy, in the puniſhment of the conſpirators, which they did by reſorting to the ordinary operations of the law. His lordſhip dwelt for ſome time on the convention with Sweden, as one of thoſe treaties which promiſed to be permanent, becauſe it was founded in reciprocal advantages. His Majeſty's determination to ſhare the exertions and dangers of his people, was a ſentiment truly worthy of a patriotic prince. Its effects would be felt in future days.

The Earl of Limerick ſeconded the addreſs.—Having complimented his Majeſty's miniſters on their attention to the internal ſecurity of the country, they could then with perfect ſafety enter upon meaſures of external attack. With reſpect to Ireland, he highly approved of the ſteps which had been taken for the ſuppreſſion of rebellion in that kingdom. His lordſhip gave due praiſe to the Iriſh volunteers. The convention with Sweden put to reſt thoſe queſtions which had diſtracted the attention of miniſters during the laſt two wars, and of courſe that treaty could not fail to meet with the approbation of all the country.

The motion for the addreſs was then put and carried, *nem. con.*

In the houſe of commons, Mr. Cropley Aſhley moved the addreſs. He congratulated the houſe on the military enthuſiaſm of the country, and he was certain that gentlemen might repoſe with confidence on the courage, number, and diſcipline of the volunteers. The internal ſtate of the country was a ſubject, he was convinced, of the warmeſt exultation to all that heard him. Notwithſtanding this was a meaſure of the firſt conſequence, yet miniſters elſewhere availed themſelves of that immenſe power which was put into their hands. In the ſhort ſpace of four months, we had taken poſſeſſion of various ſettlements of the enemy, in the Weſt Indies, which in former wars had taken as many years to reduce. The honourable member having adverted to moſt of the topics contained in the ſpeech, obſerved, that the preſent conteſt was not produced by any ſpirit of aggrandizement or encroachment on the part of his Majeſty, but undertaken for the preſervation of the rights, the honour, and the independence of his ſubjects.

jects. The honourable gentleman then moved the address.

Mr. Burland seconded the motion. Having taken a view of Great Britain, "proudly lifting her head above those clouds of anarchy and confusion, which threatened her with destruction," he entreated the house to redouble, if possible, their exertions in defence of the country, and not to trust to any report that would tend to relax them; he was persuaded that Bonaparte was resolved to put his threat of invasion into execution, to be convinced of the truth of this, it was only necessary to contemplate the character of the man. He would only ask them, "if the chief consul ever promised or gave a pledge of the kind, which he did not perform?" He invaded Egypt at a moment he was at war with the whole world. He ruined the unfortunate Swiss and the Dutch at a period of peace; and he certainly would endeavour to do the same by Great Britain, unless her people, as one man, went forth to oppose and prevent him." When the honourable member came to speak of the volunteers, he contrasted the French and English armies. "In France, he saw the miserable conscripts dragged to fight the battles of their tyrant, while in Great Britain, nothing met the eye but volunteers, men who, from the noblest ardour and patriotic principles, had offered themselves as defenders of the constitution and this happy island." Having congratulated the house on the capture of the French and Dutch settlements in the West Indies and South America, he seconded the address.

Mr. Fox did not oppose the address—he said, he only wished to ask a question on a subject which had not been alluded to in the speech. After the war broke out, and during the last session, the secretary of state (Lord Hawkesbury) had given the most solemn assurances, that the mediation of the emperor of Russia between this country and France, if offered, would be accepted, and that if not offered, it would be solicited, he wished to know if this assurance had been followed up. As to Ireland, he was certain tranquillity could not be expected in that country, until an entire new system was acted upon.

Mr. Addington in reply to Mr. Fox's question, said, he had no hesitation in declaring that the mediation of Russia had been offered, but it did not hold out any prospect of adjustment between this country and France: the address was then carried *nem. con.*

On Wednesday, the twenty-third of November, Mr. Ashley brought up the report of the address, when Mr. Windham said he supported the address from a conviction that he was supporting the cause of his sovereign and his country, but in so doing, it was not to be construed into any the most distant support of his majesty's ministers, for such was the imbecility of administration, that he was ready to confess, that Bonaparte, and all his legions, did not appear to him so terrific as the men he then saw sitting on the treasury bench. They had not yet discovered that they were totally unfit for the situations they held, or the great and awful charge committed to their hands. He did not wish to speak of them in a disparaging manner; they were men in general of good education, strong natural endowments, and pretty well read in history, but that they were men fit and calculated "to guide the world in its wildest career," was very far from being the case, and he could almost predict, that the country would not survive their administration. They were the *Augusti* in whose hands the empire would fade and decay.

The report was then agreed to.

On Thursday, the twenty-fourth, the address was presented to his Majesty, to which his Majesty was graciously pleased to return the following answer:

"*Gentlemen*,

"I return you my warmest thanks for your dutiful and affectionate address. Such a declaration of your sentiments, at the present moment, cannot fail to afford me the highest satisfaction. I have the most perfect reliance on your support, and on the exertions of my faithful subjects, to bring the present contest to a successful and honourable issue."

The king's speech may be divided into two parts,—the first contained a plain statement of the principal events which had occurred since the last meeting of parliament, and the second, a well-grounded confidence of the success of this country, in case the enemy should attempt an invasion. There were no hopes held out of any assistance on the continent, or any assurances that his majesty would endeavour to form any alliances for that purpose. Every topic that might tend to provoke this discussion was omitted. The minister wished for unanimity, and wisely conceived that a plain recital of facts would be the best means of obtaining it. And surely if ever unanimity in both houses was necessary, it was peculiarly so on that occasion. As it would tend to damp the spirits of the enemy, when they found that the people were determined to risk their lives in defence of their country; that the war was popular, that the revenue was in a progressive state of improvement; and above all, that the chief promoters of the rebellion in Ireland, had forfeited their lives to the offended laws of the land. The only charge that could be brought against ministers, was a want of capacity. This was "the head and front of their offending;" and yet subsequent events have proved, that this charge was not well founded. Some men of experience out of doors, undoubtedly were not friendly to the blockading system. The wear and tear of our shipping, the difficulty that our fleets would experience in keeping their stations in tempestuous weather, particularly during the equinoxial

gales, with other matters of minor conſideration *, were matters of no ſmall importance.

The preliminary buſineſs of the houſe of commons being diſpoſed of, Mr. Addington obtained leave to bring in a bill to continue for a time to be limited, the acts already in force reſtricting the payment in caſh by the Bank of England. Having adverted to the expediency of the meaſure, he ſaid, he had the ſatisfaction to aſſure the houſe, that during all the period of the reſtriction, the credit of the bank had been conſpicuous, and entirely unimpaired. This in a great meaſure was to be aſcribed to the prudence of the directors, who had not iſſued notes beyond the extent of its capital. Mr. Jekyl obſerved, that the ſcarcity of SPECIE was ſo general a complaint, that he wiſhed miniſters would ſuggeſt ſome remedy for the inconvenience. Mr. Corry obtained leave at the ſame time to bring in a ſimilar bill for Ireland. In the committee of ſupply, one hundred thouſand ſeamen were voted for the ſervice of the navy, for thirteen lunar months; 2,450,000*l.* were voted for wages; 2,470,000*l.* for victuals; 3,930,000*l.* for wear and tear; and 325,000*l.* for naval ordnance.

CHAP. III.

Friendly Diſpoſition of Ruſſia towards Great Britain.—Surrender of Fort Dauphin and St. Marc in the Iſland of St. Domingo.—Humanity of the Britiſh Commanders on that Occaſion.—Eaſt India.—Sentiments of a French Writer on our Poſſeſſions in that Quarter.—Conduct of the Rulers of France.—Honduras, gallant Action of the Boats of the Atalanta.—Defenſive Arrangements on the Coaſt of Kent.—Prince of Wales's Speech on preſenting the Spelthorn Legion with their Colours. Tremendous Hurricane.—Loſs of the Shannon Frigate.—Affecting Account of Mr. Saunders.—Deſtructive Fires.

THE unanimity with which the ſupplies were voted in the houſe of commons for carrying on the war, and the cheerfulneſs with which the public burthens were borne by all ranks for that purpoſe, convinced the rulers of the French nation, that the ſpirit and reſources of the Britiſh empire roſe in proportion to the difficulties ſhe had to contend with. The French themſelves began to ſee that the Engliſh were not to be intimidated by thoſe inflated ſpeeches which had been addreſſed to the French ſoldiers and ſailors, by their commanders, nor yet by the viſits of Bonaparte to the coaſt, and the active preparations in all the ports of France and Holland, for the menaced invaſion. The French prints adopted a milder tone of language, when they found invective would not ſerve their turn. They ſeemed, however, to ſneer at the idea of England attempting to fight the *proud nation* ſingle-handed. As Bonaparte ſaw that the emperor of Ruſſia leaned to this country, he treated count Markoff, the Ruſſian ambaſſador, at firſt with coolneſs, and ſometimes with inſolence, eſpecially in the preſence of the foreign miniſters. The count was by no means mortified at this *peculiar mark of diſtinction*, as he called it; he wrote to his court, and was recalled. The chief conſul affected to make light of this matter, but from the conduct of Talleyrand, it ſhould ſeem, that Bonaparte began to repent that he had carried his inſolence to ſuch a height to the repreſentative of a powerful court, and a young monarch, who could not forget the indignities offered to him in the perſon of his ambaſſador. Talleyrand waited on count Markoff, a few days previous to his departure, apologized for ſome haſty expreſſions which his *maſter* had made uſe of,—but all his apologies and proteſtations of eſteem and friendſhip for the court of St. Peterſburgh had no effect. The firſt conſul was doubly mortified on this occaſion, he ſaw that this circumſtance put an end to all the hopes which he had entertained of being able to ſtand fair with Alexander the Firſt; and ſecondly, that it would throw all the good wiſhes of that prince into the Engliſh ſcale. This latter conſideration, no doubt, affected him more than all, for it is probable that he thought at one time that he would be able through intrigue, to alienate the good will of the continental powers from this country, as a proof of this, witneſs the abuſe that was poured on the king of Sweden, in conſequence of the convention which his majeſty concluded with our ſovereign. A ſhort time previous to this ſuſpenſion of all communications between the courts of St. Peterſburgh and the Thuilleries; the emperor of Ruſſia had offered his mediation between Great Britain and France. It is ſaid on good authority, that the propoſals of peace ſubmitted by Ruſſia on this occaſion, were founded

* When Lord Howe blockaded Breſt, in 1794, he was not able to prevent the French fleet from ſtealing out in the month of May, nor the entrance of a French convoy from America into that port. In the year 1795, Lord Bridport was unable to blockade Breſt in the ſpring. The French fleet put to ſea, and chaſed a ſmall ſquadron under admiral Cornwallis, who by his great ſkill, and able diſpoſitions, out-manœuvred a ſuperior force. In December 1796, a French fleet ſailed from Breſt, and anchored in Bantry Bay. In 1797, admiral Richery, with his ſquadron, eſcaped the vigilance of our cruizers. In autumn 1798, a ſquadron eſcaped from Breſt, and carried general Humbert, and his force, to Ireland. In 1799, admiral Bruix eſcaped with a large diviſion from Breſt to Toulon, formed a junction with a Spaniſh ſquadron, and returned with them to Breſt.

on four points, namely, Lampedoſa was to be ceded to England in lieu of Malta, the independence to be guaranteed by the ſtates bordering on France, *viz.* the Italian republic, Holland, and Switzerland; the indemnity of the king of Sardinia; and a general congreſs of the powers of Europe, the firſt conſul, however, is ſaid to have anſwered, that England muſt not be truſted with any poſſeſſion in the Mediterranean, except Gibraltar; that the dependance of ſtates on the frontiers of France was the natural conſequence of her ſuperiority; that the conduct of the king of Sardinia did not entitle him to any remuneration, on the part of France; and that if a general congreſs were to be held, its object ſhould be only to reviſe the maritime code of nations. Whatever might have been the propoſitions on the part of the mediative power, it does not appear that any attempt was made to modify them, as to render them palatable to either party, ſo that the affair fell to the ground. The following paper was ſoon after circulated on the Continent, as the ſubſtance of the anſwer given by the Britiſh government to theſe propoſitions. "That his Britannic majeſty, being ever actuated by a ſincere deſire for peace, would have entertained with ſatisfaction, the mediation of his Imperial majeſty, on the grounds on which it was propoſed, had the conduct of France furniſhed a proſpect of effectuating an accommodation on principles of equity and honour. But the Britiſh nation having by extraordinary ſacrifices, placed itſelf in a great and impoſing ſtate of warfare, his majeſty could not, conſiſtent with his dignity and intereſt, relax in its vigorous proſecution, until he had obtained ample ſecurity againſt the hoſtile views of France."

It does not appear that either Auſtria or Pruſſia intereſted themſelves in this mediation; nor is it evident that either one or the other would profit by the accompliſhment of it. It is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe they did not wiſh that the emperor of Ruſſia ſhould intermix with European politics. From being a mediator, ſuch a coloſſal power might become a dictator. They had an example of this in the days of Peter the Firſt *, when Ruſſia was enveloped in barbariſm, and ſcarce one-third as extenſive and populous as it is at preſent †. Pruſſia eſpecially muſt view with a jealous eye, the augmentation of a power, that was even dreaded by Frederick the Great ‡, ſo that it is not probable theſe powers will enter into any confederacy againſt France, unleſs kindled at length into indignation by the inſolence of its rulers.

Every attention was paid by government to the Weſt India iſlands, though little apprehenſion was entertained for their ſafety, as the French and Dutch navies were ſo crippled, that they could not ſend out any force againſt any one of them. Our forces in the plantations amounted to thirty-eight thouſand ſix hundred and thirty men, a number ſufficient, if properly diſtributed, to guard even againſt ſurprize. So that miniſters, by placing our colonies in a ſtate of ſafety, were enabled to turn their attention to the remaining dependencies of the mother country. The Gazette of the tenth of December 1803, announced the ſurrender of the garriſons of *Port Dauphin* and *St. Marc*, in the iſland of St. Domingo, and ſeveral veſſels of war to the ſquadron employed in the blockade of different parts of that colony.

The garriſon of *St. Marc* was reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs. They had ſubſiſted for ſome time on horſe-fleſh. General Deſſalines § was on the point of putting the whole to death, when Captain Watkins, of the Vanguard, humanely interpoſed, and offered to take them on board, which he did, and treated them with a humanity highly honourable to the Britiſh character. Port Dauphin ſurrendered to Captain Bligh, of the Theſeus. This gallant officer having learned from the priſoners, that their general Dumont and his *ſuite*, had fallen into the hands of the blacks, and that they were in the moſt imminent danger of their lives, he was induced from motives of humanity, to ſolicit their freedom from the chief of the people, and with much difficulty obtained it. Previous to the ſurrender of Port Dauphin, the boats of the Theſeus cut out of the harbour the national corvette *La Sageſſe*, from under a heavy fire of the batteries; and the boats of the *Deſirée* frigate cut out from Monte Chriſte, the ſchooner *L'Amiable Sophie*. The only loſs ſuſtained in all theſe engagements, was that of the *Garland* frigate, off Cape François. The crew was happily ſaved. The conduct of our officers and ſeamen throughout the whole of this tranſaction, is entitled to the higheſt praiſe. The ſurrender of theſe garriſons were of little eſtimation in the grand ſcale of conqueſt, but the number of unhappy men that were ſnatched from the hands of thoſe that were impatient to imbrue them in their blood, was the ſole

motive

* Peter the Firſt, under the pretext of protecting Auguſtus II. opened a way for his ſucceſſors to invade and diſmember that unhappy country.

† Such is the extent of the Ruſſian empire at preſent, that it is computed by the lateſt ſtatiſtical ſurveys at two-ſeventhſ of the habitable globe, and their late conqueſts in Perſia, have added ſix millions to the population of the emperor's hereditary ſtates, and in all probability, the whole of Aſia Minor will fall into his hands in a very ſhort time.

‡ In 1774, Frederick the Great ſaid, "Ruſſia ought to fix the attention of Pruſſia beyond all the reſt of the neighbouring powers, becauſe ſhe is powerful, and ſhe is her neighbour. *Hiſtory of my own Times*, vol. ii. p. 52.

§ The black general, a native of St. Domingo, whoſe perſonal bravery and addreſs, for which he is ſolely indebted to nature, has been raiſed to the rank of emperor of Hayti, the original Indian name for that iſland.

motive that led to the enterprize, and perhaps humanity never obtained a more brilliant victory. The Moniteur which had poured out ſuch torrents of abuſe againſt the Engliſh nation, pauſed, when this account reached France, and acknowledged that "the Britiſh ſeamen were as humane as they were confeſſedly brave." Our ſucceſſes in the Weſt Indies were cloſed for the year 1803, with this laſt glorious action, for ſuch it will be deemed even by our enemies.

Bonaparte could not conceal his deſign on our poſſeſſions in the Eaſt *, immediately on the concluſion of the peace of Amiens, the chief conſul ſent out a ſquadron to Pondicherry, under the command of admiral *Linois*, when queſtioned by our ambaſſador as to the ſailing of that fleet, he ſmiled, and ſaid, it was with a view of proſecuting diſcoveries in aſtronomy and natural hiſtory, and that thoſe who were called officers, were no other than naturaliſts and aſtronomers—but it appeared by letters received from Bombay, December the fifteenth, that the ſquadron conſiſted of one ſhip of the line, with three frigates, and ſeveral tranſports, with between two and three thouſand troops.

Notwithſtanding the court of Spain gave the warmeſt aſſurances of her amity for this country, and her wiſh to maintain all the relations of peace with our court, yet the Spaniſh captain-general of Yutacan, demanded the evacuation of the Engliſh ſettlement of Honduras. It was not difficult to ſee by the tone in which this demand was delivered, that it was made at the inſtance of Bonaparte, whoſe influence in the cabinet of Madrid, had now riſen to ſuch a height, that Spain might in every ſenſe of the word, be called a political province of France. The demand was refuſed, nor was it repeated.

The ſeverity of the weather interrupted our intercourſe with the northern powers. Our naval force was chiefly diſtributed into blockades, and retained their ſtations off Breſt and the Texel, in the midſt of all the boiſterous weather, to the admiration of the oldeſt ſeamen. It would be unpardonable to paſs over a gallant action performed at this time by the boats of his majeſty's ſloop *Atalante*, on the coaſt of France. Two ketches and a brig, part of a French convoy, running under the point of St. Guildas, were driven on ſhore off the mouth of the river Pennerf. Captain Mansfield (of the Atalante) having conſidered it poſſible to cut them out in the night, as the wind was directly off the ſhore, for this purpoſe he diſpatched lieutenant Hawkins, in a ſix-oared cutter, and Mr. Richard Burſtal, in a five-oared cutter, on that ſervice, after it became dark. About half-paſt nine, *p. m.* the boats got up to theſe veſſels, when lieutenant Hawkins boarded and took poſſeſſion of the in-ſhore veſſel, but found her a-ground; a number of troops along the ſhore, kept up a heavy fire of muſketry on his boat, aſſiſted by two field-pieces. After cutting her cable, and firing a conſiderable time on the other veſſel near him, he found it impoſſible to do any thing with her, and very properly left her to go to the aſſiſtance of the other boat, which had by this time boarded the brig, in defiance of a party of ten or twelve ſoldiers, with their muſkets and ſabres, killed ſix of the troops, hove two overboard, and drove the reſt with the crew below. After cutting her cable, finding ſhe was a-ground, and a light veſſel, they returned with both boats on board, not thinking proper, from motives of humanity, to ſet her on fire, as ſeveral people were heard below, ſuppoſed to be wounded.

The captains own words in the Gazette account, will place this action in its true point of view.

"When it is conſidered that Mr. Burſtal, the maſter, the ſerjeant of marines, and five other men boarded this veſſel, with ten ſoldiers on deck, with charged bayonets, and performed what they did, I truſt you will ſee and admire with me the very reſolute and gallant conduct of Mr. Burſtal, and the ſix brave fellows with him; indeed the officers and crews in both boats deſerve the higheſt praiſe, though unfortunately out of their power to bring the veſſels off, all three being faſt aground, within half a cable's length of the beach, and the ſhore covered with troops, keeping an inceſſant fire with their muſkets, and the two field-pieces on them."

The fate of Hanover, it was thought, would in-

§ "Mr. Herbier, a celebrated French writer, ſpeaking of France, ſays, "Our taſte and our neceſſities require the commodities of India. It is true, that they coſt us in India five or ſix millions: but if we purchaſe them from the Engliſh, they will coſt twice as much; and thus we ſhall incur a double loſs; we ſhall impoveriſh ourſelves, and enrich our rivals. Policy alſo demands the continuance of this trade. Britain owes her aſcendency in Europe to its great power in India; ſhe thence derives the reſources with which ſhe engages neighbouring ſtates to coincide in her views, and by whoſe aid ſhe menaces the liberty of the continent. France cannot ſuffer England excluſively to navigate the ſeas of India; it cannot abandon its ſettlements, its forts, and its factories there, by ceaſing to make uſe of them. If it gives up India, it muſt alſo quit its iſlands on the coaſt of Africa, which are ſo important to it in time of war. It is by means of multiplied and permanent relations with India, that our commerce there will acquire ſolidity and extent. It is by this regular and continued intercourſe, that we ſhall be able to gain a knowledge of and to conſult the intereſts of the Indian princes, to follow the courſe and viciſſitudes of their policy, to form advantageous connections with them, and to place ourſelves in a ſituation to profit by the chances of fortune, and to derive advantages from her inconſtancy".

Apprehenſions were entertained that the diſpoſitions of the preſident of the United States of America, were friendly to France. On the opening of the congreſs, however, in the month of October, it did not appear from Mr. Jefferſon's ſpeech, that any ſuch predelictiion exiſted; and from the debates which followed, it was evident that the Engliſh were conſidered as the favoured nation with the leading people of that republic.

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tereſt the king of Pruſſia, who certainly had it in his power either to lighten their burthens, or to reſtore them to their legitimate government; but it does not appear that his majeſty took any part in that queſtion. The foreign prints contained a declaration by his Britannic Majeſty, as elector of Hanover, in which he called on his Hanoverian miniſters to reſiſt, by every means in their power, the compulſory means employed by the French commandants to raiſe public money for the ſubſiſtence of their troops; as his majeſty declared "that he ſhould not think himſelf bound by any acts and proceedings, contrary to his own intereſt and that of his dominions." As Bonaparte ſaw that his power depended on the military, he of courſe reſorted to every meaſure that could attach them to him. He raiſed their pay, flattered their native vanity, and promoted thoſe that leaſt expected it. He alſo endeavoured to conciliate the affections of thoſe that viewed his aſcendency with a jealous eye. General Moreau, at the expreſs deſire of the chief conſul, was enrolled in the legion of honour, and received by the whole body with an enthuſiaſm that ran like electricity from rank to rank, and communicated to the populace, who had aſſembled to witneſs the enrollment of a general, whoſe hands were unſtained with either cruelty or plunder. The chief conſul affected to join in the plaudits, but it was eaſy to obſerve that his heart and his voice were not in uniſon. All the powers of the conſular government were directed againſt this country. Taxes, ſubſcriptions, the money voted for the repairs of roads, bridges, &c. was to be employed only for this purpoſe. The fortifications of Bruſſels, Louvaine, Dieſt, Tierlemont, Ghent, Axel, Lerneuſe, &c. were ordered to be aboliſhed, and the proceeds ariſing from the ſale of the materials to be put in the public purſe, in order to facilitate the invaſion of England. Two thouſand men were conſtantly employed at work in the improvements on the harbour of Boulogne.

To meet thoſe immenſe preparations our government were not inactive; plans, defenſive and offenſive, were adopted and carrying into execution. Every attention was paid to the recruiting and neceſſary diſcipline of the army; as may appear from the following general orders, publiſhed in the Gazette of the 2d of December.

It is his Majeſty's command, in caſe the enemy ſhould effect a landing in any part of the united kingdom, that all military officers (below the rank of general officers,) who do not belong to any particular regiments, ſhall report themſelves in perſon to the general officer commanding the diſtrict in which they are reſident; and the commander in chief requeſts, that all general officers not employed on the ſtaff, will immediately tranſmit their addreſſes to the adjutant-general."

Every place at which it was practicable for an enemy to land on the coaſt of Kent was planted with cannon, lined with military, regulars and militia. The foot-paths which the ſmugglers had cut on the cliffs to aſcend ſecretly with their illicit commodities were either cut entirely away or hewn in ſuch a manner, that only one man could come up at a time, and be expoſed to the fire of muſquetry from above in various directions. The pilot, fiſhing boats, &c. were fitted up as gun boats, ſo as to carry each an eighteen pounder carronade. Fifty of theſe lay at that time in Dover harbour in ſuch a ſtate of readineſs that they could all be equipped in a quarter of an hour, and manned with ſome of the beſt ſeamen in the univerſe, namely, the pilots and fiſhermen, who were brought up in ſtorms and dangers. It was calculated that between Margate and Dungineſs upwards of two hundred of theſe boats could be collected in the ſpace of a few hours by a ſignal along the coaſt. Their guns lay on the peirs and the quays, numbered and marked with the names of the boats and thoſe to whom they belonged, ready to be mounted in an inſtant. Some of them were placed as batteries, ready to be uſed as ſuch, ſhould any unexpected occaſion occur. New lines of defence were alſo erected at Eaſtware Bay, near Folkſtone, and manned by the Cinque Port volunteers, under the command of Colonel Pitt.

As the armed aſſociations throughout the united kingdom will always be conſidered as one of the nobleſt inſtances of patriotiſm, it is with pleaſure that we look back at a ſyſtem that was daily moulding into ſtrength and conſiſtency. On the 4th of December 1803, the colours of the Royal Spelthorne legion, under the command of the Duke of Clarence, were preſented to the corps by the Prince of Wales. His royal highneſs arrived on the ground (Aſhford Common) at three o'clock, eſcorted by the troop of the legion; the Kingſton volunteers attended as a guard of honour. His royal highneſs on preſenting the colours, expreſſed himſelf as follows:

"Volunteers! it is with the higheſt ſatisfaction I take upon me the honourable office of preſenting the Royal Spelthorne legion, this day, with their colours. When I view ſo reſpectable a corps, and conſider the high character attached to it, it would be ſuperfluous in me to point out thoſe duties and obligations which have been ſo fully exemplified in its conduct. When you behold theſe colours *(taking them in his hand)* they will remind you of the common cauſe in which you are engaged, for your king, your country, your religion, your laws, liberty, and property, your children and your wives; nay, in ſhort, for every thing dear to Engliſhmen. Accept, then, this pledge, this ſacred pledge, which you will take care to defend with your laſt drop of blood, and only reſign with your lives."

The effects of a tremendous gale at ſea, was peculiarly felt by this country. On the 20th of December in the afternoon the wind ſhifted to S. and then to S. S. E. and blew a perfect hurricane. The Rambler, a ſloop of war of ſixteen guns, which was anchored off the iſland of St. Nicholas, began to drive violently from her anchors, and drifted towards the ledge of rocks, near Oliver Cromwell's battery, off Mill Bay. She fired guns of diſtreſs a long time, which were repeated by the *Salvador del Mundi*, of one hundred and twelve guns, and ſignals made for aſſiſtance from the dock yards; but it blew ſo hard, and the ſea ran ſo high, no launch or boat could weather Devil's Point. At length the maſts of the Rambler were cut away, and letting go another anchor, ſhe rode a little eaſier, and aſſiſtance ſoon came from the dock yard, with ſpare anchors, cables, &c. ſhe was towed into Bampool, where ſhe lay for a day, and then went up the harbour to refit.

On the ſame day the Shannon, of thirty-ſix guns, near Cape la Hogue, received ſuch conſiderable damage in the hurricane, that the captain (Gower) was obliged to run her aſhore, in order to ſave the lives of her crew, who were taken priſoners and marched up the country. Our blockading ſquadron off Breſt and off Boulogne, were obliged to yield to the violence of the gale, but reſumed their reſpective ſtations as ſoon as the ſtorm ſubſided. Mr. G. Saunders, a reſpectable fiſherman and pilot, belonging to Torbay, ventured out with four of his apprentices in the morning in an open boat, to preſerve his herring nets, which were moored at the north part of the bay; while in the act of laying hold of the nets, a violent ſea ſtruck the boat, and overſet her; they were all ſeen ſtruggling in the water for ſome time, when three of them ſunk. Mr. Saunders, and his eldeſt apprentice, remained on an oar half an hour after, when the young man was alſo waſhed off and drowned. The maſter, being a remarkably active and ſtrong man, and an excellent ſwimmer, continued on the oar for near half an hour longer, the ſea running mountains high, and no boat being able to go to his aſſiſtance. The ſurgeon at the hoſpital of Parington, and others on the beach, anxiouſly waiting his ſwimming in, when three tremendous ſeas ſucceſſively ſtruck off the oar, which he ſo often regained; at laſt, his ſtrength being exhauſted, he quitted his hold, the oar came on ſhore, and he, on the land waſh, ſunk to riſe no more. A large tier of ſhips were driven from their moorings at Shadwell, and received much injury; every other part of the river experienced more or leſs from the ſame cauſe. The ſtorm extended to the land. Almoſt every new building along the Suſſex coaſt was levelled with the ground. A conſiderable part of the ancient wall which ſurrounded the old park at Canonbury, was blown down; and part of the royal ſtandard was blown from Windſor Caſtle.

In the metropolis many chimnies were blown down, and ſome houſes nearly unroofed. To this calamitous viſitation of Providence may be added that of fires.

On the 2d of December, about two o'clock in the morning, a fire was diſcovered in the long range of auction rooms, manufactories and warehouſes, between Frith-ſtreet and Dean-ſtreet, Soho. On the firſt alarm, the manufactory of Jackſon and Moſer, furniſhing ironmongers, and the workſhops of Jameſon and Willes, coachmakers, appeared to be in flames.

The drums of the St. James's and royal Weſtminſter volunteers, immediately beat to arms, and detachments of theſe valuable corps haſtened with the moſt commendable alacrity to lend their aſſiſtance in ſubduing the flames, and in protecting the property of thoſe perſons who were ſuffering from this calamity. It was nearly two hours, however, before water could be procured in ſufficient quantities to ſupply the engines, now collected from every quarter of the town. In the mean time the flames were raging with uncontroulable fury.

Adjoining to the buildings already on fire, were the large furniture repoſitories of Meſſrs. Hemmings and Weſtwood, extending from Frith to Dean-ſtreet; the ſchool room of the Frith-ſtreet academy; a large auction room in the rear of Compton-ſtreet; and the back warehouſes, full of goods, belonging to Mr. Burd, furniſhing ironmonger, alſo of Compton-ſtreet, all of which ſoon formed one general maſs of conflagration. From theſe premiſes the flames directed their rapid courſe to the dwelling houſe of Mr. Ram, upholſterer, in Compton-ſtreet, which was ſoon conſumed. At this time, the wind changing from due north to near ſouth-weſt, the flames avoiding, as if by miracle, the corner houſe in Compton-ſtreet, communicated to the weſt ſide of Frith-ſtreet, where ſeveral houſes were reduced to aſhes.

It is calculated that this month (December) was unhappily diſtinguiſhed by more deſtructive fires than at any other period for years paſt. The manſion houſe of Nanſwydden, the beautiful ſeat of the Rev. Mr. Hoblyn, accidentally caught fire in the dead of the night. The alarm was inſtantly given, and it was with much difficulty the family eſcaped. This elegant fabric, the fineſt in Cornwall, was in the courſe of a few hours reduced to aſhes. It was built by the late Robert Hoblyn, Eſq. member of parliament for Briſtol; was eighteen years in building, and coſt upwards of thirty thouſand pounds. The lead on the roof coſt one thouſand pounds. Dr. Borlaſe, in his Natural Hiſtory of Cornwall, has given a plate of this once ſtately pile. The furniture, which was ſuited to the magnificence of the dwelling,

dwelling, was entirely conſumed, as well as the paintings, which were executed by ſome of the moſt juſtly admired pencils. But the irreparable loſs was the library, which was filled with ſome of the moſt ſcarce and valuable books in ancient and modern languages, arranged under the different claſſes of uſeful and ornamental literature. A ſplendid catalogue of this invaluable collection, the reſearch of many years, was printed in two large volumes octavo in 1769.

On the 13th of December, about four o'clock in the afternoon, an alarm was given that the cotton mill in the Gorbels, a village near Glaſgow, the property of Meſſrs. M'Kerlie and Mr. Taggart, was on fire. From the inflammable nature of the materials the whole of the building, in the courſe of an hour, was wrapped in flame; ſo that all hopes of ſaving any of the cotton or machinery, was in vain. The principal attention was then to prevent the communication of the flames with the buildings in that quarter, as the wind blew directly towards a line of thatched houſes, inhabited by a number of poor induſtrious people, who would have been thrown on the benevolence of the public if every precaution had not been taken to extinguiſh the ſparks that flew in that direction. The magiſtrates of Glaſgow, with a large detachment of the Sterlingſhire militia, attended, and gave every aſſiſtance in their power. It continued to burn with unabating fury for ſeveral hours, till the whole of the building at length fell in with a tremendous craſh.

CHAP. IV.

Correſpondence between his Majeſty and the Prince of Wales.—Proceedings in Parliament continued. Iriſh Martial Law Bill.—Mr. Windham's attack on Miniſters.—Iriſh Government defended.—Enquiry into the State of Ireland, recommenced by different Members—as the only Mode of reſtoring Tranquility to that Country.—Volunteer Exemption Bill.

IN the courſe of this month a royal correſpondence appeared in the public prints, on a ſubject of ſuch extreme delicacy as to preclude all comment. On the 18th of July 1803, his royal highneſs the Prince of Wales addreſſed a letter to Mr. Addington. In which his highneſs ſays, the immediate danger with which the kingdom was threatened "preſſed ſo heavily on his mind," that he felt it impoſſible "to withhold or delay an explicit ſtatement of his feelings." The elevation of ſentiment, and the patriotic ſpirit which this letter breathes, cannot be conveyed in more claſſical or appropriate language than that of the royal writer.

"Animated by the ſame ſpirit," ſays his highneſs, "which pervades the nation at large; conſcious of the duties which I owed to his majeſty and the country, I ſeized the earlieſt opportunity to expreſs my deſire of undertaking the reſponſibility of a military command."

The prince then ſtates that the chief pretenſions on which he founded this wiſh were on a ſenſe of thoſe advantages which his example might produce to the ſtate, by exciting the loyal energies of the nation; and a knowledge of thoſe expectations, which the public had a right to form, as to the perſonal exertions of their princes, at a moment big with danger.

"The more elevated," adds he, "my ſituation is, ſo much the efforts of zeal became neceſſarily greater; and I confeſs, that if duty had not been ſo paramount, a reflection on the ſplendid atchievements of my predeceſſors would have excited in me the ſpirit of emulation: when, however, in addition to ſuch recollections, the nature of the conteſt in which we are about to engage was impreſſed on my conſideration, I ſhould, indeed, have been devoid of every virtuous ſentiment, if I felt no reluctance in remaining a paſſive ſpectator of armaments, which have for their object the exiſtence of the Britiſh empire.

"Thus was I influenced to make my offer of ſervice; and I did imagine, that his majeſty's miniſters would have attached to it more value; but when I find, that, from ſome unknown cauſe, my appointment ſeems to remain ſo long undetermined: when I feel myſelf expoſed to the obloquy of being regarded by the country as paſſing my time indifferent to the events which menace, and inſenſible to the call of patriotiſm, much more of glory, it then behoves me to examine my rights, and to remind his majeſty's miniſters, that the claim which I have advanced is ſtrictly conſtitutional, and juſtified by precedent; and that, in the preſent ſituation of Europe, to deny my exerciſing it, is fatal to my own immediate honour, and the future intereſt of the crown.

"I can never forget that I have ſolemn obligations impoſed on me by my birth, and that I ſhould ever ſhew myſelf as foremoſt in contributing to the preſervation of the country. The time is arrived when I may prove myſelf ſenſible of the duties of my ſituation, and of evincing my devotion to that ſovereign, who, by nature as well as public worth, commands my moſt affectionate attachment."

Mr. Addington, in anſwer, acquaints his royal highneſs that he laid the letter before his majeſty, and that he had it in command from his majeſty to inform his royal highneſs that "the king had referred Mr. Addington to the orders he had before given him, with the addition, that the king's opinion being fixed, he deſired that no farther mention ſhould be made to him upon the ſubject."

The

The following letters are of ſo intereſting a nature that the inſertion of them at full length cannot but be acceptable to the reader, as the omiſſion or abridgment of a ſingle paſſage would deprive them of that connection, which ſo peculiarly diſtinguiſhes the whole.

LETTER TO THE KING.

" SIR,

" A correſpondence has taken place between Mr. Addington and myſelf, on a ſubject which deeply involves my honour and character; the anſwer which I have received from that gentleman; the communication which he has made to the houſe of commons, leave me no hope, but in an appeal to the juſtice of your majeſty. I make that appeal with confidence, becauſe I feel that you are my natural advocate, and with the ſanguine hope, that the ears of an affectionate father may ſtill be opened to the ſupplications of a dutiful ſon.

" I aſked to be allowed to diſplay the beſt energies of my character; to ſhed the laſt drop of my blood in ſupport of your majeſty's perſon, crown, and dignity; for this is not a war for empire, glory, or dominion, but for exiſtence. In this conteſt, the loweſt and humbleſt of your majeſty's ſubjects have been called on. It would, therefore, little become me, who am the firſt, and who ſtand at the very footſtool of the throne, to remain a tame, an idle, a lifeleſs ſpectator of the miſchiefs which threaten us, unconſcious of the dangers which ſurround, and indifferent to the conſequences which may follow. Hanover is loſt; England is menaced with invaſion; Ireland is in rebellion; Europe is at the foot of France. At ſuch a moment, the Prince of Wales, yielding to none of your ſervants in zeal and affection, to none of your ſubjects in duty, to none of your children in tenderneſs and affection, preſumes to approach you, and again to repeat thoſe offers which he has already made to your majeſty's miniſters. A feeling of honeſt ambition, a ſenſe of what I owe to myſelf and to my family; and, above all, the fear of ſinking in the eſtimation of that gallant army, which may be the ſupport of your crown, and my beſt hope hereafter, command me to perſevere, and to aſſure your majeſty, with all humility and reſpect, that, conſcious of the juſtice of my claim, no human power can ever induce me to relinquiſh it.

" Allow me to ſay, Sir, that I am bound to adopt this line of conduct by every motive dear to me as a man, and ſacred to me as a prince. Ought I not to come forward in a moment of unexampled difficulty and danger? ought I not to ſhare in the glory and victory, when I have every thing to loſe by defeat? The higheſt places in your majeſty's ſervice are filled by the younger branches of the royal family; to me alone no place is aſſigned; I am not thought worthy to be even the junior major-general of your army? If I could ſubmit in ſilent ſubmiſſion to ſuch indignities, I ſhould indeed deſerve ſuch treatment, and prove, to the ſatisfaction of your enemies and my own, that I am entirely incapable of thoſe exertions which my birth, and the circumſtances of the times, peculiarly call for. Standing ſo near the throne, when I am debaſed, the cauſe of royalty is wounded. I cannot ſink in the public opinion, without the participation of your majeſty in my degradation; therefore every motive of private feeling, and of public duty, induce me to implore your majeſty to review your deciſion, and to plcae me in that ſituation which my birth, the duties of my ſtation, the example of my predeceſſors, and the expectations of the people of England, entitle me to claim.

" Should I be diſappointed in the hope which I have formed; ſhould this laſt appeal to the juſtice of my ſovereign, and the affection of my father, fail of ſucceſs, I ſhall lament in ſilent ſubmiſſion his determination; but Europe, the world, and poſterity, muſt judge between us.

" I have done my duty; my conſcience acquits me; my reaſon tells me that I was perfectly juſtified in the requeſt which I have made, becauſe no reaſonable arguments have ever been adduced in anſwer to my pretenſions; the precedents in our hiſtory are in my favour; but if they are not, the times in which we live, and eſpecially the exigencies of the preſent moment, require us to become an example to our poſterity.

" No other cauſe of refuſal has, or can be aſſigned, except that it was the will of your majeſty; to that will and pleaſure I bow with every degree of humility and reſignation; but I can never ceaſe to complain of the ſeverity which has been exerciſed againſt me, and the injuſtice which I have ſuffered, till I ceaſe to exiſt.

" I have the honour to ſubſcribe myſelf,
" With all poſſible devotion,
" Your majeſty's
" Moſt dutiful and affectionate
" Son, and ſubject,
(Signed) " G. P."

Brighthelmſtone, Aug. 6, 1803.

LETTER FROM THE KING.

" MY DEAR SON,

" Though I applaud your zeal and ſpirit, of which, I truſt, no one can ſuppoſe any of my family wanting, yet, conſidering the repeated declarations I have made of my determination on your former applications to the ſame purpoſe, I had flattered myſelf to have heard no farther on the ſubject.

" Should

" Should the implacable enemy ſo far ſucceed as to land, you will have an opportunity of ſhewing your zeal at the head of your regiment; it will be the duty of every man to ſtand forward on ſuch an occaſion, and I ſhall certainly think it mine to ſet an example, in defence of every thing that is dear to me, and to my people.

" I ever remain,

" MY DEAR SON,

" Your moſt affectionate father,

(Signed) " GEORGE R."

Windſor, Aug. 7, 1803.

" *Brighthelmſtone, Aug.* 23, 1803.

" SIR,

" I have delayed thus long an anſwer to the letter which your majeſty did me the honour to write, from a wiſh to refer to a former correſpondence which took place between us in the year 1798. Thoſe letters were miſlaid, and ſome days elapſed before I could diſcover them. They have ſince been found. Allow me, then, Sir, to recal to your recollection the expreſſions you were graciouſly pleaſed to uſe, and which I once before took the liberty of reminding you of, when I ſolicited foreign ſervice, upon my firſt coming into the army: they were, Sir, that your majeſty did not then ſee the opportunity for it, but if any thing was to ariſe at home, I ought to be " firſt, and foremoſt." There cannot be a ſtronger expreſſion in the Engliſh language, or one more conſonant to the feelings which animate my heart. In this I agree moſt perfectly with your majeſty, I ought to be the *firſt, and foremoſt*. It is the place which my birth aſſigns me, which Europe, which the Engliſh nation expect me to fill; and which the former aſſurances of your majeſty might naturally have led me to hope I ſhould occupy. After ſuch a declaration, I could hardly expect to be told that my place was at the head of a regiment of dragoons.

" I underſtand from your majeſty, that it is your intention, Sir, in purſuance of that noble example which you have ſhewn during the courſe of your reign, to place yourſelf at the head of the people of England. My next brother, the Duke of York, commands the army; the younger branches of my family are either generals, or lieutenant-generals; and I, who am Prince of Wales, am to remain colonel of dragoons. There is ſomething ſo humiliating in the contraſt, that thoſe who are at a diſtance, would either doubt the reality, or ſuppoſe that to be my fault, which is only my misfortune.

" Who could imagine, that I, who am the oldeſt colonel in the ſervice, had aſked for the rank of a general officer in the army of the king my father, and that it had been refuſed me?

" I am ſorry, much more than ſorry, to be obliged to break in upon your leiſure, and to treſpaſs thus, a ſecond time, on the attention of your majeſty; but I have, Sir, an intereſt in my character, more valuable to me than the throne, and dearer, far dearer to me than life. I am called upon by that intereſt to perſevere, and I pledge myſelf never to deſiſt, till I receive that ſatisfaction, which the juſtice of my claim leads me to expect.

" In theſe unhappy times, the world, Sir, examines the conduct of princes with a jealous, a ſcrutinizing, a malignant eye. No man is more aware than I am of the exiſtence of ſuch a diſpoſition, and no man is, therefore, more determined to place himſelf above all ſuſpicion.

" In deſiring to be placed in a forward ſituation, I have performed one duty to the people of England: I muſt now perform another, and humbly ſupplicate your majeſty to aſſign thoſe reaſons which have induced your majeſty to refuſe a requeſt, which appears to me, and to the world, ſo reaſonable, and ſo rational.

" I muſt again repeat my concern, that I am obliged to continue a correſpondence, which, I fear, is not ſo grateful to your majeſty as I could wiſh. I have examined my own heart; I am convinced of the juſtice of my caſe, of the purity of my motives: reaſon and honour forbid me to yield; where no reaſon is alledged, I am juſtified in the concluſion, that none can be given.

" In this candid expoſition of the feelings which have agitated and depreſſed my wounded mind, I hope no expreſſion has eſcaped me, which can be conſtrued to mean the ſlighteſt diſreſpect to your majeſty. I moſt ſolemnly diſavow any ſuch intention; but the circumſtance of the times, the danger of invaſion, the appeal which has been made to all your ſubjects, oblige me to recollect what I owe to my own honour, and to my own character, and to ſtate to your majeſty, with plainneſs, truth, and candour, but with the ſubmiſſion of a ſubject, and the duty of an affectionate ſon, the injuries under which I labour, which it is in the power of your majeſty alone at one moment to redreſs.

" It is with the ſentiments of the profoundeſt veneration and reſpect, that

" I have the honour to ſubſcribe myſelf,

" Your majeſty's moſt dutiful and moſt

" affectionate ſon and ſubject,

(Signed) " G. P."

The reſt of the correſpondence conſiſts of a ſeries of letters which paſſed between his royal highneſs the Prince of Wales, and his royal highneſs the Duke of York. The prince having made ſome obſervations on the extenſive promotion that had juſt appeared in the Gazette, in which his pretenſions were not noticed; after ſtating his ſtanding in the army, adds, " my birth, according to the diſtinc-

tions uſually conferred on it ſhould have placed me firſt on that liſt."

Having diſclaimed all view of "idle inactive rank," or any "direction and patronage of the military departments;" he then declares, "I cannot but feel myſelf degraded, both as a prince and as a ſoldier, if I am not allowed to take a forward and diſtinguiſhed part in the defence of that empire and crown, of the glory, proſperity, and even exiſtence of that people, in all which mine is the greateſt ſtake."

The Duke of York ſays, that as far as he could learn, it was not the wiſh of the king that a Prince of Wales ſhould not conſider the army as a profeſſion.

This correſpondence is cloſed with a few letters between the two royal brothers, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York. The heir apparent repeats what he had previouſly advanced, that his object was "not *idle rank*, but that a poſt ſhould be alloted to him upon the emergency of the occaſion, ſuitable to his ſituation in the ſtate." The prince then addreſſes his brother in theſe words: "I hope you know me too well to imagine that *idle*, *inactive* rank was never in my view; and that military rank, with its conſequent command, was never out of it."

On the 5th of December a very intereſting debate took place in the houſe of commons on the order for the ſecond reading of the Iriſh Martial Law Bill. Mr. W. Elliot conceived that it was the bounden duty of every member of the houſe, but particularly of thoſe who had compoſed the parliament that had voted the legiſlative union, to turn their attention to the affairs of Ireland, and to ſhew that when they had extinguiſhed the local legiſlature, they had ſubſtituted another, not only adequate to every purpoſe of legiſlation, but eager to ſeize every opportunity of promoting the national intereſt. He then pointed out in very impreſſive language the magnitude of the meaſure in queſtion, which could be only tolerated on grounds of the moſt imperative neceſſity. Miniſters were therefore called upon to point out that neceſſity, and in ſuch a manner as to enable the houſe to form a clear, diſtinct, and ſatisfactory idea of it. When this meaſure firſt took place in Ireland in 1797*, it was founded on two reports of a ſecret committee; it was revived in 1800, and twice renewed in the ſeſſion of 1801; and, to the beſt of his recollection, on the report of a ſecret committee. Mr. Elliot then argued from theſe premiſes, that the houſe was not poſſeſſed of that information, which would entitle them to ſanction the motion; that they knew nothing of the ſtate of Ireland but from newſpaper reports. He thought it extraordinary that his majeſty's ſpeech ſhould announce that tranquility had been reſtored in that kingdom, and that the deluded were returning to a ſenſe of their duty, and that upon ſuch a ſtatement miniſters ſhould demand the renewal of ſuch a bill. Mr. Secretary York entered into an elaborate defence of adminiſtration with regard to their conduct to Ireland; they had unceaſingly directed their attention to the ſituation of that country. He wiſhed to know what information was neceſſary to induce the houſe to accede to the propoſed bill? Was it not notorious that an inſurrection had taken place, and that the rebels would ſtill watch for an opportunity to carry their deſigns into execution. Was this a moment then to deliberate on a queſtion, when the enemy was at the gate. Mr. York entered into a warm defence of the Iriſh government; its vigilance to defeat ſurprize, and the prompt meaſures which it had adopted in order to diſappoint the machinations of the rebels.

Mr. Francis contended that his majeſty's ſpeech was the only official document before the houſe on this momentous queſtion, and from that document it appeared that Ireland was in an improving ſtate. On this communication he would bottom his opinion. He therefore thought that meaſures of conciliation ſhould be adopted inſtead of thoſe on which the houſe was called to decide. Col. Craufurd having animadverted on that part of Mr. York's ſpeech which related to the defence of the Iriſh adminiſtration. He was well aſſured on the day of the inſurrection that the garriſon of Dublin had only three rounds of ball cartridge per man, and that the voluuteers could not procure any. It had been ſtated, as a ground upon the reſtoration of tranquility in that country, that the people were ſatisfied with their ſituation, from a compariſon of their condition with that of the ſubjects of France; but he wiſhed them to be ſatisfied with their ſituation, as compared with that of the people of England. Lord Caſtlereagh contended that every attention was paid to the affairs of Ireland. As to information he thought there was a ſufficient body before the houſe. If any additional information was to be expected, it muſt be through a ſecret committee; and it would be difficult for a committee to frame a ſatisfactory report, while government was following up all the ſecret ramifications of the rebellion. He was sure the loyal inhabitants of Ireland were of opinion that they could with the utmoſt ſafety entruſt their lives, their liberties, and their rights to the adminiſtration of Mr. Addington. Mr. Welleſley Pole aſſerted that on the 23d of July there were eighty thouſand ball cartridges in the Caſtle Yard, which were ſerved out in ſmall quantities; and that in the depot in the Phœnix Park, there were at that time three million of ball cartridges; and in the ſpace of two hours there was a greater quantity in the Caſtle Yard, than was found neceſſary during the whole of the diſturbance. This ſturdy fact he conceived would be of itſelf ſufficient

* The hon. gentleman was then a member of the Iriſh houſe of commons.

ſufficient to repel the inſinuations which had been diſſeminated againſt government. Mr. Windham remarked that it was not ſtated that there was not any want of ammunition, but that there was none in the cartouch boxes of the ſoldiers when they went out; he would be obliged to any member who would contradict this on his own, or on good authority. He wiſhed the houſe would reflect a little on the magnitude of the queſtion ſubmitted to their diſcuſſion, and that any member would ſeriouſly and conſcientiouſly aſk himſelf what he was called on to do. He was called on to vote a meaſure of no leſs magnitude than martial law, preceded by the ſuſpenſion of the *Habeas Corpus* Act!

The ſuſpenſion of the *Habeas Corpus* Act had hitherto been voted in the face of a ſtrong oppoſition; it was now regarded as a matter of courſe, and it was even conſidered as nothing to go a ſtep beyond it, and to vote martial law. The eſtabliſhliſhment of this new meaſure, as a thing of courſe, would put a ſtop to the conſtitution altogether. This new machinery would be as fatal to the motion of the conſtitution, as the introduction of any inconſiſtent power to the motion of a wind or a water mill. It would, if this courſe were purſued, be more difficult to move or ſtop a battalion, than to move or ſtop the Britiſh conſtitution. He would not now enter into any argument againſt the meaſure; he was not bound to ſay why it was *wrong*, but his majeſty's miniſters were bound to ſay why it was *right*. They ſaid the notoriety of the circumſtances was a good ground; this might have been a good ground for the Iriſh parliament to vote a ſimilar meaſure, when the danger was at its gate. But for himſelf he could not underſtand what was meant by the notoriety of an inviſible danger. He had heard of a dancer, who turned round ſo quick, that it could not be ſeen how often; and ſometimes it could not be ſeen at all. The evidence which was offered was in fact no evidence at all. He wiſhed to know whether the rebellion that had occurred in Ireland, or, as it had been ſtated by the ſecretary of ſtate and the attorney general, a mere efferveſcence of the moment, or a ſymptom of jealous diſcontent, was or was not deeper rooted in the country, and extending its ramifications to another country. He wiſhed the honourable gentlemen would agree on this point, for at preſent they were playing faſt and looſe. They reminded him of the ſtudent at the univerſity, who being aſked whether the ſun or the earth moved round? anſwered, both. Were meaſures of ſuch conſequence as the ſuſpenſion of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and the revival of martial law, on grounds ſo contradictory and inconſiſtent, to be voted not only without argument, but in deſpite of all argument? For that rebellion, the notoriety of which was to be laid down as a ſufficient ground, was made to reſemble the figures in Pande nonium, which ſhrunk and expanded at pleaſure, at one time deſcending to the earth, and at the next piercing the ſky. Gentlemen ſhould reflect on the effect ſuch a meaſure would have on the people. The vigour which Lord Caſtlereagh had recommended might poſſibly pleaſe what he called the loyal part of the Iriſh nation; but there was another part of that country not eaſy to be conciliated, and the facility of putting them out of the law would not tend to reconcile them to the Britiſh conſtitution. Would any man ſay that the Britiſh conſtitution, as they felt it, was the beſt form of government in the world. If it was, it muſt be in the ſame manner that an arbitrary government was the beſt, as it ſometimes was from the virtues of thoſe that exerciſed it. If angels were to be the governors, he would allow it was the beſt; but as they were not, he thought it beſt that ſome checks ſhould be impoſed on human depravity.

With regard to the tranquil ſtate of Ireland, as repreſented by his majeſty's miniſters, he was not diſpoſed to ſay much. He would only ſay that the meaſure in queſtion was not applicable to the traitors who had already committed acts of treaſon; for with reſpect to them it was an *ex poſt facto* law; nor was it ſo eſſential to the ſalvation of the ſtate, that it might not have admitted of a pauſe. *Cum de republica agetur cunctatio longa eſt.* What in the firſt moment was called a *rebellion*, was in the next called an efferveſcence. The government was now ſaid to be ſtronger, and the government improved. If the comparative ſtate of the country was ſo much the better, if the executions had ſo much enlightened the minds of the people, the natural conſequence was the repeal of this law. Mr. Windham contended that the conduct of the Iriſh government could be reduced to this dilemma, and that in that point of view it would not appear in a creditable light. It either knew of the intended rebellion, or it did not. If it knew of it, it was culpably negligent; and if it did not, it was at leaſt equally ſo. Government had its option to make its choice of the admiſſions, and it made the choice which any perſon hoſtile to it would have wiſhed. The chief governor had retired to his country houſe, knowing the inſurrection was likely to take place, without giving any information to the commander in chief, or to the lord mayor. It had iſſued no communication; the government was, as it were, returned for two ſeats, and it choſe to ſit for *ſurprize*. There was no ground for the meaſure now propoſed, except apprehenſion, and that was certainly ſome ground, *flagrante bello*; but if on this conſideration gentlemen advanced ſo rapidly in the ſyſtem of vigorous legiſlation; if meaſures of this nature were to be voted as meaſures of precaution whenever there was a war, they might be expected to be renewed as a mere matter

of

of courſe. If the rebellion was a ground for ſuch meaſures, it was a permanent ground; for it had exiſted, and the fact of its having exiſted could not be denied.

Mr. Pitt obſerved that Mr. Windham had laid great ſtreſs on the lord lieutenant's having ſlept in the Phœnix Park; that no inſtruction had been given to the military commander, or communication made to the city magiſtrate: but he could aſſure the houſe that inſtructions that day were given to the military commander; a communication was alſo made to the ſuperintendent magiſtrate, and through him, the uſual channel, to the lord mayor, at an early hour; the reſult of which was, that all the police officers were immediately diſtributed over the city, and every arrangement made that could impede the progreſs of the rebels, and ultimately defeat their views. If any gentleman ſhould ſuppoſe that the government of Ireland failed in any inſtance, it was his duty to make that ſuppoſed failure the ground of a ſeparate charge. The queſtion was, whether the houſe would enable the lord lieutenant of Ireland to try offenders engaged in actual rebellion by martial law. Some members ſeemed to think that they could not vote for ſuch a meaſure, unleſs poſſeſſed of more information on the ſubject; he was ſurprized that this ſhould be made any plea of procraſtination, after the meſſage from the throne in Auguſt laſt; after the proclamation from the lord lieutenant, which was then on the table; after the evidence diſcloſed on the trials in Dublin; and to ſum up all, the notoriety of the facts. Though the ſtate of Ireland was not a ſtate of general diſturbance, nor of univerſal ſecurity, yet it was ſuch as to call for the bill in queſtion. Mr. Wilberforce ſupported the motion as a meaſure of immediate neceſſity and precaution. He conſidered the ſtate of Ireland as an anamoly in the hiſtory of nations; that after a century and a half of cloſe connexion with England, ſeparated from each other by a narrow ſea, ſpeaking the ſame language, participating the benefits of the ſame conſtitution, law, and government, that it ſhould yet be ſo far behind Britain, was unaccountable. He thought this a fit ſubject for the conſideration of parliament, and he hoped that inſtead of temporary remedies, on every occaſional diſturbance, a ſyſtem on a large and permanent baſis would be adopted, ſo that tranquility would be diffuſed throughout the whole kingdom.

Col. Hutchinſon expreſſed his approbation of the bill, as he truſted the exiſtence of it would ceaſe with the neceſſity. On the occaſion, he felt as a feeling parent, who had juſt loſt his favourite ſon, with the phyſician ſitting by him, and harrowing up his feelings with an account of the diſeaſe which had carried off his child. In ſuch a caſe he would, in the name of heaven, entreat him to endeavour to ſtop the diſeaſe, and ſave the reſt of his family. He did not wiſh to add to the ſufferings of his countrymen, by a recital of cruelties, but he truſted that the parliament would turn their attention to the real ſituation of that kingdom, and redreſs the grievances of which that country complained. He felt that thoſe grievances muſt be redreſſed, and a ſyſtem of moderation reſorted to, without which Ireland could not be ſatisfied, or England rendered ſecure. Miniſters at the time of the Union had ſolemnly pledged themſelves to inveſtigate the ſituation of that country; they had ſuffered three years to elapſe, without ſo much as once evincing even a diſpoſition to ſet ſuch an enquiry on foot: if ſuch conduct was continued, the conſequence would be, the empire would experience a ſhock; and the monarchy which they were ſworn to protect, would be overturned. The bill was read a ſecond time.

On the 10th of this month Mr. Secretary Yorke moved for leave to bring in a bill to explain and amend the 42 and 43 *Geo.* III. ſo far as they related to exemptions enjoyed by volunteers. The object of the bill he meant to propoſe would be, firſt, to enable ſuch commanders of corps as had not given in their returns, to give them in immediately; and to provide that the certificate of ſuch commanders ſhould be effectual, to ſecure the benefit of the exemption to the individual. This exemption, it was intended, ſhould extend equally to the militia and the army of reſerve. The return ſhould ſpecify whether the men attended with arms, and otherwiſe accoutred, ſo as to be conſidered as effective; if he attended without arms, there was to be a ſpecial return, ſtating the reaſon why; and this ſpecial return, and the certificates founded upon it, ſhould alſo give a title to the exemptions. He ſaid he ſhould think it right to provide, from a certain day to be named in the bill, twenty-four days regular attendance in training and exerciſe, ſhould be required, to give a title to the exemptions.

Mr. Curwan wiſhed that ſome plan might be adopted ſo as to enforce the continuance of the ſervices of the volunteers, and at the ſame time to improve them in diſcipline. He was ſenſible from his own knowledge that too much could not be ſaid in praiſe of the honourable principles and feelings of the volunteers. But though an ignominious diſcharge from the ranks would have the fulleſt effect in many inſtances, it would not in all. He thought it better that intoxication, diſorderly, and unſoldier-like behaviour, ſhould be puniſhed by a ſmall fine, peremptorily and immediately enforced. The propriety of the exemptions met with the approbation of the houſe. Some gentlemen were of opinion that they ought to be coupled with pay in certain caſes; and that they ought to be drilled by officers who had ſerved in the regulars, and who had made diſcipline their ſtudy.

Lord

Lord Hawkesbury moved in the upper house the second reading of the Irish Martial Law Bill. His lordship stated the leading features of the rebellion in Ireland, as the necessary grounds of the proposed measure. The evidence of that rebellion, and the peculiar circumstances of atrocity which accompanied it, called upon the legislature to adopt every measure to prevent the recurrence of such sanguinary scenes, to punish the guilty, and to protect the innocent. It was natural to expect though rebellion was put down in the field, that the spirit of it was not extinguished. This was the conclusion which a general knowledge of human nature justified. He would never pretend that this was not to be regarded as a measure of an extraordinary nature, and only to be sanctioned on grounds of an extraordinary emergency. It was clear to every one, who reflected for a moment on the subject, that when individuals had the redress of their grievances, real or supppposed, put into their own hand, they were rarely guided by moderation. The more unworthy passions of our nature too frequently gained the ascendancy; and resentment not satisfied with the punishment of a particular injury, proceeded to the length of savage and deliberate revenge. The enactment of martial law put an end to this system. Government was then armed with power sufficient for the suppression of rebellion.

Lord Suffolk remarked, that when extraordinary measures were resorted to, it was in some degree a proof that grievances existed of a very extraordinary nature, in some shape or other; and that if the cause was taken away, the effect would cease. He thought that the legislature ought to set an immediate enquiry on foot, that a remedy adequate to the disease might be applied. He wished that a number of individuals, members of both houses of parliament, unconnected with ministers, with opposition, or any party whatever, should be appointed as commissioners to collect full and accurate information, respecting the real situation of Ireland. By the adoption of such a plan as this, the parliament would be furnished with all the necessary information on the subject.

Lord King opposed the bill on two grounds; namely, the absence of all evidence, which was the only thing that could enable their lordships to form an opinion of the necessity of such a measure; secondly, that it was no argument to say that this power had not been abused by administration. The question was not how the powers granted by the bill had been exercised, but whether such powers were necessary and fit to be granted to any executive government. The Marquis of Sligo declared from the most impartial and considerate view of the question, that he was decidedly in favour of the re-enactment of both the bills *. He was sure they were essential to the maintenance of the tranquility of Ireland, and if they were not passed he dreaded the most disastrous consequences. Lord Grenville observed, that it could not be reasonably supposed that any member of that house was hostile to any bill or bills for the suppression of rebellion; on the other hand, it was a matter of serious consideration to vote for measures of such magnitude on the mere assertion of ministers. When martial law was first introduced into Ireland, a rebellion of the most formidable nature raged with the utmost violence in that country; that rebellion, by the valour of the king's troops, and the spirit and zeal of the loyal inhabitants, was suppressed. Much rancour and malignity continued to agitate the minds of those whose open attempts at revolt had been defeated. When they found that they could not attack the king's troops or the loyal inhabitants in arms, they were driven to another mode of attack. A system of assassination and intimidation was introduced, and a regular conspiracy was entered into to interrupt the ordinary proceedings of the courts of common law. When magistrates performed the duties of their office, it was at the peril of their lives. The judges found themselves in the same situation. Jurors were deterred from giving their verdicts on the clearest evidence, and witnesses dared not deliver their testimonies. In short the courts of justice, in civil and criminal cases, was totally suspended. This he presumed was a true picture of the state of Ireland at the time. Under such circumstances what was to be done? Some strong plan must have been immediately adopted, or the country would have fallen a prey to anarchy and all its concomitant evils. Martial law was resorted to as the last and only resource. Government thus armed with extraordinary powers, was enabled to arrest the progress of those sanguinary conspirators. It was from a contemplation of these circumstances, and a knowledge of these effects, that he had on former occasions supported the establishment of martial law in Ireland. Having laid down this general principle, he would put it candidly to the house, whether any such evidence had now been adduced to justify the bill. Were magistrates at the time he was speaking impeded in their functions? Could not judges preside in the courts of justice; could not jurors deliver their verdicts; and witnesses their evidences, without the dread of fatal consequences? He professed himself astonished, after such admissions on the part of his majesty's ministers, to hear them gravely assert the necessity of martial law in Ireland.

The lord chancellor recapitulated the arguments on both sides, and gave it as his opinion that the political salvation of Ireland depended on the speedy adoption of the proposition. The bill was read a second time. Several noble lords delivered their sentiments on the remaining stages of it; but as they

* The suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, and Martial Law bills in Ireland.

they were in general repetitions of the former arguments, *pro* and *con*, it is unneceſſary to repeat them. The bill in a few days after received the royal aſſent.

In the houſe of commons the ſecretary at war preſented the items of laſt year. The eſtimates were claſſed under ten heads; namely,

	£.
1. Guards, garriſons, &c. for Great Britain	3,115,456
For Ireland	1,161,168
2. Forces in the plantations, &c.	1,174,509
3. India force for Great Britain	345,628
4. Troops and companies for recruiting ditto for Great Britain	29,859
5. Recruiting and contingencies for Great Britain	180,000
6. General and ſtaff officers, with a ſtate of the particulars of the charges	154,647
7. Embodied militia and fencible infantry for Great Britain	2,150,965
For Ireland	640,657
8. Cloathing for ditto	215,793
9. Contingencies for ditto, for England	50,000
For Ireland	11,129
10. Volunteer corps for Great Britain	730,000
Ireland	1,290,567

Having lightly touched on the moſt prominent of theſe items, and the augmentations intended to be made to the regular forces, which he eſtimated at eighteen thouſand men, he adverted to the volunteers. He calculated the expences of thoſe corps, (which amounted at the time to upwards of three hundred and twenty thouſand effective men) at 730,000l. from the 25th of December 1803, to the 25th of December 1804.

Mr. Windham declared that he expected ſome great affair would have reſulted from the energies of the united kingdom, the population of which he rated at FIFTEEN MILLIONS and upwards; he wiſhed to know how this population had been employed? The army of reſerve had coſt one million in bounty money, and 800,000l. in cloathing, &c. Our military force was eſtimated at fifty-two thouſand men, but of what materials was it compoſed? Of the army of reſerve, ſix thouſand only out of ſixteen thouſand had been raiſed, and even this ſmall portion was unattached. He could not bring himſelf to think that ſuch a motley crew, rioting on their bounties of fifty guineas a man, ſhould be conſidered as part of our effective force; and as to the volunteers, though he entertained the higheſt opinion of their patriotiſm and valour, yet their ſyſtem was defective in all its branches: inſtead of giving effect to their energies, it locked it up; and the different opinions which had been advanced in both houſes of parliament on this ſubject, was a proof in itſelf of what he had juſt advanced. In ſhort, if it was expected to derive any advantage from the volunteer ſyſtem, it would be abſolutely neceſſary to new model it. Mr. Windham then pointed out at conſiderable length his objections to this force, and eſpecially to the mode of recruiting the regular army; from the whole of which he deduced that miniſters were incapable of filling their ſituations.

Mr. Yorke defended the conduct of miniſters, particularly their activity in recruiting the army. In the preceding year the number of regulars amounted only to ſixty thouſand; in the laſt nine months that number had been doubled. He alſo congratulated the country on the ſtrength and diſcipline of the ſea fencibles: Mr. Pitt complimented the volunteers. He conceived that every attention ought to be paid to their diſcipline, as he looked forward to a long continuance of the arduous conteſt in which we were engaged. He thought that eighty-four inſtead of twenty-four days ought to be devoted to exerciſe. Mr. Fox ſaid, that from the heavy burthens which at the time preſſed on the bulk of the people, that the peaſant and tradeſman could not be exerciſed eighty-four days without pay. Were the people then to be ſeduced under the name of *volunteers*. The preſent ſpirit of the country was no more than it had always diſplayed in time of danger. Miniſters had indeed ſet the example of ſerving as privates; but on the appearance of the enemy they would be the firſt to deſert. He recommended military councils, and adverted to the prince's offer of ſervice, which he condemned in very ſevere terms, as he ſaw no good reaſon why his royal highneſs's wiſh had not been complied with.

Mr. Addington replied with reſpect to the prince's claim; he was ſurprized that Mr. Fox ſhould allude to it, when a determined refuſal was given to his application laſt war. Mr. Addington ſaid that nothing but the expreſs commands of his majeſty, or the unanimous reſolution of that houſe, ſhould induce him to enter into any explanation on the ſubject of the demands of his royal highneſs, and the motives which led to their rejection. The ſituation of Ireland being introduced, protracted the debate till three o'clock in the morning, when the reſolutions were ſeverally put and agreed to.

The bank reſtriction bill produced ſome converſation on the third reading in the houſe of lords. The Lords Grenville and King thought that a committee ſhould be appointed to enquire into the ſtate of the paper circulation of the country.

Both houſes adjourned over for the Chriſtmas holidays. The houſe of lords on the 19th of December to the 3d of February following; and the houſe of commons on the 20th of December to the 1ſt of February.

Notwith-

Notwithſtanding there was a difference of opinion in both houſes of parliament on the principal bills introduced by the miniſter, yet as there was no diviſion on any of them, it was not eaſy to eſtimate the ſtrength of oppoſition, or the branches into which it was likely to ſplit.

Earl Fitzwilliam and Lord Grenville, in the upper houſe, were looked up to as the leaders of the new oppoſition; Mr. Windham and Mr. T. Grenville, in the lower houſe, openly avowed their hoſtilities to the meaſures of adminiſtration, which they cenſured as weak and inefficient. Mr. Fox adopted many of Mr. Windham's opinions, and defended them with additional arguments as often as he found it neceſſary. The mode of recruiting the regulars by large bounties to the army of reſerve, appeared to deſtroy all competition in the recruiting ſervice in general; and it was acknowledged that the volunteer ſyſtem was ſuſceptible of much improvement. Miniſters promiſed to turn their attention to thoſe objects in the receſs; and it muſt be allowed that they evinced every diſpoſition to adopt the moſt practicable ſuggeſtions, and to conſult that œconomy which the ſituation of the country demanded. At the opening of the parliament the public were anxious to know what part Mr. Pitt would take; but ſcarce any thing could be collected from his ſpeeches that could lead to any deciſive opinion on this head. He differed, it is true, from Mr. Addington on ſome points in the volunteer bill; but as he did not offer any ſpecific propoſitions on that ſubject, it was thought in general that he was determined to lend his ſupport to government.

We ſhall now preſent our readers with a recapitulation of the ſums voted for the public ſervice of the year 1803.

	£.	s.	d.
Navy - - -	10,211,378	13	1
Army - - -	8,935,753	12	3
Militia, &c. - -	2,889,976	2	11
Ordnance - - -	1,128,913	14	6
Miſcellaneous ſervices -	5,440,441	13	9½
Redemption of the national debt	200,000	0	0
Exchequer bills - -	10,150,456	3	3
Total of ſupply - - -	38,956,919	19	9½
Exceſs of ways and means for the year - - -	2,406,272	10	3½
Grand total	41,363,192	9	1

CHAP. V.

Retroſpect.—Probable Effects of the Peace.—Negotiation.—Steps which led to a Declaration of War on the Part of his Britannic Majeſty.—Lord Minto's Statement of the Advantages to be derived from the Annexation of the Iſland of Malta.—State of the Nation at the Commencement of Hoſtilities.

AS the year 1803 is not the leaſt memorable in the annals of Engliſh hiſtory in almoſt every point of view, in which the intereſt, public feeling and foreign relations of Great Britain and its dependencies can be taken, it is preſumed that a retroſpect of that eventful period will be conſidered as a neceſſary ſummary, which would otherwiſe have interrupted the thread of the narrative.

Notwithſtanding the peace of Amiens was conſidered by the moſt enlightened characters in both houſes of parliament, as the beſt that could be made on our part, under all the circumſtances of the day, yet it was evident that it contained the very ſeeds of its own diſſolution, and that it ſhould rather be conſidered in the light of a truce. Mutual diſtruſt inſtead of mutual confidence, gave birth to thoſe ſurmiſes, which render a ſtate of precarious peace leſs ſupportable than open hoſtilities. Bonaparte was jealous of the naval power of England; and England in her turn was jealous of that ſpirit of aggrandiſement, which was the leading feature in all the acts and councils of the chief conſul*. He was well aware that the ſpirit and enterprize of the Engliſh would lead them to avail themſelves of all the advantages that could reſult from the ceſſion of the iſland of Trinidad and the Cape of Good Hope. That

* A ſhort time previous to the peace of Amiens a paper was ſecretly handed round in Paris, written by the celebrated M. Segur, in which the writer condemned that mania of aggrandiſement, which characteriſed the rulers of France. The following extract will ſerve as a ſpecimen of the judicious ſentiments of that enlightened ſtateſman:

"We Frenchmen ought to know that the ancient limits of France, ſtrengthened, by ſome places neceſſary for their compleat ſecurity, are more value to us than that river beyond which you want to drive our adverſaries. To obtain the poſſeſſion of thoſe places we may indeed continue the war, but will you ſuffer us to ſign a peace as ſoon as we acquire the poſſeſſion of them?

"And you who now preſide over our deſtiny, beware of thoſe dazzling projects which you cannot purſue but by compromizing both our glory and your own ſafety. Shortly, perhaps, that line traced by the finger of ambition, will be forced by the ſucceſſes of the enemy. Then will you regret your inattention to the voice of thoſe who informed you, 'that conqueſts were the poiſon of liberty; that the only way of ſecuring glory is by not abuſing it; and that glory apart, the contraction of our frontiers, has more advantages than inconveniencies.'

"Our frontiers on the ſide of Flanders ſhould conſiſt of four lines of defence, the moſt advanced of which ſhould begin at Namur, cut along the Sambre, and border on the ſea by Conde, Tournay, Lille, Menin, Ypres, Knocke, Dixmude, and Nieuport. The ſecond line ſhould begin at Dinant, and tracing our ancient limits, ſhould finiſh at Dunkirk. The third ſhould be drawn from Charlemain to Calais. The fourth, formed

That their manufactures had attained a degree of perfection that would enable them to outrival thoſe of the French in every market. He was alſo ſenſible that he held St. Domingo by a very ſlender thread, and that our colonial produce would find its way on the Continent in preference to that of the Dutch. He ſaw that all this would be the immediate effect of a peace. France at the time was not in a ſituation to rival us in any one article of trade; the roads in that country were out of repair; the canals were choaked with ſand and weeds; the ſilk manufactory at Lyons was extinguiſhed; the artizans of every kind had periſhed in the army; acceſſion of territory was the only object that peace preſented to him; and this object he was determined to ſeize, at all events. The Britiſh cabinet ſaw this, but they were anxious to convince the nation that every effort conſiſtent with the honour of the country ſhould be made to preſerve the bleſſings of peace. Negotiation was ſet on foot, and conducted with that dignity which it is hoped will ever diſtinguiſh this country. The aggreſſions of the firſt conſul was ſo wanton and unprovoked, that they could not eſcape the obſervation of the moſt indifferent obſerver. As negotiation and remonſtrance on this head were found ineffectual, it was eaſy to foreſee that a renewal of the war was unavoidable. His majeſty in uniſon with the feelings of his people iſſued a proclamation, in which he "lamented that the ſyſtem of violence, aggreſſion, and aggrandizement, which characterized the proceedings of the different governments of France during the war, had been continued with as little diſguiſe during its termination." As theſe were facts that could not be contradicted, it ſhould indeed be matter of ſurprize if they did not make a deep impreſſion on every mind that felt for the ſafety and honour of the Britiſh empire. This declaration on the part of the king was conſidered as a prelude to a declaration of war, eſpecially as the rulers of France did not ſhew any diſpoſition to keep within that line of moderation, which alone could inſure a continuance of public repoſe. On the 8th of March his majeſty tranſmitted a meſſage to both houſes of parliament, ſtating, that military preparations were carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, and that his majeſty judged it expedient to adopt precautions for the ſecurity of his dominions. This was followed up by another meſſage, in which the king declared his intention of calling out the militia.

A third meſſage from the throne was delivered to the parliament, in which a rupture with France was announced. This communication gave birth to a warm debate in both houſes of parliament, in which the ſubject of the retention of Malta was diſcuſſed by both ſides. Miniſters contended that they had been ſcrupulouſly anxious to fulfil the treaty of Amiens, with reſpect to that iſland. They had taken the earlieſt opportunity to ſend out Sir A. Ball, as commiſſioner, for the purpoſe of concerting with General Vial, who was appointed by the French government, all the meaſures preparatory to its evacuation; but they ſoon found by the impediments which the French had thrown in the way, that the tenth article of the treaty of Amiens had become impracticable.

Mr. Pitt conſidered the poſſeſſion of Malta as eſſential to the ſecurity of Egypt, and our Eaſt India dominions. This opinion ſeemed to have been entertained by the majority of the houſe *.

His majeſty's declaration of war drew forth a long note

formed by the Somne, ſhould have Mezurs on the right, and its centre defended by the caſtle of Geveſe. M. Segur having pointed out the boundary line on the ſide of Italy, concludes with this paſſage: Frenchmen, while you are engaged in this conflict of opinions, you muſt guard yourſelves againſt being led by the opinions of fugitives from thoſe places which you wiſh to incorporate with France proper. Conſult only the wiſhes of thoſe enlightened and impartial citizens, influenced equally by the love of their country, and the love of humanity, and who, from fear of endangering that liberty that coſt them ſo dearly, call upon you with a loud voice for peace. Peace is called for by all true Frenchmen; it is dreaded only by thoſe who tremble at any thing that may tend to conſolidate your government, and that trifling number of extravagant men, more feared than formidable, who ſtill lull themſelves in the hopes of a counter-revolution, ſign, ſign without delay, the peace ſo much deſired. Think more of the good of thoſe you govern, than the aggrandizement of their territory; think more of conquering the eſteem and admiration of our enemies, by the moderation of our demands, than of perpetuating their hatred and jealouſy by our abuſe of victory." This writing gave ſuch offence to Bonaparte, that the author was obliged to conceal himſelf for a conſiderable time.

* The following extract is taken from a pamphlet written by Lord Minto, in which his lordſhip ſtates the advantages at full length of the poſſeſſion of Malta; and as the noble writer was well acquainted with thoſe ſeas, and an acknowledged maſter of the ſubject, it would be unpardonable to omit a paſſage, that has placed the whole in ſo clear and impreſſive a point of view.

"Malta is indiſpenſible as a naval poſt and arſenal. In our wars with France, it has always been found neceſſary to keep a conſiderable ſquadron in the Mediterranean. The naval forces of the enemy are thus divided, by cutting off the communication between their two principal poſts. It has been neceſſary too, for the purpoſe of protecting our Mediterranean trade, and for annoying that of the enemy. The preſence of a Britiſh fleet has, at the ſame time, been looked too by the other independent ſtates, whoſe coaſts are waſhed by that ſea, as a bulwark againſt the power of France, which could in thoſe times threaten their coaſt alone. The Alps and the Auſtrian powers were their ramparts on one ſide; the Britiſh fleet were their Alps on the other. But if it was expedient, in all wars, to maintain a naval ſuperiority in the Mediterranean, it is become obviouſly indiſpenſible in the preſent circumſtances, ſince it is not only neceſſary to ſeparate Breſt from Toulon, and to keep the French ſquadrons fitted out in the Mediterranean, from participating in any enterprize beyond the limits of that ſea; but the principal buſineſs of the war, and the projects of the enemy, lying now within thoſe bounds themſelves, a tenfold

note from Bonaparte, in which he attempted to juſtify his conduct in the meaſures which he had purſued throughout the ſhort interval of the peace, and throughout the whole of the negociation. The chief conſul ſaw that the king's meſſage, and the ſpirited debates in parliament on his conduct to this country, would make a deep impreſſion on the continent; and in order to counteract that impreſſion, the French government immediately publiſhed, what they called the whole of the papers relative to the negociation *.

Previous to our entrance on the ſubject of the war †, it may not be amiſs to take a ſhort view of the ſtate of the British nation and its dependencies, at the commencement of the war. Notwithſtanding the peace eſtabliſhment was on a large ſcale, yet Mr. Addington declared, that it would produce an annual ſaving of twenty-ſix millions ſterling and upwards. The revenue at the ſame time was ſo productive, that the exceſs of the ways and means exceeded two millions. Our naval force amounted on the firſt of May, 1803, to one hundred and ninety-ſix ſhips of the line, twenty-five fifties, two hundred and ſeventeen frigates, and two hundred and five ſloops. Our army on the ſame date, amounted to thirty-five regiments of cavalry; one hundred and thirty-three regiments of infantry, and ninety-one regiments of militia, excluſive of the artillery. Our trade with Spain on the increaſe; and we were conſidered as the favoured nation with Ruſſia and Sweden. The ceſſion of the fine country of Louiſiana ‡ to America, promiſed to open a conſiderable market to many of our manufactures, particularly our coarſe linens, woolens and cottons, and many articles of ſteel and iron. Our colonies were in a high ſtate of health and proſperity, and Trinidad might be conſidered a valuable acquiſition, either as a ſugar or cotton iſland. Our Eaſt India dominions were allowed to be in a ſtate of perfect ſecurity. The army in that quarter amounted to one hundred and twenty-four thouſand men; namely, twenty-four thouſand Europeans, eighty-nine thouſand natives,

tenfold cloſer, and more vigilant guard muſt be kept upon them. It may then be aſſumed, that we muſt, in all wars, maintain a powerful fleet in the Mediterranean. That meaſure requires, in its turn, the means of refitting and refreſhing our fleet, and if we would not commit ſo great a concern to blind chance and fortune, theſe means muſt not be precarious but certain.

"There are few more boiſterous ſeas than that of which we are ſpeaking. The principal ſtation of the Mediterranean fleet, is off the harbour of Toulon. The gulph of Lyons is proverbial for ſudden and violent gales of wind. The ſhips being always near the land, are obliged to carry ſail, either to avoid the ſhore, or to keep their ſtation; and I believe it is not too much to ſay, that there is no ſtation of the Britiſh navy, in which the ſquadrons are expoſed to more frequent accidents and damage, from weather alone, than the Mediterranean. A part for ſhelter, and to refit, is as indiſpenſable to our ſhips, as their maſts and ſails themſelves. Certain and ſpeedy acceſs to a refitting port and arſenal, is ſtill more neceſſary after battle, than after a gale of wind. If our ſquadron has an opportunity of attacking a French fleet, the event, I truſt, would not be doubtful, and we may reckon ſecurely on victory. But it muſt happen rarely, indeed, that even the conqueror ſhould be in a condition to keep the field. Such triumphs are not obtained without ſome loſs and ſevere damages. If the victorious ſquadron cannot repair its damages, and reſume its ſtation, the victory muſt have all the conſequences of a defeat. The Britiſh fleet may have captured a third of the enemy, may have ſunk and deſtroyed another third, and may have ſent the remainder beaten and crippled into Toulon: yet, if the victorious fleet muſt quit the ground, muſt return to a diſtant country with her trophies and glory, and cannot ſoon renew the indiſpenſable operations of that ſtation, it is obvious that the vanquiſhed and fugitive enemy, refitted in the ſhorteſt poſſible time, iſſues again from his poſt, and accompliſhes without oppoſition or obſtacle, the very object for which the battle was fought. Such an interval in the vigilance and exertion of the Britiſh fleet, may, in this manner, determine the ſucceſs of that naval campaign. The reſult of that campaign may decide the iſſue of the war, and a victory may have thus coſt nothing leſs than the empire itſelf, while the ſame action, with a port of our own under our lee, might have confounded the councils, broken the power, and overthrown the ill-eſtabliſhed, uſurped dominion of the enemy."

* In this note which was tranſmitted to the conſervative ſenate, the chief conſul ſays, "His excellency Lord Whitworth delivered in the name and by order of his government, on the 26th of April, the following demands:

"That England ſhall retain Malta for ten years.

"That England ſhall take poſſeſſion of the iſland of Lampedoſa.

"That Holland ſhall be evacuated by the French troops.

Bonaparte having commented on each of theſe articles, concluded with theſe words, "There is no example on record of ſo imperious an ultimatum."

‡ The following is a liſt of the wars between this country and France, with the terms of their duration: 1116 laſted two years;—1145, twenty-five;—1201, fifteen;—1224, nineteen;—1294, five;—1339, twenty-one;—1368, fifty-two;—1422, forty-nine;—1492, one month;—1512, two years;—1521, ſix;—1549, one;—1557, two;—1562, two;—1627, two;—1666, one;—1669, ten;—1702, eleven;—1744, four;—1756, ſeven;—1778, five;—1793, which continued until the 29th of April, 1802.

‡ Louiſiana was diſcovered by the Spaniards, but they did not value it, and left it open to other occupiers. It was viſited and occupied by the French in 1673; and ten years afterward they began to eſtabliſh ſettlements in it, little aware of the ſhort duration of the tenure. The climate, from the extent of territory, though various, is temperate, and that of the ſouthern region, though it be in the ſame latitude with the hotteſt countries in Africa, is by no means ſubject to intolerable heat. New Orleans, which is under the ſame degree of latitude with the northern parts of Barbary, is of the ſame temperature with the ſouth of France. It never rains, but in a ſtorm, and then in the winter only; ſcarce a day paſſes in which the ſun is not viſible at Louiſiana: but the dew is abundant, and ſupplies the place of rain. The air is very ſalubrious; the blood is in general in a pure ſtate: illneſs in the prime of life is rare, and men live to a great age. In lower Louiſiana, vegetation is more luxuriant; the graſs is a foot and half high, and in ſome vales grows to the height of a man's ſtature. It is cuſtomary to ſet fire to it about the end of September, and in ſeven or eight days, it is replaced by new herbage, which fattens cattle very rapidly. The ſoil produces all that can render life agreeable. It preſents every thing capable of rendering it a flouriſhing colony.

and ten thouſand laſcars. The debt of India, it is true, was eighteen millions and a half; but the revenue of Bengal exceeded the eſtimate, and in the other preſidencies fell little ſhort of it.

The unſettled ſituation of Ireland was a matter of deep regret to every man that felt for the ſituation of the empire. This is a tender ground that can only be trod with a firm pace by the future hiſtorian, when the prejudices and opinions that even at this day float on the popular breath will be extinct. The ſubject of the diſcontents in the ſiſter kingdom are of too intereſting a nature, however, to be paſſed over in ſilence. If the majority of the Iriſh peaſants conſider what their ſituation has been till within theſe few years, in total ſubjection to the Catholic prieſts, who from reaſons beſt known and approved of by themſelves, kept them in total ignorance of every thing, which as men they ſhould have been acquainted with, they cannot complain that advantages have been withheld from them by the ſtate, which could not, with ſafety, be extended to thoſe who could not appreciate the advantages of the Britiſh conſtitution, or the laws of well regulated ſociety.

The nation, however, ſaw with pleaſure, her ſubjects gradually emerge from ignorance and ſuperſtition, and as ſoon as ſhe could with ſecurity, acquieſced in their request, and placed them in the ſame capacity with her Proteſtant ſubjects, to enjoy the privileges of the laws, her firſt great and laudable object was to open the door to the Catholics of that country, and to admit them to a participation of thoſe immunities, which they had not hitherto enjoyed even in a remote degree. This experiment was attained with many beneficial effects on both ſides. The ſenſible Iriſh Catholic felt a degree of gratitude, and was even ready to evince it by his actions. In the hour of danger, he was found in his poſt in the rank of his Proteſtant brethren, by ſo doing, he wiped away the ſtain of diſloyalty, that illiberality attached to his character. But theſe wiſe conceſſions would have been ſtill productive of greater advantages, if they had been followed up with humanity and ſound policy, which even intereſt dictated. The firſt great object ſhould have been to render the ſituation of the peaſantry more comfortable; and when government found they could repoſe with confidence on their words, ſhe could then call on her men of landed property in the kingdom, to encourage the ſpirit of induſtry, by letting at moderate rents to the moſt deſerving of that claſs, ſmall portions of land, which with care would be ſufficient to ſupply them, and a numerous family, with the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life. If thus ſituated, how cheering would the proſpect of the country be! how replete with advantages to the landlord and tenant! his grounds would be highly cultivated, his rents paid with cheerfulneſs and alacrity, and the peaſant, by the fruits of his own labour, would be able to ſupport himſelf and his children in comfort and with eaſe. His tender offſpring, inſtead of being obliged in their infancy, to contribute their feeble efforts towards the ſupport of their poor cottage, and its inhabitants, inſtead of being expoſed to all the inclemencies of the weather, might paſs their infant days in learning their duty to a great and beneficent God, the grand ſource of all moral actions—a tender regard to honour and ſtrict integrity might be impreſſed on their docile minds, by their ſpiritual teachers. They would then attain to a knowledge of thoſe acts that are prohibited by our laws, and the general reaſons for ſuch prohibitions, ſo that they might be armed againſt the commiſſion of thoſe crimes in a more advanced period of their lives, when the temptations to tranſgreſs are ſtrong and manifold *.

Had the Iriſh peaſantry been thus fortified againſt thoſe acts which have excited the ſtrongeſt emotions of ſenſibility and regret in every feeling heart, we ſhould not have to lament the late rebellions in that country.

We ſhall now conclude this ſlight ſurvey of the ſtate of the Britiſh nation, in a political point of view, with an official account of the notes of the bank of England in circulation, on the following dates, diſtinguiſhing the amount of thoſe that are below the value of five pounds.

On the 1ſt June,	1802	13,257,600
1ſt October,	1802	13,111,510
1ſt December,	1802	12,075,020
1ſt February,	1803	12,874,030

Amount of Bank of England notes of 2*l.* and 1*l.* each.

On the 1ſt June,	1802	3,013,610
1ſt Auguſt,	1802	3,292,520
1ſt October,	1802	3,435,130
1ſt December,	1802	3,236,530
1ſt February,	1803	3,234,530

Having thus given a brief recapitulation of the ſtate of the nation at the commencement of hoſtilities.—The public opinion at that period, may be ſaid to have divided the kingdom into two parties. The firſt, which formed the majority, were of opinion, that war was unavoidable, that if even Malta was out of the queſtion, the unreaſonable demands of the chief conſul, his conduct to other powers, and his inſults to this country, in the perſon of our ambaſſador, were in themſelves ſufficient grounds of provocation. The ſecond claſs, which included men of

* This idea is deduced from a ſimilar inſtitution among the Romans, which was attended by the happieſt conſequences, for as Cicero informs us, the boys were obliged to learn the laws of the Twelve Tables by rote, as a *carmen neceſſarium*, or indiſpenſable leſſon.

the

the firſt talents, conceived that the negotiation had been conducted with precipitancy, that if Malta was the real bone of contention, it might have been removed by placing it under the protection of ſome foreign power, or even razed—that no war, however brilliant or ſucceſsful, ever paid itſelf—that we had to contend with a ſubtil enemy, full of reſources—that the mediation of the emperor of Ruſſia ſhould have been tried before the ſword was drawn. There was alſo a third party, who, notwithſtanding their confidence in the wealth and ſpirit of the nation, were however apprehenſive that the adminiſtration was not compoſed of men of ſufficient talents to conduct a war, the ſucceſs of which would be only proportioned to its vigour, and that nothing but a vigorous proſecution of it could ſave the country.

This ſentiment gained ground to ſuch an extent, that Mr. Addington felt the neceſſity of participating his power with ſome man on whoſe talents the public could repoſe, for this purpoſe, he opened a negotiation with Mr. Pitt, who after ſome conſideration, rejected his propoſitions. Perhaps no miniſter was ever placed in ſo critical a ſituation, as he was, it is true, ſupported by ſome of the moſt independent men in both houſes of parliament, and his character beſides was very much reſpected out of doors. The means put into his hands for external defence, and external operations, were abundantly ſufficient, and nothing ſeemed wanting but wiſdom and promptitude to direct the energies of the nation. The cry of invaſion was raiſed in France, and Bonaparte, in the exultation of his power, declared to the legiſlative body, "that England would not dare to contend with France ſingle-handed." Time, however, has convinced him that this boaſt was as indecent as it was ill-founded. Government, with a perfect reliance on the public ſpirit of the country, put arms into the hands of the people, who have ſince proved, that they were worthy of the confidence which was placed in them. Acts were paſſed to recruit the regular army, and meaſures adopted to place the country in a ſituation that would bid defiance to the enemy in caſe they ſhould have the temerity to attempt a landing. In the Weſt Indies, our arms were triumphant, and our gallant tars performed prodigies of valour. It is certainly to the praiſe of Mr. Addington's adminiſtration, that thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by land or ſea, were rewarded and promoted in the moſt honourable manner *.

A few weeks after the rupture with France, a meſſage from his majeſty was delivered to both houſes of parliament, informing them of the extenſion of the war to the republic of Batavia. This was followed by a general ſyſtem of blockade, which has not been attended with all thoſe ſolid advantages which it promiſed in the beginning. General reprizals were alſo granted againſt the Ligurian and Italian republics.

The attention of miniſters was laudably engaged in the adoption of every regulation that could tend to excite the emulation and energy of the navy and the army. An act was paſſed to provide for the more ſpeedy payment of all navy, victualling, and tranſport bills that ſhall be iſſued in future. This was ſucceeded by another, which has been attended with the moſt beneficial effects, namely, an act "appointing commiſſioners to inquire into any irregularities, frauds, or abuſes, which are, or have been practiſed by perſons employed in the ſeveral naval departments." The commiſſioners have undoubtedly diſcharged the truſt committed to them, with the greateſt honour to themſelves, and advantage to the nation; they have already brought many irregularities and abuſes to light, and it is hoped a ſimilar inquiry will be extended to all the other branches of the public ſervice. Though there was ſome difference of opinion on the meaſures which government purſued in putting the nation into a ſtate of defence †, yet the whole country ſhewed the utmoſt alacrity in acting up to the wiſhes of adminiſtration. In the midſt of that patriotic zeal, which may be ſaid to have burned in almoſt every boſom—an unexpected circumſtance took place, colonel Deſpard, with ſix others, were tried and convicted of high treaſon. The charge was for conſpiring to encompaſs the death of the king, and to overturn the conſtitution. They were executed on a ſcaffold erected on the front of the gaol in Horſemonger Lane, in the borough of Southwark, on Monday, the 28th of February, 1803.

* In the liſt of well earned promotions and diſtinctions which appeared from time to time in the Gazette, the following perhaps is the moſt remarkable. "The king has been graciouſly pleaſed, in conſideration of the ſignal ſervices performed to his majeſty, and to his ally the Ottoman emperor, by Sir William Sidney Smith, in conſideration of his highly diſtinguiſhed conduct in defence of the town of St. John d'Acre, in Syria, in 1799, to grant his royal licence, that he may bear the following honourable augmentation to the armorial enſigns borne by his family, viz. a wreath of laurel, accompanied by two croſſes cavalry, and, on a chief of augmentation, the interior of an antient fortification, in perſpective; in the angle a breach; and on the ſides of the ſaid breach, the ſtandard of the Ottoman empire, and the union flag of Great Britain, and for creſt, the Imperial Ottoman chalengk, or plume of triumph upon a turban, with the motto, *Cœur de Lion*. And although the privilege of bearing ſupporters, be limited to the peers of the realm, the knights of his majeſty's orders, and the proxies of the princes of the blood royal at inſtallations; yet in order to give a further teſtimony of his majeſty's particular approbation of the ſervices of the ſaid Sir William Sidney Smith, he has been graciouſly pleaſed to allow him to bear for his ſupporters, a tiger guardant, navally crowned, in the mouth a palm branch, with the inſcription "Jeruſalem, 1799," upon the croſs of St. George; and a lamb murally crowned, in the mouth an olive branch, ſupporting the banner of Jeruſalem.

† Mr. Fox and ſeveral members in both houſes of parliament, ſtrenuouſly recommended a military council, which was overruled by miniſters.

The

The murder of Lord Kilwarden, and the inſurrection in Dublin, ſpread a conſiderable alarm over the country. As parliament was ſitting, the *Habeas Corpus* act was ſuſpended in Ireland, and the Martial Law act, which had expired was revived. The debates on theſe two bills were very intereſting, as the riſe and extent of the rebellion was pointed out by thoſe who had the beſt means of local information. Notwithwithſtanding martial law was renewed, yet the traitors were tried in the courts of juſtice, and many of them were executed.

In drawing up the foregoing ſummary of the political part of our hiſtory, it was thought ſufficient to refer in as ſhort a manner as poſſible, to the principal facts already detailed in the body of the work itſelf, and to leave the reader to thoſe deductions that naturally flowed from the combination of them. In the ſhort interval of peace, it will be ſeen that our trade began to revive, that France had difficulties to contend with, that would protract the enjoyment of the bleſſings of tranquillity. She was at war with one of her own colonies—Saint Domingo—a powerful, populous, and warlike iſland, rich in all the reſources of war; her inhabitants filled with a rooted hatred to the mother country, ſeaſoned to fatigues, and ready to ſacrifice their lives in defence of what they conceived to be their inherent rights. A body of men that taught Bonaparte, that they were not to be ſoothed by falſe promiſes, nor frighted by the bluſtering proclamation. They had powerful allies, a large ſea, ſickly moraſſes, woods, inacceſſible hills, and proviſions ſuited to the temperature of their bodies, on which a European could exiſt but for a ſhort time. It was calculated that the reduction of that colony would coſt the French one hundred thouſand of her choiceſt troops, and upwards of one hundred million ſterling; and even then it would require ten years to bring back the plantations to their former ſtate: under theſe circumſtances, it is to be lamented, that the peace of Amiens was broken. How far it was, or was not in the power of miniſters to preſerve a continuance of it, may be ſeen by the debates in both houſes of parliament on that ſubject. It may be ſaid, that the excellence of the climate of France, the ingenuity of her artizans, and the rewards held out to excite their induſtry, would in time of peace enable that country to rival this in certain branches of manufacture.—But there is no fact on record to authorize this opinion. Manufactures are plants of ſlow growth, and even if they ſhould arrive to a certain degree of perfection in France, and if the commerce of that country ſhould begin to flouriſh, it would be ſtill ſo much the better for England. Then our captures would be valuable; and we ſhould undoubtedly reap the fruits, which they had planted.

Our national honour, it muſt be confeſſed, was not to be bartered for commerce or any other conſideration, and as the majority of the nation were decidedly of opinion, that a war with France was unavoidable, that our finances were adequate to the expences, and our courage triumphant in every engagement; however humanity may deplore the ravages of war, it is ſtill a ſource of the higheſt conſolation, that the public ſpirit aſſumed a degree of conſiſtency and vigour in 1803, that is daily increaſing, and will ultimately triumph, as it is founded in the confidence of a juſt cauſe, and in the protection of an over-ruling Providence that has at all times made this country his peculiar care.

CHAP. VI.

State of Agriculture, Planting, Trade, uſeful Inventions.—Life-Boat.—Intereſting Statement of the Utility of that Invention.—Fine Arts.—Painting.—Engraving.—Mr. Barry's Birth of Pandora.—Mr. Murphy's Series of Sacred Prints.—Mr. Bartolozzi.—Remarks on his Stile and Deſign, &c.—The Drama.—Vaccine Inoculation.—Mr. Travers Motion.—Addreſs to the Public on that Subject.—Inſtitution to carry it into Effect Galvaniſm.—First Experiment.

IN purſuance of our plan, we are now come to that part of our hiſtory, which may be ſaid to relate to the arts of peace, and which in every other country can only flouriſh in that period. Lord Verulam compares a well reglated ſtate to a pyramid, which he divides into four compartments. The plinth or baſe—agriculture; the ſecond manufactures; the third merchandize, which exports our ſuperfluities; and the apex, the fine arts. The advantages which this country daily derives from agriculture, will render any thing that can be ſaid in favour of that purſuit ſuperfluous. It has verified the old maxim, that the wealth of every country lies within a few inches of the ſurface. Several agricultural ſocieties were formed in the year, which makes the ſubject of our preſent narrative. Many gentlemen, however, lamented, that whilſt the plough was ſo peculiarly patronized, planting ſhould have been neglected. Several members in both houſes of parliament, endeavoured to call the attention of the country to this important object, ſo eſſential to our navy*. The conſumption of which

* Mr. Dundas, in his letter to the Marquis Welleſley, on the propoſed plan for building ſhips of war in the Prince of Wales's Iſland, contains this remarkable paſſage. "It has been recently become my duty, to examine this ſubject to the bottom, for the ſtate of oak timber in England, and the difficulty of procuring an adequate ſupply for it, either in Europe or America, joined to our increaſing demands for the navy, has rendered it a matter of indiſpenſable neceſſity to look to India for material aſſiſtance.

amounted

amounted to four hundred thouſand loads of timber annually. The ſociety of gentlemen for improving the breed of cattle, had increaſed from a few to a great number of members, and held out premiums for the encouragement of breeding in all its branches. How far, as yet, the public at large may be benefited by this inſtitution, is a matter of doubt. The patents granted for uſeful inventions in this year, were ſuch as ſhed great credit on the mechanical genius of the Engliſh nation. An enumeration of the whole would exceed the bounds preſcribed to this chapter. We ſhall however notice a few; John Todd, of Batten, Lancaſhire, cotton ſpinner, obtained a patent for a method of weaving and manufacturing woolen, cotton, linen, ſilk and worſted cloth or ſtuffs; and alſo certain improvements on, and additions to, the machines uſed in weaving, by means of looms wrought by water ſteam engines, or any other power.

William Horrocks, of Stockport, Cheſhire, cotton manufacturer, for improvements for the loom, for weaving of cotton and other goods by ſteam and water.

Arthur Woolf, of Wood Street, Spa Fields, Middleſex, engineer, for an improved apparatus, for converting water, or other liquid employed in brewing, diſtilling, dying, bleaching, tanning, and other proceſſes connected with arts and manufactures; calculated alſo to make a ſtronger extract, than can be obtained by the proceſſes commonly in uſe, from a given quantity of any vegetable or other ſubſtance, from which are or may be made without the danger of burning, ſcorching, or ſinging ſuch vegetable or other ſubſtances, and applicable to various other purpoſes.

Thomas Kentiſh, of Baker Street, Middleſex, for a dewick, for the purpoſe of more expeditiouſly, with leſs labour, and at leſs expence than heretofore, loading and unloading ſhips and veſſels, removing heavy bodies in any direction, and which is alſo applicable to other uſeful purpoſes.

To this liſt might be added ſeveral others of inferior conſideration undoubtedly, but of peculiar utility in the mechanical arts, either by a diminution of labour, or the multiplication of its effects.

In time of war, eſpecially, human ingenuity is generally employed in the invention of inſtruments that are calculated to deſtroy the human race. It muſt yield a pleaſing reflection to find that there are ſome even in that ſtate who devote their talents to the cauſe of humanity, and whoſe inventions tend to ſave and not to deſtroy life. In this claſs, we have to notice Mr. Henry Greathead, the inventor of the life-boat. In 1789 the Adventure was wrecked on the Herd Sands, South Shields. Sir Cuthbert Heron of that place, offered a reward for any ſeaman to go off to ſave the mens' lives, which was refuſed; ſo that the greateſt part of the crew periſhed within three hundred yards of the ſhore, and in ſight of a multitude of ſpectators. The gentlemen of South Shields immediately met, and offered a reward to any perſon, who would give in a plan of a boat, which ſhould be approved, for the preſervation of mens' lives. Mr. Greathead gave in a plan, which met with approbation; a committee was formed, and a ſubſcription raiſed for building of a boat on that plan. After it was built, it was with ſome difficulty that the ſailors were induced to go off in her; but in conſequence of a reward offered, they went off, and brought the crew of a ſtranded veſſel ſafe on ſhore. The utility of this boat was obvious to the diſcerning few, but it was not till 1803, that the apprehenſions and the reluctance of the ſeamen were entirely ſubdued. In that year the advantages and ſafety of it was experienced on many occaſions. The committee appointed a crew of fiſhermen to manage the boat, and they are now ſo much ſatisfied with the performance of it, and ſo confident in her ſafety, that they are emboldened to adventure upon the moſt dangerous occaſion. Two life-boats were ſoon afterwards built on the ſame model, the one called the Northumberland life-boat*, and the other the Scarborough.

The following relation will place the ſucceſs of this invention in an intereſting point of view. It is taken from a letter written by Mr. Hinderwell of Scarborough, to Mr. Greathead.

"The life-boat at Scarborough, which was built without the leaſt deviation from the model and the plan which you ſent here at my requeſt, has even exceeded the moſt ſanguine expectations; and I have now received experimental conviction of its great ability in caſes of ſhipwreck, and of its perfect ſafety in the moſt agitated ſea. Local prejudices will ever exiſt againſt novel inventions, however excellent may be the principles of their conſtruction; and there were ſome, at this place, who diſputed the performance of the life-boat, until a circumſtance lately happened, which brought it to the teſt of experience, and removed every ſhadow of objection.

"On Monday, the 2d of November 1803, we were viſited with a moſt tremendous ſtorm from the eaſtward, and I ſcarcely ever remember to have ſeen a more mountainous ſea. The Aurora, of Newcaſtle, in approaching the harbour, was driven aſhore to the ſouthward; and, as ſhe was in the moſt imminent danger, the life-boat was immediately launched to her aſſiſtance. The place where the ſhip lay was expoſed to the whole force of the ſea, and ſhe was ſurrounded with broken water, which daſhed over the decks with conſiderable violence. In ſuch a perilous ſituation the life-boat adventured, and pro-

* The Northumberland life-boat, ſo called from being built at the expence of his Grace the Duke of Northumberland, and preſented by him to North Shields.

ceeded through the breach of the ſea, riſing on the ſummit of the waves without ſhipping any water, except a little from the ſpray. On going upon the lee quarter of the veſſel, they were endangered by the main-boom, which had broken looſe, and was driving about with great force. This compelled them to go alongſide, and they inſtantly took out four of the crew; but the ſea which broke over the decks, having nearly filled the boat with water, they were induced to put off for a moment, when ſeeing three boys (the remainder of the crew) clinging to the rigging, and in danger of periſhing, they immediately returned, and took them into the boat, and brought the whole to land in ſafety. The boat was not in the leaſt affected by the water which broke into her when alongſide of the veſſel; and, indeed, the boatmen thought it rendered her more ſteady on the ſea. I muſt alſo add, that it was the general opinion, that no other boat of the common conſtruction could have poſſibly performed this ſervice; and the fiſhermen, though very adventurous, declared they would not have made the attempt in their own boats."

Having diſpoſed of thoſe arts that contribute to the conveniences and comforts of human life, we ſhall touch on thoſe that embelliſh it. The connexion however betwixt the two are ſo happily developed by the ingenious Mr. Lowth, that we ſhall give the paſſage in his own words:—

"The different ſtages of each art afford a lively picture of the ſucceſſive gradations of them, from a ſtate of nature, ſavage and uncultivated, to all the refinements of politeneſs and civilization. It is to the wants of men ever urging them to find means for their alleviation, that we may attribute the origin of arts; even of thoſe, which, by the accumulation of ſplendor they have received, conceal, in ſome meaſure, the humility and meanneſs of their birth. Their primitive ſimplicity was ſuch, as might be expected, from the nature of their origin; for, at firſt, only one end was to be conſulted; and utility, being the grand aim of the inventors, was by them ſolely attended to. It was not till that end appeared fully anſwered, that other motives were ſuffered to intrude themſelves: the conſideration of beauty and magnificence were admitted to have a ſhare with thoſe of convenience." Thus, what was at firſt calculated barely to ſupply the wants of mankind, became, by degrees, ſubſervient to the higher purpoſes, and has added luſtre to the moſt poliſhed nations of the world.

With regard to ſculpture, it cannot be ſaid, that even the creative chizzel of Banks, produced any effort this year. James Barry*, however, the painter of poſterity, finiſhed his celebrated picture of Pandora, which will always be the theme of admiration, by thoſe who can taſte the beauties of an art that can ſubſtantiate ſhadows, and lend exiſtence to nothing.

Mr. Murphy, the engraver, had long deſigned to publiſh a ſeries of engravings from the moſt approved maſters, ancient and modern, illuſtrative of the hiſtory of the propagation of the Goſpel, and its coincidence with the predictions of the prophets. The deſign of this undertaking is to develope in a ſeries of prints the connexion between the prophecies of the Old Teſtament, and their final completion in the propagation of the Goſpel; and particularly to diſplay the accompliſhments of a prediction in the ſacred oracles, where the prophet DANIEL, in revealing to Nebuchadnezzar his dream, which had "paſſed from him," foretold what "the God of Heaven" would do in the days of the fourth great empire of the world, by eſtabliſhing a kingdom which, from a ſmall beginning, ſhould fill the whole earth, and laſt for ever. The firſt plate of this magnificent work was publiſhed in January 1803†.

The celebrated Bartolozzi, who may be ſaid to have introduced a new ſtile of engraving into this country, was invited, in 1803, by the patrons of the fine arts in Portugal, to paſs the remainder of his days in that kingdom. He accepted the invitation, and left England, in which he had reſided ſo many years, with reluctance. It is to be lamented, that it was ſolely for the want of patronage that he was driven to ſeek for bread in a diſtant country‡.

As he came when he was young into England, and loved the country with the affection of a native, and as his works are to be found in the collection of every Engliſhman of taſte, the following is entitled

* Mr. Barry is one of the firſt hiſtorical painters in England: he is a native of Cork, Ireland. It may be juſtly ſaid, that he was born a painter; the firſt production of his youthful pencil was a ſubject worthy of a great genius, St. Patrick, the apoſtle of Ireland, preaching the glad tidings of ſalvation to a pagan king of that country. The Right Hon. Edmund Burke was ſo charmed with this piece, that he ſent young Barry to Italy, where he remained for ſome years enamoured with the productions of his favourite Raphael. On his return to England, he finiſhed an hiſtorical group, which for years has ornamented th great room in the Society for the Encouragement of the Arts, in the Adelphi. Francis Burroughs, Eſq. has addreſſed a poem to Mr. Barry, in which our poet has diſplayed the bold and inventive talents of the painter, in a glow of ſtile and happineſs of imagery that is rarely met with in thoſe days.

† It is engraved by Godby, and painted by Smirke.

‡ Bartolozzi was born on the claſſic ground of Italy. From his childhood he made the pureſt models of nature his ſtudy. He was endowed with a mild temperament, a mind ſuſceptible of the moſt exalted impreſſions, an eye quick, faithful, and diſcriminative, a hand bold, and capable; diſpoſitions to profit by every great example, habits of unwearied application, and an ardent ambition to excel. He ſtruggled to graſp the elevated idea, which, with exquiſite conformity, caſt the gigantic bulk of the Farneſian Hercules, and moulded the delicate proportions of that ſtatue which "enchants the world"—the Venus of Medicis.

to a place in this chapter, as a tribute to his talents: it was written by Mr. Carey, a gentleman well qualified to appreciate the ſtudies and ſtyle of an artiſt, that would ſhed luſtre on the Auguſtan age.

When Bartolozzi landed in England, he found that his fame had preceded him. The Royal Academy enrolled him in the number of its members. A crowd of pupils haſtened to receive his inſtructions, they hoped to acquire; if not, ſome emanation from his genius, at leaſt the profitable name of having formed themſelves under ſo celebrated a maſter. The whole body of Engliſh engravers looked up to his works as an immutable ſtandard. Ingenious foreigners reſorted to England to imbibe his inſtructions. Travellers of diſtinction deemed it an honour to be introduced to him. His works excited the applauſe and imitation of Europe, and opened new ſpeculations to Britiſh commerce, as a lucrative export to diſtant regions.

Breadth, *mellowneſs*, *harmony*, and *correctneſs*, conſtitute the great principle of Bartolozzi's ſtyle. To this principle every thing is ſubſervient, whether his mode of handling be finiſhed, ſtroke-engraving, or ſtippling, or etching with the uſe of a painter, or a union of theſe with aquatinta. *By it*, his portraits, his ſingle figures, his groupes, his landſcapes, his grand hiſtorical prints, all are enriched, and elevated. Simplicity of execution appeared to him the fulleſt means to obtain his end. He never falls into the error of breaking general effect by the oſtentation of contraſted direction, and croſſing of ſtroke on each particular object. Among other able artiſts, the celebrated Edelink, of the old French ſchool, and Wales, the moſt famous of the modern engravers, for *beautiful manual dexterity*, were not ſatisfied with having introduced the latter practice with propriety, in their prints; from the high finiſhed work of Gerard Douw, Mieris, Netcher, Terburgh, and other Flemiſh painters, they injudiciouſly employed it in many of their fine hiſtorical engravings, after the great Italian maſters. Several ſtuffs, ſilks, metals, glaſs, and other ſubſtances, are ſo laboriouſly identified, as each to attract the eye, by a petty effect, at the expence of the principal parts of the compoſition. On the contrary, Bartolozzi, in the true ſpirit of an hiſtorical painter, rejects all petty identification. He only marks each ſubordinate object by its general character of light, ſhadow, form, and denſity. Yet the folds of his drapery are learned and noble; and they poſſeſs an unequalled flow and majeſty of determination. His trees, waters, buildings, clouds, and every part of his back grounds, are etched and finiſhed with ſurpriſing light and vivacity. He interweaves etching and engraving ſo admirably, as to retain the freedom of the one, without its roughneſs, and the commanding firmneſs of the other without its dryneſs; although no artiſt ever poſſeſſed greater facility, ſweetneſs or ſpirit, of graver and point, yet he, at all times, riſes ſuperior to the mechanical pride of elaborate tooling. His ſtroke, on whatever it is employed, or however diverſified, invariably melts into bold, effective maſſes. He leaves no buſy details, nothing ſpotty or glaring; no affected oppoſitions; no part obſcured or depreſſed, becauſe miſunderſtood, or inacceſſible to his power. The profound intelligence and the maſter-hand are every where viſible. His lights are warm and rich; his ſhadows ample, and forcible; yet free from that blackneſs which is not to be ſeen in nature, but which ſo many miſtake for ſtrength of effect. Every part reſts in grand ſubordination. Every object is chaſtened by an enchanting ſobriety of tones, and a charming union of ſpirit, and ſoftneſs of luſtre and repoſe, forms an harmonious ſkill in his ſtyle, and a proper ſuperiority in his productions.

But it is in the moſt difficult part of his art, and where the ableſt engravers have failed, that Bartolozzi diſplays his greateſt powers. His exquiſite drawings of the naked, can only be equalled by the tenderneſs of his fleſh, and the perfect relief of his forms.

In every poliſhed nation the theatre has been conſidered as an object of the higheſt regard—as a ſchool of morals, manners, and refinement. The powers of the tragic and the comic muſe were viſibly felt in the ſentiments and actions of the Greeks and Romans in the palmy days of Sophocles, and the laureled age of Terence. The Britiſh ſtage was raiſed on the ruins of barbariſm, and has ſhone at intervals with unclouded ſplendor, eſpecially, when Shakeſpeare warbled his native wood notes, or when Johnſon aſſumed the learned ſock *. But of late years we are ſorry to find that the drama has degenerated almoſt into buffoonery †, not for want of men of genius in that line, nor actors that can wing the words of their author to the heart. This degeneracy may be aſcribed to a few writers, who have monopolized the ſcenic art; whoſe wretched productions conſiſt of a ſtring of puns, plots without intereſt, and characters without diſcrimination. This year produced no one piece that gave us reaſon to hope that

* When learning's triumph o'er her barbarous foes,
Firſt rear'd the ſtage, immortal Shakeſpeare roſe.
Dr. Johnſon.

† In the performance of a ſerio-comic romance at Drury Lane Theatre, called "The Caravan," a Newfoundland dog was introduced on the ſtage with conſiderable effect.

About forty years ago, when Yates came on the ſtage as *Launce*, in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, accompanied by his dog, the ſhouts of the audience ſet the dog into ſuch a fit of barking and howling, that Yates, after coaxing and fondling the animal in vain, was obliged at length to ſnatch off his hat and thruſt it into the dog's mouth, to the no ſmall entertainment of the houſe, as well as of Garrick, who was almoſt choaked with laughter behind the ſcenes.

native

native Engliſh humour and ſterling wit would be recalled to the ſtage*.

The diſcoveries which have been made in the medical ſcience in the laſt century, muſt be a matter of exultation to thoſe who can value the bleſſings of health, which Dr. Garth very properly calls the *ſalt of pleaſure*. It was reſerved for an Engliſhman, Dr. Harvey, to diſcover the circulation of the blood, and it was alſo reſerved for Dr. Jenner, another Engliſhman, to diſcover the vaccine inoculation, a diſcovery of the higheſt importance in every point of view, and which in the end, perhaps, will eradicate a diſeaſe that has ſwelled the bills of mortality in every country. As this was a matter of the higheſt importance, the firſt men in the nation paid a due attention to it. On the 19th of January 1803, a very numerous and highly reſpectable meeting was held at the London tavern, "To conſider of the beſt means to be adopted for the extermination of the ſmall-pox." The Lord Mayor in a ſhort but impreſſive ſpeech, dwelt on the utility of vaccination. Mr. Travers ſtated, that the annual deaths at the time he was ſpeaking, by the ſmall-pox, amounted for the city to three thouſand, and for the whole empire forty thouſand; he then propoſed, after a well-earned eulogium on Dr. Jenner, the following addreſs to the public, which was read from the chair by the chief magiſtrate, and unanimouſly agreed to.

"The dreadful havock, occaſioned by that horrid peſtilence the ſmall-pox, which, in the united kingdom alone, annually ſweeps away more than forty thouſand perſons, has long been a ſubject of deep regret to every humane and reflecting mind.

"The inoculation of this diſeaſe has oppoſed an ineffectual reſiſtance to its deſtructive career. Although confeſſedly a valuable improvement in rendering the diſeaſe more mild; yet, ſuch has been the conſequence of the partial adoption of the practice, that it appears, on a careful review of the hiſtory of the ſmall-pox, that inoculation, by ſpreading the contagion, has conſiderably increaſed its mortality.

"A new ſpecies of inoculation has at length been providentially produced, by our countryman, Dr. Jenner; which, without being contagious, without occaſioning any material indiſpoſition, or leaving any bleminſh, proves an effectual preſervative againſt the future infection of the ſmall pox.

"The Houſe of Commons having inveſtigated this ſubject with the moſt ſcrupulous attention, and being perfectly convinced of the ſuperior advantages reſulting from this diſcovery, have given their ſanction to the practice; the ſafety, mildneſs, and efficacy of which, more than half a million of inſtances have fully confirmed.

"The unſpeakable benefits which may be expected to ariſe from an extenſive diffuſion of this ſalutary practice, will be much accelerated by the eſtabliſhment of an inſtitution in a central part of the metropolis, on a broad baſis, ſupported with a ſpirit equal to the deſign, and worthy of the character of the Britiſh nation. And, when the magnitude of the object is conſidered, which is no leſs than to eradicate a diſeaſe acknowledged to be the greateſt ſcourge that ever afflicted mankind, there can be but one ſentiment on the ſubject.

"The enlightened, the benevolent, the opulent, will doubtleſs vie with each other, in the zealous ſupport of an undertaking which will reflect the higheſt honour upon their country; and, by ſaving millions of victims from an untimely grave, prove an ineſtimable bleſſing to the whole human race."

A ſubſcription was then opened, to carry the plan of an inſtitution into effect, for diffuſing the benefits of the diſcovery; when upwards of 500l. was ſubſcribed on the ſpot. The enthuſiaſm diſplayed on this occaſion was highly honourable to the feelings of the company, and worthy of the well digeſted deſign of the firſt projectors of the inſtitution, which promiſes to be of the moſt extenſive benefits to all the human race, not only in the eradication of the ſmall-pox, but even of the plague; eſpecially in thoſe countries where we are connected by a moſt lucrative commerce, which is often interrupted by that dreadful viſitation of Providence †.

In

* In ſpeaking of the ſtage, it ſhould not be forgotten that the managers of the town and provincial theatres, gave certain nights for the *benefit of their country*; and that the actors on theſe occaſions never played with more ſpirit.

† The following is the ſubſtance of a letter addreſſed to Dr. Jenner, from Dr. De Carro, of Vienna. Dated 25th Sept. 1803.

"Your diſcovery has already produced ſome conſequences, which you ſurely were very far from foreſeeing, when you made it known to the world. I believe that I once mentioned to you, that a French phyſician, M. La Font, thought he had obſerved, that vaccinated people were not attacked by the plague: he deſcribed to me the facts which raiſed the ſuſpicion: they were few, and not very concluſive; but he ſpoke of his new obſervations with modeſty and prudence, and thought only that the ſubject deſerved his further attention. Another phyſician at Conſtantinople, M. Auban, who never had any communication with M. La Font, who is of Salonica, wrote to me about a year ago, that he had alſo ſome ſuſpicion of the cow-pock being a preſervative againſt the plague. Gueſs what was my aſtoniſhment, when a few days ago I received, through the French ambaſſador at Vienna, a packet of Dr. Auban, who begins his letter with theſe words: 'What I had the honour of mentioning to you long ago, concerning the cow-pock, being a ſecurity againſt the plague, as a probability, I can now, after many experiments, ſpeak of almoſt as a certainty.' He deſcribes the facts ſummarily in his letter, and adds two *proces verbaux*, ſigned by him and ſeveral witneſſes, deſiring M. Champigny and myſelf to give them every poſſible publicity. The proofs are:—

1ſt. Of ſix thouſand vaccinated at Conſtantinople, not one has taken the plague.

2d. That infants previouſly vaccinated have ſucked without injury the milk of nurſes infected with the plague.

3d. That an Italian phyſician, Dr. Valli, who went to Conſtantinople to ſtudy the plague, was ſo perſuaded of the truth of the new diſcovery, that upon the ſole ſecurity of having been vaccinated,

In the courſe of this year, the ſcience of anatomy was enlarged by the diſcovery of galvaniſm. Mr. Aldini, an Italian phyſician, introduced it into this country; Mr. Carpue, an ingenious medical man, followed up the experiments of Mr. Aldini, and wrote an expreſs treatiſe on this ſubject. The firſt experiment in galvaniſm was made by the members of the Academy of Sciences at Turin; it was made on the body of a man who had been executed. Having inſerted one extremity of the pile into one of the ears, which had been previouſly moiſtened with muriat of ammoniac, and the other extremity in the other ear, very ſtrong contractions were made in all the muſcles of the face, and gnaſhing of teeth were particularly perceived. By communicating with different parts of the body, ſeveral ſtrong ſhocks were obtained, followed by a violent palpitation of the heart.

CHAP. VI.

Philoſophical Purſuits.—Stones which have fallen from the Air.—Curious Facts relating thereto.—Account of the Greek Manuſcripts collected in Greece by Mr. Clarke.—Annals of Commerce by Mr. Macpherſon.—Proſpectus of the Writers on Iriſh Affairs.—Mr. Burke's Opinion on the Subject.

FROM the day that the Royal Society was planted in this country, philoſophy may be ſaid to have taken up her abode in it. Her votaries have been very ſucceſsful in exploring the laws of nature, and the modifications of matter. Antient * writers, as well as thoſe of the middle age, have mentioned the phœnomenon of ſtones falling from the clouds, but as theſe relations appeared in the days of credulity and fable, little attention was paid to them. This ſubject, however, appeared worthy of the inquiries of the learned in France and England in the year 1803. Until naturaliſts come to ſome deciſive opinion on the cauſe of the deſcenſion of this body, it only remains to adduce a few of the facts which relate to this extraordinary circumſtance, which have been publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, in the new abridgement of that work, by the ingenious Dr. Hutton †, and other publications.

At Luce, in Le Maine, a ſtone of ſeven pounds weight was found on the 13th of September, 1768, while it was very hot, by perſons who ſaw it fall. The Abbé Bacheley, preſented it to the Royal Academy, under whoſe auſpices, it was analyſed by the celebrated Lavoiſier, and from his account, the academicians concluded, that the ſtone did not owe its origin to thunder; that it did not fall from heaven; that it was not formed by mineral ſubſtances fuſed by lightning; and that it was nothing but a ſpecies of pyrites, without peculiarity, except as to the hepatic ſmell diſengaged from it by marine acid.

The following is extracted from the Chronicle of Heuſanguis, an authentic writer.

"On Wedneſday, November the ſeventh, the night before Saint Martin's Day, in the year of our Lord 1492, a ſingular miracle happened: for between the hours of eleven and twelve, a loud clap of thunder took place, with a long continued noiſe, which was heard at a great diſtance; and a ſtone fell from the heavens in the Bar of Enſiſheim, which weighed two hundred and ſixty pounds; and the noiſe was much louder in other places than here. A child then ſaw it ſtrike on a field, ſituated on the upper bar, towards the Rhine and the In, near the canton of Giſgane, which was ſown with wheat; it did not hurt, except that it made a hole there. It was afterwards tranſported thence, and a great many fragments were detached from it, which the land-vogt forbade. It was then depoſited in the church, with intention of ſuſpending it as a miracle; and a great many people came hither to ſee this ſtone, reſpecting which there were ſingular diſcourſes. But the learned ſaid they did not know what it was, for it was ſomething ſupernatural that ſo large a ſtone ſhould fall from the atmoſphere; but it was a miracle of God; becauſe, before that time, nothing of the kind had ever been heard of, ſeen, or deſcribed. When this ſtone was found, it had entered the earth to a depth equal to the height of a man. What every body aſſerted was, that it had been the will of God that it ſhould be found. And the noiſe of it was heard at Lucerne, at Villing, and many other places, ſo loud, that it was thought the houſes were all overturned. And when king Maximilian was here the Monday after St. Catharine's Day of the ſame year, his royal excellency cauſed the ſtone which had fallen to be carried to the Caſtle; and after converſing a long time with his lords, he ſaid the people of Enſiſheim ſhould take it; and he gave

vaccinated, he ſhut himſelf up in a lazaretto, with people attacked with carbuncles, without receiving any injury.

4th. That the ſame Dr. Valli inſerted into his own hand, a mixture of variolous and peſtilential virus, and having felt no effect from that trial, he meant the following week to inſert peſtilential virus alone.

5th. That Dr. Auban, having been informed, that in ſome villages near Conſtantinople, the cows were ſubject to ſome eruptions on their udders; he, with ſeveral gentlemen of the French embaſſy, went to thoſe villages, and found the cow-pox then exiſting. The report of the inhabitants was, that they had never known the plague, or the ſmall pox among them, though both theſe diſeaſes made dreadful ravages in the vicinity."

* Livy mentions the falling of ſtones from the air.

† See the fourth volume of the New Abridgment of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, where Dr. Hutton has collected the different opinions advanced on this ſubject.

orders that it ſhould be ſuſpended in the church, and that no perſon ſhould be permitted to take any part of it. His excellency, however, took two fragments, one of which he kept, the other he ſent to Duke Sigiſmund, of Auſtria. The people talked a great deal of this ſtone, which was ſuſpended in the choir, where it ſtill is, and many came to ſee it."

The next fact of this kind is to be found in the Memoirs of the emperor Ijanghire, written by himſelf, in the Perſian language, and tranſlated by colonel Kirkpatrick.

Early, ſays he, on the 30th of Furverdeen, of the preſent year, (1620,) and in the eaſtern quarter of the heavens, there aroſe in one of the villages of the Purgannah of Jalindher, about one hundred miles ſouth-eaſt of Lahore, ſuch a great and tremendous noiſe, as had nearly by its dreadful nature deprived the inhabitants of the place of their ſenſes. During this noiſe, a luminous body was obſerved to fall from above on the earth, ſuggeſting to the beholders, the idea that the firmament was raining fire. In a ſhort time, the noiſe having ſubſided, and the inhabitants having recovered from their alarm, a courier was diſpatched by them to Mahommed Syeed, the aumil or fiſcal ſuperintendant of the Purgannah, to advertize him of the event. The aumil inſtantly mounting his horſe, proceeded to the ſpot where the luminous body had fallen, here he perceived the earth, to the extent of ten or twelve yards in length and breadth, to be burnt to ſuch a degree, that not the leaſt trace of verdure, or even a blade of graſs was to be ſeen, nor had the heat communicated to it entirely ſubſided.

Mahommed Syeed directed the ground to be dug, when, at length, a lump of iron was found, the heat of which was ſo intenſe, that it might have been ſuppoſed to have been taken from a furnace. It became cold, when the aumil conveyed it to his own habitation, from whence he diſpatched it to court. Here it was weighed, and found equal to about four pounds. It was committed to a ſkilful artizan, with orders to make of it a ſabre, a knife, and a dagger. The workmen reported, that the ſubſtance was not malleable, but ſhivered into pieces under the hammer. Upon this, it was ordered to be mixed with other iron, viz. three parts of the *iron of lightning* to one of common iron, and from this mixture were made two ſabres, one knife, and one dagger, which were found equal to the beſt blades formed in the uſual way. The following relation is taken from a letter written by the late Earl of Briſtol to Sir William Hamilton, dated Sienna, July the 12th, 1794.

"In the midſt of a moſt violent thunder-ſtorm," ſays his Lordſhip, "about a dozen ſtones of various weights and dimenſions, fell at the feet of different perſons, men, women, and children. The ſtones are of a quality not found in any part of the Sienneſe territory: they fell about eighteen hours after the enormous eruption of Mount Veſuvius: which circumſtance leaves a choice of difficulties in the ſolution of this extraordinary phœnomenon. Either theſe ſtones have been ignited, generated in the igneous maſs of clouds, which produced ſuch unuſual thunder, or which is equally incredible, they were thrown from Mount Veſuvius, at a diſtance of at leaſt two hundred and fifty miles: judge then of the parabola. The philoſophers here incline to the firſt ſolution. I wiſh much, Sir, to know your ſentiments. My firſt objection was to the fact itſelf, but of this there were ſo many eye-witneſſes, it ſeems impoſſible to withſtand their evidence *.

Sir William Hamilton, it ſeems, alſo received a piece of one of the largeſt ſtones, which weighed upwards of five pounds, and had ſeen another which weighed about one. He likewiſe obſerved, that the outſide of every ſtone which had been found, and had been aſcertained to have fallen from the clouds near Sienna, was evidently freſhly vitrified, and was black, having every appearance of having paſſed through an extreme heat. The inſide was of a grey colour, mixed with black ſpots, and ſome ſhining particles, which the learned had decided to be pyrites †.

Mr. Southey relates an account, judically authenticated, of a ſtone weighing ten pounds, which was heard to fall in Portugal, February 1796, and was taken ſtill warm from the ground ‡.

In 1796, a ſtone weighing fifty-ſix pounds, was exhibited in London, with ſeveral atteſtations of perſons who, on the 13th of December 1795, ſaw it fall, near Wold Cottage, in Yorkſhire, at about three o'clock in the afternoon. It had penetrated through twelve inches of ſoil, and ſix inches of ſolid rock, and in burying itſelf had thrown up an immenſe quantity of earth to a great diſtance: as it fell, a number of exploſions were heard, about as loud as piſtols. In the adjacent villages, the ſounds heard were taken for guns at ſea: but at two adjoining villages was heard ſomething ſingular paſſing through the air, ſo diſtinctly towards the habitation of Mr. Topham, that five or ſix people came up to ſee if any thing extraordinary had happened to his houſe or grounds. When the ſtone was extracted, it was warm, ſmoaked, and ſmelt very ſtrong of ſulphur. Its courſe, as far as could be collected from different accounts, was from the ſouth-weſt. The day was mild and hazy, a ſort of weather very frequent in the Wold Hills, when there are no winds or ſtorms; but there was not any thunder or lightning the whole day. No ſuch ſtone is known in the country. There was no eruption in the earth, and, from its form, it could not come from any building; and as the day

* Philoſ. Tranſ. 1795, p. 103.
† Ibid. 1802, p. 1. 174—5.
‡ Letters written during a ſhort reſidence in Spain and Portugal, p. 239.

was

was not tempeſtuous, it did not ſeem probable that it could have been forced from any rocks, the neareſt of which are thoſe of Hamborough Head, at the diſtance of twelve miles. The neareſt volcano is, probably, Hecla, in Iceland *.

A few fragments of theſe ſtones were depoſited in the Britiſh Muſeum, in the year 1803.

Mr. Clarke, of Jeſus College, ever anxious to enrich the literary archives of his native country with the choiceſt productions of antiquity, travelled over Greece, in order to collect whatever was rare in that country. On his return in this year, (1803,) he brought the following manuſcripts with him.

From Patmos.—The works of Plato moſt beautifully written upon vellum, in folio. The Scholia, in minute capitals. The Colyphon proves that it was written by John, the Calligraph for Arithras, deacon of Patræ, for thirteen Byzantine nummi, in the fourteenth year of the indiction, and the 6404 of the world, (A. D. 896,) in the reign of Leo, ſon of Baſilius. 2. Lexicon of St. Cyril, of Alexandria. 3. Greek poetry, accompanied by ancient Greek muſical notes. 4. Ditto, ditto. 5. The works of Gregory of Naziantium.

From Naxos.—Copies of the Goſpels, in capitals of very ancient date.

From Mount Athos.—1. The Orations of Demoſthenes. 2. The works of ten Athenian orators, ſome of which not hitherto known.

From Constantinople.—1. The works of Dionyſius, the Areopagite. with a curious and learned Commentary, written on vellum, in folio. 2. A complete copy of the Goſpels, written in the eighth century. 3, 4, 5 and 6. Various copies of the Goſpels and of the Epiſtles, and Acts of the Apoſtles, of different dates. 7. The works of Philip the Hermit. 8. The Dialogues of Theodore, the Syracuſan. 9. A work on the Greek Grammar. 10, 11 and 12. The writings of the commentators on the Goſpels; and the works of the earlieſt fathers of the church. 13. Very ancient copy of the Evangeliſtarium of the Greek church. 14. Ditto ditto. 15. A work of Philos on animals.

Of the Plato, which profeſſor Perſon calls a *monument of literature*, it may be well to add, that it is the oldeſt Greek manuſcript in the world, with an expreſs date. Dorville (*on Chariton*, p. 49, 50.) had in his poſſeſſion a manuſcript of Euclid, written in the preceding year; and Montfaucon mentions (Paleagraphia, p. 42.) having ſeen a Greek MS. ſix years older; but theſe have now diſappeared. The profeſſor has been long employed, in copying with infinite labour, the Scholia; and has diſcovered, by that means, paſſages from Greek plays, and from poets that were loſt.

This is the only country in the univerſe in which philoſophy and commerce may be ſaid to contribute to the ſupport and diffuſion of each other. Chemiſtry, mineralogy, &c. point out the value of whatever grows on the ſurface of the earth, or lies concealed in the bowels of it. It is thence that trade ſpreads her wings, and wafts what may be called our ſuperfluities to the moſt diſtant ſhores. Thoſe who wiſh to ſee this ſubject treated at large, will find their time amply repaid in the peruſal of a work completed in this year, under the title of "Annals of Commerce," in four volumes quarto, written by Mr. David Macpherſon. This elaborate publication coſt the writer ten years cloſe application. His materials were drawn from the moſt authentic ſources, and perhaps no man was ever better qualified to arrange them. Every line almoſt is founded on authority. The firſt volume is devoted to the antient ſtate of trade and navigation, and is truly valuable to thoſe who can reliſh truth diveſted of fable, the figments of the poets, or the dreams of theoriſts. We have to lament that little was added to our national hiſtory in the courſe of the time we are ſpeaking, and even that little on ſubjects of temporary intereſt.

Thoſe who looked forward to this branch of literature, found conſolation, however, in the proſpectus of a work, that will ever be read with avidity, and which is now ready for the preſs. The work we allude to bears the following title:

"Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Antiqui, *ex vetuſtis MSS. Codicibus deſcripti, recogniti, nunc primum in Lucem editi, Adjectis Variis Lectionibus, Gloſſario, Diſſertationibus. Indiceque copioſo. A* Carolo O'Conor, d. d †."

The Iriſh writers have complained with ſome reaſon, that their domeſtic documents have been lightly ſet by, that the great Camden himſelf did not do them that juſtice that he ſhould have done ‡. Notwithſtanding the illuſtrious names of Stanihurſt,

* Philoſ. Tranſ. 1802, p. 1. 174—5.

† Dr. O'Conor, is the grandſon of the celebrated Charles O'Conor, eſquire, of Balenagar, in the county of Roſcommon, author of ſeveral curious tracts in the Hiſtory of Ireland. He is one of the few Iriſh hiſtorians, that ventured to diſcard thoſe fables and traditions that may be ſaid to have diſgraced the hiſtory of that country, even in the early ages of Chriſtianity. This was undoubtedly a great ſacrifice to truth, eſpecially in a man, whoſe anceſtors had born ſuch conſiderable ſway in that kingdom antecedent to the domination of Henry Plantaganet. His Diſſertations found many readers, and amongſt the reſt Dr. Johnſon, who correſponded with him. The work on which his fame principally reſts, is "The Ogygia vindicated againſt the Objections of Sir George Mackenzie." Mr. O'Conor has fairly proved, that all foreign and domeſtic writers have underſtood Ireland as the Scotia of Ammianus Marcellinus, and that Scotia and Hibernia were commutable terms up to the eleventh century. In the courſe of a long life, he amaſſed an immenſe collection of old Iriſh manuſcripts, which he could read with the greateſt facility. This hiſtorical treaſure is now depoſited in the Marquis of Buckingham's library, under whoſe auſpices the work in queſtion is to be publiſhed.

‡ *Perluſtras Anglos oculis, Camdene duobus,*
Uno oculo Scotos, cæcus Hiberne nas. i. e. Camden,
You view England with both eyes, Scotland with one, but you are blind to Ireland.

Ware,

Ware, Lynch, Uſher, Campbell, and thoſe who have vindicated the high antiquity, learning and honours of their country. As Ireland is now become a part of the United Kingdom, it is hoped that whatever relates to that portion of the empire, will be received with favour and read with candour. Dr. O'Conor has acceſs to the beſt materials for that ſubject, and as he is eminently qualified to diſcharge the taſk he has undertaken, it is hoped the learned will ſoon be gratified with what may be truly called a deſideratum in our national annals, and which Mr. Burke at one time ſo earneſtly wiſhed*.

CHAP. VII.

Juridical Proceedings, criminal and civil.

INTERESTING trials in our criminal and civil courts of juſtice have always claimed a certain portion of Engliſh hiſtory. This year furniſhed not a few, particularly one, which, on account of its novelty and magnitude, is entitled to take the lead.

On Friday the 8th of July 1803, Robert Aſlett, late aſſiſtant caſhier of the bank of England, was brought up to the bar of the Old Bailey, and capitally arraigned upon ten indictments, the ſum of which was that he had embezzled exchequer bills of the value of 1000*l.* each, to the amount of 200,000*l.* the property of the governor and company of the bank of England. The following is an outline of this extraordinary caſe.

The priſoner had been twenty-five years in the employ of the governor and company of the bank of England. The two laſt years of that period, he had been appointed to act under Mr. Abraham Newland, the chief caſhier; in all that time he had conducted himſelf with the utmoſt fidelity and attention to the line in which he was placed. In the year 1799, having gone through all the regular gradations, he was appointed one of the caſhiers. It was a part of the buſineſs of the bank to purchaſe exchequer bills, to ſupply the demands of government; the purchaſes were confided to Mr. Newland, but on account of the infirmities of that meritorious officer, the management of this branch was entruſted to the care of Mr. Aſlett. Theſe purchaſes were made of Mr. Goldſmid. The bills when purchaſed were depoſited in a ſtrong cheſt, and when they had encreaſed in bulk by ſucceſſive purchaſes, they were ſelected by the priſoner, tied up in bundles, and depoſited in the ſtrong cheſt, with three keys, in the preſence of the directors, who only had acceſs to it; nor could they be brought forth until the courſe of payment, unleſs by conſent of at leaſt two of the directors. On the 16th of March, the priſoner went to Mr. Biſh, and requeſted he would purchaſe for him 50,000*l.* conſols; and at the ſame time, as a requiſite ſecurity, he left in his hands three exchequer bills, the ſubject of the indictment. Mr. Biſh ſuſpected all was not right, and accordingly went to the Bank, where an inveſtigation took place. Mr. Newland was aſked whether any of the exchequer bills could, by poſſibility, get into the market again from the Bank? To which he anſwered in the negative; obſerving, they were a dormant ſecurity. The ſame queſtion was put to the priſoner, and the ſame anſwer given by him. When farther preſſed, he acknowledged that he had made purchaſes to a large amount of ſtock, with the bills, but that he had done ſo for a friend; and that the bills in queſtion were not bank property, nor to be found in the bought book. The directors however were not ſatisfied on this point, and he was immediately ſecured.

The counſel for the proſecution anticipated the objections which would be taken to the charge. It had occurred to thoſe employed in the proſecution that the bills in queſtion had been iſſued with an informality in them, not having the ſignature of the auditor of the exchequer. They were aware of this, and as parliament was not then ſitting, it was thought adviſeable to poſtpone the trial†, leſt it might create an alarm in the money market. The fact was no ſooner known, than a bill was paſſed into a law to remedy the defect, and to render the bills valid. The priſoner reſted his defence, through the medium of his counſel, on this ground, that it was evident that the legiſlature did not conſider them as valid, in conſequence of their not being ſigned by the auditor of the exchequer, or ſome one named by him, or the act would not have taken place. The court was clearly of opinion that the indictment could not be maintained, as the act of parliament had recognized the invalidity of the bills. The priſoner was accordingly not found guilty. He was however detained in cuſtody, as the bank directors

* Mr. Burke, in a letter addreſſed to Charles O'Conor, Eſq. makes uſe of theſe expreſſions: "Will you pardon me for reminding you of what I once before took the liberty of mentioning; my earneſt wiſh that ſome of the ancient Iriſh hiſtorical monuments ſhould be publiſhed as they ſtand, with a tranſlation in Latin or Engliſh. Until ſomething of this kind be done, *Criticiſm can have no ſecure anchorage.* How ſhould we be enabled to judge of hiſtories, or hiſtorical diſcuſſion on Engliſh affairs, where references are had to Bede, to the Saxon Chronicle, to Ingulphus, and the reſt, whilſt thoſe authors lurked in libraries, or what is worſe, lay in the hands of individuals. A little further on he adds, 'There is no doubt of a ſubſcription ſufficient to pay the expence. . . . The ability to undertake it has been found: but if any accident ſhould happen to you, what ſecurity have we that any other like you ſhould ſtart up?'"

† Mr. Aſlett was firſt arraigned on the 6th of June. The trial, on the application of the principal counſel for the proſecution, was put off to the ſeſſions following.

rectors

rectors intended to iſſue a civil proceſs againſt him for 100,000*l.* and upwards, the ſum paid for the bills which he had converted to his own uſe.

On the 17th of September 1803, Mr. Aſlett was arraigned on a ſecond indictment, in which he was charged with embezzling, and applying to his own uſe, certain papers, partly written, partly printed, ſecurities held by the bank of England for money advanced. The difference between the firſt indictment and the preſent was ſtated to be, that in the former the articles embezzled by Mr. Aſlett were ſpecifically ſtated to be exchequer bills; in the preſent they were laid as purporting to be exchequer bills. In one count they were ſtated as ſecurities, and as effects in another.

A number of perſons proved that the bills laid in the indictment were bought up by the Bank; ſeveral perſons alſo depoſed that theſe bills had been lodged with them as ſecurities. It was contended on the part of the priſoner, that the papers mentioned in the indictment were nothing but waſte paper, and that no money could be legally recovered on them. The jury pronounced a verdict of guilty.—The caſe was reſerved for the opinion of the twelve judges *.

The next trial that preſents itſelf as worthy of attention is one of that nature that is to be much lamented, and it is hoped that it will operate as an example to check the impetuoſity of ſudden reſentment, and the fatal effects that flow from it, in thoſe moments when reaſon is obliged to abandon her ſeat to a ſudden burſt of paſſion. On the 22d of April, Captain Macnamara † was tried for the murder of Colonel Montgomery in a duel ‡.

It appeared on the trial that on the 6th of April Colonel Montgomery was riding in Hyde Park, followed by a favourite Newfoundland dog. Captain Macnamara was riding there at the ſame time. The colonel ſaw his dog fighting with another, and perceiving that he was worſted, jumped off his horſe to ſeparate them; and when he had done ſo, he called out, "Whoſe dog is this?" By this time Captain Macnamara had come up, and anſwered, "That's my dog." "Then," ſaid the colonel, "If you don't call your dog off, I'll knock him down." The captain aſked, how he could have the arrogance to ſay he would knock his dog down? To which the colonel replied, "I certainly ſhall if he falls on mine again." This converſation led to almoſt an immediate meeting of the two gentlemen at Chalk Farm, which fatally ended in the death of Colonel Montgomery. When the priſoner was called on for his defence, he ſolemnly declared that he went into the field with no reſentment againſt the deceaſed, and that he could well have overlooked what he conceived to be a ſufficient provocation, if the world in its preſent ſtate could have overlooked it alſo. "Gentlemen," added he, addreſſing himſelf to the jury, "I am a captain in the Britiſh navy. My character you can only hear from others; but to maintain my character in that ſtation, I muſt be reſpected. When called upon to lead others into honourable danger, I muſt not be ſuppoſed to be a man who had ſought ſafety by ſubmitting to what cuſtom has taught others to conſider as a diſgrace. I am not preſuming to urge any thing againſt the laws of God, or of this land. I know that, in the eye of religion and reaſon, obedience to the law, though againſt the general feelings of the world, is the firſt duty, and ought to be the rule of action; but, in putting a conſtruction upon my motives, ſo as to aſcertain the quality of my actions, you will make allowances for my ſituation. It is impoſſible to define in terms the proper feelings of a gentleman, but their exiſtence have ſupported this happy country for many ages, and ſhe might periſh if they were loſt."—The jury pronounced an acquittal.

All writers on criminal juriſprudence have acknowledged that puniſhments ought to be proportioned to the gradation of crimes. The only difficulty is to form a ſcale for that purpoſe §; but there is one opinion in which all mankind are united, that murder

* On the 16th of April 1804, the opinion of the judges, finding R. Aſlett liable to the penalties of the act of the 15th of Geo. II. was declared at the Old Bailey by Mr. Baron Hotham.—Death.

† Captain Macnamara is a native of Ireland, and bred to the navy. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in three ſucceſſive actions as commander of the Cerberus frigate, and in ſeveral other engagements. He ſerved a conſiderable time on the Cork ſtation, and in the Weſt Indies. He was made a poſt captain in 1795. When this unfortunate affair took place he was about thirty-ſix years of age, well made, bold, and active; highly beloved by his own crew, and his brother officers.

‡ Mr. Montgomery was alſo a native of Ireland, and lieutenant-colonel of the ninth regiment of foot; ſon of the late Sir Robert Montgomery, and brother by the half blood to the Marchioneſs of Townſhend, and the wife of Mr. George Byng. He was a man of high military tone, poliſhed manners, winning addreſs, pleaſing form, and had ſcarcely accompliſhed the twenty-eighth year of his age. In the expedition to Holland, the Ruſſians having taken flight, his regiment was thrown into confuſion, and retreated in conſequence of the Ruſſians having fallen back on them. At this time a drummer was killed, Mr. Montgomery flew to the drum, ſtood alone, beat it, rallied his men, and led them on to the charge, in which they rendered eſſential ſervices. Egypt and Malta bore teſtimony to his gallantry. He was honoured by the ſociety and friendſhip of the Prince of Wales, and other diſtinguiſhed characters.

§ If an equal puniſhment be ordained for two crimes that injure ſociety in different degrees, there is nothing to deter men from committing the greater, as often as it is attended with greater advantage. *Beccaria*, c. 6.

To equal robbery with murder is to reduce murder to robbery, to confound in common minds the gradations of iniquity, and incite the commiſſion of a greater crime to prevent the detection of a leſs.

He who knows not how often rigorous laws produce total impunity, and how many crimes are concealed and forgotten for

der ought to be punifhed with death. This law is written by the finger of God heavier on the human heart; yet even in murder itfelf there are fhades of difference. The blackeft are thofe in which the laws of nature as well as thofe of God are violated, of which the following are melancholy examples:—

On Friday the 14th of January George Forfter was put upon his trial at the Old Bailey, for the wilful murder of his wife and Louifa Forfter, his infant daughter. It appeared from the teftimony of the witneffes that on Sunday the 5th of December the prifoner, accompanied by his wife, came to the Mitre Tavern, Wormwood Scrubs *, about two o'clock, and left it about four. They drank fome liquor, but neither of them appeared to be in the leaft affected by it. On leaving the houfe the woman wrapped up the child, and with a tofs of her elbow exclaimed, "This is the laft time I fhall be here." The next morning a boatman found the body of a child in the canal about a mile from the Mitre, and the body of a woman about two hundred yards from the fame place. The body of the woman was identified to be the fame who had been in company with the prifoner on the Sunday preceding at the public houfe. The prifoner on being apprehended had voluntarily figned an examination, in which he ftated, that he had been along with his wife at the Mitre, where they had fome rum and porter. They left it about three o'clock, when the prifoner fet off for Barnet to fee two of his children, but he went no farther than Whetftone. He came back to town, and did not fee his wife or child afterwards. He faid when he left his wife to go to Barnet, fhe was fomewhat in liquor. The judge pointed out the inconfiftencies in the prifoner's relation. Several refpectable perfons gave him a good character. He was found guilty, and executed on the Monday following †. At the place of execution, he confeffed that he had unhappily conceived a moft inveterate hatred for his wife, which determined him to rid himfelf of a being that he loathed. He alfo acknowledged that he had taken her twice before to the Paddington canal, with the wicked intention of drowning her, but that his refolution had failed him, and fhe had returned unhurt; and even at the awful moment of his confeffion, and the aflurance of his approaching diffolution, he feemed to regret more the lofs of his infant than the deftruction of the woman, whom he had fworn to cherifh and protect.

Joleph Heald and John Terry were indicted at the York aflizes, on the 24th of March 1803, for the murder of Elizabeth Smith, aged fixty-feven, at Flamfhaw, near Wakefield. The deceafed bore an excellent character, and having been reduced to diftrefs, received eighteen guineas from her fon at Leeds, which was noifed about in the neighbourhood. The prifoners were both apprentices. Terry, when apprehended, confeffed the murder, and detailed the barbarous manner in which it had been perpetrated, by *braying* her over the head with the tongs, and then cutting her throat with a razor. Immediately after this confeffion, when the prifoners were confronted, Heald faid, "Terry, I thought thou would not have deceived me fo, thou knows I was not with thee." To which Terry anfwered, "Thou knows there is a God above that knows all." A fecond time Heald afked Terry why he fhould deceive him, and faid, "Thou had better lay it upon fomebody elfe." Terry replied, "I will not lay it upon an innocent man, thou knows there was but us two, and God for our witnefs." They were found guilty, and executed.

On their being brought on the platform, Terry exhibited a fcene of the moft brutal ftubbornnefs. He ran to the front, and exclaimed in a loud voice, "They are going to hang an innocent man, (meaning Heald) "he is as innocent as any of you!" On uttering of which, he made a fudden fpring, in order to get down the ladder, which he would have effected, had he not been laid hold of by the clergyman. While they were pulling him back, he again exclaimed, "It was I that murdered that woman; I faid it was Heald, but I did fo to fave my own life, and would not any of you hang an innocent man to fave your own life?" Which he repeated, "Don't hang Heald, if you do, I fhall be guilty of two murders." The clergyman then proceeded to do his duty, to which Terry paid no attention, but continued very clamorous, notwithftanding the entreaties of Heald, not to deprive him of the benefit of the prayers; but Terry was not to be reftrained, and it was from the utmoft exertions of five or fix men that he could be dragged to the drop, and the rope forced over his head; during which he tore off his cap, and at the moment when

fear of hurrying the offender to that ftate in which there is no repentance, has converfed very little with mankind. They who would rejoice at the correction of a thief, are yet fhocked at the thoughts of deftroying him. His crime fhrinks to nothing when compared with his mifery, and feverity defeats itfelf by exciting pity. *Rambler*, No. 114.

* Near the Paddington canal.

† It was on the body of this unhappy man that the effects of Galvinifm was firft tried in England. A few hours after his execution Mr. Aldini, with feveral profeffional gentlemen, repaired to where the body lay for diffection. On the firft application of the procefs to the face, the jaw began to quiver, and the adjoining mufcles were horribly contorted, and one eye was actually opened. In the fubfequent part of the application, the right hand was raifed and clenched, and the legs and thighs fet in motion; fo that the uninformed part of the bystanders really thought that life was returning. The procefs fhewed however the excitability of the mufcles of the human frame.

the platform ſunk, which put an end to the life of Heald; Terry made a ſpring, and threw himſelf againſt a rail of the ſcaffold, got his foot upon the ſide of a beam, and caught the corner poſt with his arm, by which he ſupported himſelf, and in this dreadful ſituation, he continued about a minute, till he was forced off by the executioner, and launched into eternity with his face uncovered.

Stephen Stilwell was indicted at the Surrey aſſizes, on the 26th of March, 1803, for the murder of his wife. The priſoner and the deceaſed had kept a public houſe in Mortlake. On the morning of the 28th of September, the priſoner was heard to ſay to his wife, "Come, get up, your time is expired." The wife anſwered, "My dear Stilwell, don't murder me." In a few minutes after, he was ſeen to run out of the houſe, with his hands reeking with blood; as he ran, he exclaimed, "I have gained my liberty." He was purſued, and brought to juſtice. In his defence, he ſaid, he did not know what he did, his mind was very much diſtreſſed by her aggravating temper. The jury, without heſitation, returned a verdict of guilty. He was executed on the Saturday following.

In a commercial country, all trials in caſes of forgery muſt be intereſting. On the 16th of February, 1803, Joſeph Jemmett was put to the bar of the Old Bailey, on a charge of having forged and uttered a promiſſory note of five pounds, purporting to be a note of the Stowmarket Bank, Suffolk, drawn by George Brown, on Meſſrs. Barclay, Tritton, and Co. with an intent to defraud the ſaid George Brown, &c. the firm of the Suffolk and Eſſex Bank. The priſoner called on an engraver a few weeks before, and employed him to engrave a plate for him, exactly ſimilar to a copy which he gave him, which was that of the notes of the Stowmarket Bank. The priſoner had a number of impreſſions worked from this plate, and uttered one of them, a five pound note, to a linen draper in Cranbourn Alley, on the 14th of January. The engraving of the plate, the printing, and utterance of the notes being proved, the priſoner was found guilty.

Acts of cruelty to puniſh apprentices have rarely eluded the purſuit of juſtice, and notwithſtanding examples which have been made of theſe monſters in a human form, who ſeem to delight in their cruelty, yet ſtill there are ſome who ſet the laws of their country, and the indignation of the public at defiance. The following proſecution reflects great credit on the humanity of the officers, &c. of Biſhopſgate pariſh, as it was brought forward at their expreſs inſtance.

On the 14th of February, Ann Brown was arraigned at the Old Bailey, for twenty-three aſſaults of Ann Harris, a child of eleven years old, who had been bound apprentice to her for pin-head making. It came out on the trial, that the child who had been ſo cruelly beaten by the priſoner and her huſband, had died a few months back, and as her death was ſuppoſed to have been in conſequence of the cruelty ſhe had ſuſtained at their hands, a coroner's inqueſt was taken on the body, who returned a verdict of "Died by the viſitation of God." In conſequence of which, the priſoners got rid of the capital part of the offence, but the pariſh of Biſhopſgate deemed it their duty to bring her to juſtice. Hannah Blewett, a girl about ten years old, a fellow-apprentice of the deceaſed, ſtated in very artleſs language, that when Ann Harris firſt came, ſhe was in good health, and well looking, but that in ſome time after, ſhe began to look pale, grew ſickly, and could not finiſh the taſk of work belonging to her. An hour glaſs ſtood continually by her, and it was expected by their miſtreſs, that ſhe was to produce ſix ounces of manufactured pins in the ſpace of an hour, and if ſhe did not, ſhe was ſerved in the following manner: part of the pins were run into her arms, and in different parts of her body, till the blood flowed from the wounds. At one time two ſteel files were broken by beating her over the head, which cauſed her to ſpit a quantity of blood. At another time, ſhe remembered the priſoner placing Ann Harris on the hob of the fire-grate, with a great log of wood hung from one of her feet, and her arm ſtretched up the chimney, holding a brick-bat, and in that ſtate ſhe was made to remain two hours, and having let the brick-bat fall, ſhe was forced with blows to take it up again, though ſhe was ſo weak that ſhe could ſcarce ſpeak. The hours allotted to this unhappy child for labour, were from ſeven in the morning till nine at night, or until her taſk was finiſhed. The reſt of the apprentices were alſo treated with great cruelty, and their very appearance in court juſtified it. Several witneſſes confirmed the teſtimony of Hannah Blewett. The jury found her guilty, and the recorder ſentenced her to be confined in Newgate for the ſpace of three years. In the month of April following, Nicholas Harrington, a chimney-ſweeper, was indicted at Clerkenwell, for ill treatment to Thomas Radcliff, his apprentice, by putting iron fetters on the boy's legs at night when he went to bed, and other acts of cruelty. He was convicted, and ordered to be ſeverely puniſhed.

Notwithſtanding the freedom of the preſs in this country, yet ſuch is the juſt ſenſe which the Engliſh nation entertain of the value of private and public character, that the courts of juſtice are always open to thoſe who may think that they have been "robbed of their good name." The following trial diſplays the purity and impartiality of the diſpenſation of our laws even to foreigners.

On the 14th of February, 1803, John Peltier was tried in the court of King's Bench, on an information filed by the attorney-general, for a libel againſt

citizen

citizen Bonaparte, firſt conſul of the French republic *. With a view as ſtated in the information, to excite the ſubjects of the French republic to deprive him of the conſular office, and to aſſaſſinate him.

The attorney-general having ſtated the nature and tendency of the libel, drew a line of diſtinction between what might be called fair hiſtorical diſcuſſion on the one hand, and a libel on the other. "Any publication," ſaid he, "written by a philoſopher, or hiſtorian, for the purpoſe of communicating important information to mankind, and written fairly, and *bona fide*, and without any intention to defame the characters of men, ſuch a publication he ſhould never think of making the ſubject of a criminal proſecution; but, if, as in the caſe in queſtion, defamation was the ſole object of the publication; and, if, it had a direct tendency to excite a jealouſy and hatred againſt the then government of France, and above all, to interrupt the peace which at the time ſubſiſted between this country, he really thought that no lawyer would ſtand up, and ſay it was not an offence that did not call for puniſhment." The learned gentleman dilated on theſe points with great eloquence, in order to ſhew that no government recognized by his majeſty ſhould be libelled with impunity.

Mr. Mackintoſh †, counſel for the defendant, contended that the publication, which made the ground-work of the proſecution, was iſſued for the purpoſe of amuſing and conſoling the fellow ſufferers of M. Peltier, by occaſional reflections on the factions which divided, and the diſturbances which agitated the land from which they were exiled. It was intended as a conſolation to them, to whom no conſolation was left, but in the contemplation of the inſtability of human affairs, and in ſeeing thoſe by whom they were expelled, the victims of fortune in their turn. His client was the only writer that dared to ſpeak of a family once the moſt auguſt in Europe. He alſo contended that the chief magiſtrate of France did not direct this attack ſo much againſt the defendant, as againſt the freedom of the Britiſh preſs. Holland, Switzerland, and the Imperial Towns, at one time participated with us the freedom of the preſs; Holland and Switzerland were no more, and upwards of fifty of the free Imperial Towns of Germany had vaniſhed ſince the commencement of the proſecution, in ſhort, every preſs from Palermo to Hamburgh was ſilenced. Mr. Mackintoſh took a ſhort retroſpect of the libels and invectives which were daily poured out in the French official journal (the Moniteur) on the government and people of this country. With reſpect to that part of the Ode, which alluded to the aſſaſſination of Cæſar, he denied that it tended to recommend or juſtify aſſaſſination. He ſtated a variety of caſes, in which that event had been alluded to in many authors, who were never ſuſpected of a wiſh to excite the commiſſion of aſſaſſination. He then quoted many paſſages from Engliſh hiſtory, in order to point out the freedom of political diſcuſſion in this country, which was not confined to our own affairs, but extended to that of other ſtates. During the reign of Louis XIV. who had formed the moſt gigantic plans of *guilty* ambition, he who attacked a free nation merely for his *glory*, he who had made the guilty and infamous prince that then governed England, ſubſervient to his intereſts yet the conduct of that monarch was moſt freely canvaſſed. Nor did a venal court dare to ſtop the inveſtigation, even though a Jefferies diſgraced the bench. The only reſtraint upon great criminals was the public opinion, and to weaken the expreſſion of that opinion, was in a great degree to let looſe the paſſions of the great, to prey on the weak and defenceleſs. He hoped and truſted that a Britiſh jury would never be a party to ſuch purpoſes. In the days of Cromwell, he twice ſent a ſatiriſt upon his government to be tried by a jury; the ſcaffold on which the blood of their monarch was ſhed, was ſtill in their view; the claſhing of the bayonets which turned out their parliament, was ſtill in their hearing, yet they maintained their integrity; and twice did they ſend his attorney-general out of court with diſgrace and defeat.

Lord Ellenborough ſaid, he could not in the correct diſcharge of his duty, do otherwiſe than ſtate, that the publication in queſtion had a direct tendency to interrupt and deſtroy the peace and amity then ſubſiſting between the two countries, that they were in point of law a libel: and no recollection of the paſt, nor expectation of the future, he was certain, would warp the minds of the jury from the

* This libel was contained in an Ode ſuppoſed to be written by Chenier *, and publiſhed in the firſt number of a periodical work, entitled, L'Ambigu, edited by M. Peltier. The ſubject was the Fortunes of Bonaparte. The following are the verſes on which the proſecution was chiefly founded:

"De la France, O honte eternelle
"Cæſar, au bord du Rubicon,
"A contre lui, dans ſa querelle,
"Le ſenat, Pompee, et Caton;
"Et, dans les plaines de Pharſale,
"Si la fortune eſt inegale,
"S'il te faut ceder aux deſtins;
"Rome, dans ce revers funeſte,
"Pour le venger, au moins il reſte
"Un poignard aux derniers Romains."

Tranſlation.

"Oh eternal diſgrace of France! Cæſar, on the banks of the Rubicon, has againſt him in his quarrels, the Senate, Pompey and Cato. If fortune is unequal in the plains of Pharſalia; if you muſt yield to the deſtinies, Rome, in this ſad reverſe, at leaſt, there remains to revenge you, a poignard among the laſt of the Romans."

† Now Sir James Mackintoſh, knt. recorder of Bombay.

ſtraight

* A French poet, and one of the members of the Jacobin clubs in the revolutionary days of France.

ſtraight and even courſe of juſtice. The jury immediately found the defendant guilty *.

The great cauſe between Sir Jacob Aſtley and colonel Tooke Harwood, was tried at the Norfolk aſſizes, on the 2d of Auguſt, 1803. Major-general Money ſtated, that on the 6th of July, 1802, he ſaw colonel Harwood in the aſſembly room in Norwich, encircled by a number of people. The colonel mounted upon the table, juſt as the company were riſing to go back into the dancing-room, and having called out, and obtained ſilence, he ſaid, "Sir Jacob Aſtley is a liar, a coward, an aſſaſſin, for he murdered his own father." The witneſs minuted down the words a day or two after. A copy of the regiſter of the burial of Sir Edward Aſtley, the father of the plaintiff, was produced in court, by which it appeared, that he died at the age of ſeventy-two, and was buried April 2d, 1802. One of the witneſſes ſtated, that Sir Edward Aſtley and his ſon did not live upon good terms for a few years before the old man's death. Colonel Harwood called no witneſſes. The jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, with two thouſand pounds damages.

The following is the only nominant caſe of ſeduction ſubmitted to a jury in the courſe of this year. The plaintiff ——— Slack, was a weaver, a poor man, who had ſtruggled to give his children a virtuous and decent education, but was obliged to put his daughter to ſervice. The defendant —— Henderſon, by trade a carpenter, was his landlord, and next door neighbour, a man of ſome property, and above the middle age. Under theſe circumſtances, Slack allowed his daughter, a very young girl, to wait upon him as his ſervant. The defendant ſeized an opportunity of debauching the girl, who proved with child by him; the circumſtances of the caſe being proved on the part of the girl, who was then eighteen, and who had entered the ſervice of her ſeducer at thirteen. Lord Alvanley ſtated to the jury, all the circumſtances of aggravation in this caſe: the poverty of the father, the confidence that he repoſed in the defendant, who had reached that time of life when he ought to have bridled his paſſions. The learned judge concluded by obſerving, that though he would not wiſh to hang a man for ſuch an offence, yet if gentlemen choſe to give way to their paſſions, that they ſhould at leaſt be made to pay for them. The jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, damages one hundred and forty pounds.

The following cauſe in the language of the learned judge who tried it, is one of the moſt feeling and lamentable caſes that ever came into a court of juſtice.

It was an action of *crim. con.* Smith *v.* Smith. It was tried in the court of King's Bench, on the 7th of July, 1803. The parties were brothers ſons. The plaintiff took the defendant into his houſe, when he was left a helpleſs orphan, a few months old, and reared him with the utmoſt affection; gave him an excellent education, bound him to a lucrative branch of buſineſs, and when out of his apprenticeſhip, fitted up a part of his own houſe, as a ware-room for him, and ſet him up as a Birmingham manufacturer. Mrs. Smith (the wife of the plaintiff) had continued for years after her marriage, a virtuous and affectionate wife †. She began, however, by degrees, to evince ſymptoms of indifference, which grew at laſt to ſuch a height, that ſhe called for a ſeparation from her huſband, and refuſed him the rites of the marriage bed. The alienation of her affections, and the violation of her conjugal fidelity, were traced to the defendant, and fully proved to the ſatisfaction of the jury, who, without heſitation, brought in a verdict for the plaintiff, damages three thouſand pounds.

In the long liſt of civil caſes which occupied the attention of the courts of juſtice in the courſe of this year, the following is not the leaſt intereſting. It was an iſſue directed out of the court of Chancery in Ireland, to try whether Patrick Theobald Burke, minor, was or was not the legitimate ſon of Theobald Burke, of the county of Galway, deceaſed, upon the event of which a conſiderable landed property in that county depended.

It was ſtated on the part of the minor, that Theobald Burke (the reputed father) was lawfully married to Eleanor Hardigan, by a Popiſh prieſt, on the 20th of July, 1800—that Theobald Burke did not die until the 16th of Auguſt, 1800, nor fall ſick until ſome days before: that the ſaid Eleanor his wife, was delivered of the plaintiff, on the night of the 12th of March, 1801: that ſhe appeared to be pregnant in the November after her huſband's death, and to increaſe in bulk until her delivery: that ſhe had been ſeen to ſuckle the child before ſhe procured a nurſe, and that milk had been drawn from her breaſt afterwards; and that the plaintiff was identified to be her child. On the part of the defendants it was ſtated, that the ſaid Theobald Burke was a very diſſipated man, and never married: that the ſaid Eleanor Hardigan had lived with him as a kept woman, by whom he had ſeveral children, ſome of whom were then of age, at the time of the alledged marriage, and long before, he was lying ill of a fever of which he died: that Eleanor Hardigan, on his death, ſet up a pretended will in favour of one of the natural children ſhe had borne him, which ſhe relinquiſhed, and then ſet up the plaintiff as the legitimate ſon and heir of the deceaſed. It

* As the war with France broke out ſoon after, M. Peltier was not called up for judgment.

† At the time ſhe had four children by her diſconſolate huſband.

was farther ſtated, that the ſaid Eleanor Hardigan had not, previous to the report of her delivery, ſhewed ſymptoms of pregnancy: that ſhe refuſed to permit a midwife ſent by the defendants after the report of her delivery, to ſee herſelf or the child: that Bridget Swift, wife of Thomas Swift, of the county of Mayo, was delivered of a ſon within a few days of the birth of the plaintiff: that Mary Hardigan, half-ſiſter to the ſaid Eleanor, prevailed on Thomas and Bridget Swift, for a ſum of money, to give up their child to the ſaid Eleanor, that ſhe might paſs it off as her own. All the windings of this intricate plot were developed in ſo circumſtantial a manner, as to induce the jury, after a ſhort deliberation, to pronounce the following verdict. "That Patrick Theobald Burke, the plaintiff, was not the legitimate ſon of Theobald Burke, deceaſed, but was the ſon of Thomas and Bridget Swift."

However the neceſſity of the deprivation of life on almoſt any occaſion, may be lamented, yet it is a matter of conſiderable triumph on the ſide of humanity and virtue, that few perſons, compared with other periods*, ſuffered death by the hands of the common executioner, in the courſe of the year 1803, if we except thoſe who were executed for high treaſon; and of the few who did ſuffer, it muſt be acknowledged, that they had a fair trial, and that their crimes were of the deepeſt die. As the execution of Hatfield was the moſt remarkable, we ſhall give it.

Having already given a circumſtantial account of the trial of Hatfield, (See p. 201—2.) which made ſo great a noiſe at the time: in order to follow it up, we ſhall now add the execution of this remarkable impoſter.

On the third of September, John Hatfield was executed near Carliſle, on a ſmall iſland formed by the river Eden, on the north ſide of the city. Having paſſed the morning in prayer, read a newspaper, drank a diſh of coffee, wrote ſome letters, and incloſed his pen knife in one addreſſed to a friend in London: he ſat for ſome time in a very compoſed poſture, without uttering a word even to the clergyman who attended him. The ſheriffs, the bailiffs, and the Carliſle cavalry, came to the gaol door, about half-paſt three, together with a poſt-chaiſe and a hearſe. He was then ordered into the turnkey's lodge, for the purpoſe of being pinioned, when he enquired who was going in the chaiſe with him? on being anſwered, the executioner and the jailor. He immediately ſaid, "pray, where is the executioner? I ſhould wiſh much to ſee him." The executioner was ſent for. Hatfield aſked him, how he was? and made him a preſent of ſome ſilver in a paper. During the time of his being pinioned, he ſtood with reſolution, and requeſted he might not be pinioned tight, as he wiſhed to uſe his handkerchief, when on the platform. On leaving the priſon, he wiſhed his fellow priſoners might be happy. As ſoon as the proceſſion had arrived at the ſcaffold, Hatfield immediately aſcended a dung cart boarded over, which was placed under the gibbet. He untied his handkerchief, and placed the bandage over his eyes. The executioner was extremely aukward, and Hatfield found it neceſſary to give directions as to the placing of the rope, and the proper method of driving away the cart. Having taken leave of the ſheriff and the jailor, with this expreſſion, "May heaven bleſs you all." He prepared for his fate, the cart was drawn away; he expired in a moment, without any ſtruggle. The ceremony of his hands being tied behind his back, was ſatisfied by a piece of white tape looſely paſſed from the one to the other, but he never made the ſmalleſt effort to relieve himſelf. He was cut down after he had hung about an hour. His coffin was large purſuant to his own directions, as he ſaid he meant to be laid in it with all his cloaths on. It was made of oak, adorned with plates. He died in the belief that he would be buried at Burgh. Lord Lowther, however, would not permit it, as he thought that the memory of Edward I. would be profaned, if the remains of a malefactor were placed near the ſpot where that prince expired, and to whoſe memory his lordſhip had juſt raiſed a monument†. He was interred in St. Mary's Church Yard, in a diſtant corner, far from any other grave. His body was committed to the earth without any religious ſervice. His demeanor at the gallows, which partook more of reſignation than contrition, excited a momentary compaſſion, which would have been more general and laſting, if he had been hurried into the crime for which he ſuffered, through the impetuoſity of youth, but which he could not plead, for he was forty-five years of age; and when to this was added the deſertion of an amiable wife, and the deliberate ſeduction of an unſuſpecting young woman, it was not to be expected, that a ſingle tear or ſigh ſhould ſmooth his paſſage to the grave.

We have now to notice the commiſſion of a crime, which humanity has attributed to inſanity—Suicide—

* In the two circuits in England, (Norfolk and Midland,) from the year 1750 to 1772, there were nine hundred and fifty-three perſons ſentenced to death; two hundred and thirty-three of whom were executed. At the Old Bailey, from 1749 to 1771 incluſive, one thouſand one hundred and twenty-one were capitally convicted; ſix hundred and ſeventy-eight of whom were executed. In Scotland, from January 1768 to May 1782, being thirteen years, fifty-four perſons were executed, being on an average only of four in each year. See *Howard's State of Priſons.*

† Edward the Firſt died of a dyſentery at Burgh, on his way to invade Scotland. It is of this prince that Camden has ſaid, "God pitched his tent in his heart."

a crime

a crime that the wiſeſt and the beſt of the heathens * have written againſt, and that even the conſolating principles of Chriſtianity have not been able to eradicate. Arthur Barry Shears, eſquire, arrived on the ſeventh of February, at the Bull Inn, Burford, accompanied by his wife. About ten o'clock, the lady retired to her bed-room, when Mr. Shears immediately locked the door, and diſcharged a large piſtol at his head; the contents lodged in his brain. He languiſhed ſome hours, and expired in great agony. Mr. Shears had conſiderable property in Ireland, but in conſequence of irregularities in remittances, he was reduced to ſome pecuniary embarraſſment, which would have been but temporary. Mr. Shears had ſerved with reputation in the navy, and afterwards held a commiſſion in the South Cork militia. He had ſcarce been married a year to a moſt accompliſhed young lady, and affectionate wife, of whom he was paſſionately fond, and what may ſeem extraordinary, he appeared ſo eaſy in his mind, as to amuſe himſelf with adjuſting his wife's head dreſs, a few moments previous to the commiſſion of the raſh act. He was a gentleman of very inoffenſive manners, and much beloved by a large circle of friends and acquaintances.

Samuel Matthews, known for many years by the name of the Dulwich Hermit, on the death of a beloved wife, reſolved in the forty-ſecond year of his age, to paſs the remainder of his days in retirement. For this purpoſe, he obtained leave of the governors of Dulwich common to form himſelf a little hermitage on their ground, in the neighbourhood of Sydenham common and Dulwich wood. On this ſequeſtered ſpot, he ſcooped a cavity in the earth, with his own hands, which he covered over with underwood and fern, in the neateſt manner. He ſlept in this hermitage every night for twenty-eight years. The ſimplicity of his manners, and the gaiety of his temper at times, endeared him to all the neighbourhood; as he was induſtrious, he uſed to work in the gardens of the gentry, who were very kind to him. On Sundays, he uſed to ſell beer to ſuch as curioſity might lead to viſit his cell. Some villains, one night, broke into his little abode, beat him in an unmerciful manner, and robbed him of twelve ſhillings, the whole amount of his hard earnings. This induced him to alter the conſtruction of his cave, by digging it in the form of an oven, in which he had juſt room to extend himſelf on a bed of fern and withered weeds, ſo as to preſs his feet againſt a board, which placed at the entrance, ſerved for a door. All theſe precautions, however, did not ſecure him from the further attacks of his enemies, for on the 25th of February, 1808, he was found dead near the entrance of his cave, with his jaw bone broken in two places, and a ſevere wound in his cheek. The body was covered with fern, and under his arm was an oaken branch, ſix or ſeven feet long, which it is ſuppoſed the villains put into the cave, in order to drag him out, as the hook part was found broken off, which exactly matched with the ſtock; and from the nature of the wound in his face, it ſeemed as if the hook had been hitched into his mouth, there being a hole of the ſize of it quite through his cheek: and in dragging him to the mouth of the cave, they muſt have turned the body, as his head, when diſcovered, was outermoſt. A ſecret packet, of which none of his acquaintances had any knowledge, did not eſcape the murderers, for it was turned out. On ſearching his cave, they only found his bottle and ſcrip. Several perſons were taken up on ſuſpicion of having committed the murder, but having proved their innocence, were diſcharged. The perpetrators of the horrid crime have as yet eſcaped the hands of juſtice. Milton was a poet, but no a prophet, in theſe lines:

—— Muſing meditation moſt affects
The penſive ſecrecy of deſart cell,
Far from the chearful haunt of mand and herds,
And ſits as ſafe as in a ſenate houſe,
For who would rob a hermit of his weeds,
His few books, or his beads, or maple diſh,
Or do his grey hairs any violence. COMUS.

A ſhocking murder was committed on the night of the 15th of February, near Throſtleneſt Bridge, about half a mile from Mancheſter, on the body of Mr. James Aldred, a reſpectable farmer, of Urmiſton. He had received in Mancheſter, that day, about eight hundred pounds, which fortunately for his family, he lodged in the hands of two gentlemen. He was ſhot through the heart; part of a pewter ſpoon was found in the body, the contents of the piſtol. He was ſeventy-two years of age, very much reſpected. The murderers, at the time of writing this, have not been diſcovered.

Mr. and Mrs. Rudd were murdered at a plantation near Warſaw, in the iſland of Jamaica, by three of their own negroes, on the fifteenth of September. About half paſt ſeven in the morning, Mr. and Mrs. Rudd, their little boy, (about two years old,) and Captain Read, of the ſhip Friends, of London, ſat down to breakfaſt. After breakfaſt, Mr. Rudd went to ſee ſome negroes, who were at work in a wood, about two hundred yards from the houſe. In a few minutes, Mrs. Rudd and the Captain heard a violent ſhrieking; they inſtantly ran out, the firſt object they beheld, was two of the negroes with bill hooks in their hands, covered with blood, and running towards them. There appeared no ſafety but in

* Martial has written a beautiful Latin epigram on the crime of ſelf-murder, of which the following is a free tranſlation:

When all the blandiſhments of life are gone,
The coward creeps to death, the brave live on.

flight.

flight. Captain Read caught Mrs. Rudd by the arm, and endeavoured to regain the house, but Mrs. Rudd was ſo alarmed, that ſhe ſunk on the ground. The monſters ſoon diſpatched her, and then purſued Captain Read, with all their ſpeed, luckily he gained, almoſt breathleſs, a plantation in which ſeveral friendly negroes were at work, who purſued the murderers into the woods, where, after a ſearch of two days, they were taken, and on the firſt of October, were tried, and executed; their heads cut off, and ſtuck upon poles, near the ſpot on which they had committed the ſanguinary deed. The little boy, terrified with the cries he had heard, as if directed by Providence, covered himſelf over with ſome cloths on the floor, and by ſo doing, eſcaped the hands of the mercileſs villains.

In the liſt of marriages in the courſe of this year, the following is not the leaſt remarkable Mr. Thomas Duffy, a reſpectable farmer, of Eperſtone, near Mansfield, in Nottinghamſhire, led Miſs Grame, a lady of fortune, in the county of Weſtmoreland, to the hymeneal altar, in the month of October. The parties were known to each other in youth, and became mutually enamoured, but the unrelenting oppoſition of parents, broke off the match. Mr. Duffy formed another connexion, he married, and was the father of ſeveral children, and became a widower: His firſt love was again renewed by correſpondence, and again fruſtrated, by the ſame means. He ſought conſolation in the arms of a ſecond wife, his family again increaſed; and once more he became a widower. His firſt flame was ſoon revived, and the former obſtacles being extinct, this loving couple were at laſt united, after a lapſe of twenty-five years; in the whole of which they never ſaw each other.

It is the peculiar province of hiſtory to embalm the memories of men, who have either laboured in the mines of learning, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the cabinet or the field, or proved a bleſſing to their kind, even in the humbler walks of life.

Thomas Aſtle, eſquire, died at his houſe, at Batterſey Riſe, Surrey, of a dropſical complaint, in his ſixty-ninth year. He was a man of uncommon induſtry and reſearch into the antiquities of his native country. He was the ſon of Mr. D. Aſtle, keeper of Needwood Foreſt, Staffordſhire, who indulged the partiality of his ſon for thoſe literary purſuits, that afterwards led to fame, a competent fortune, and a large circle of friends. He was firſt employed when a young man, to make an Index to the Harleian Catalogue of manuſcripts, which will long remain as a monument of his patience, correctneſs, and taſte. In 1763, he obtained the patronage of Mr. Grenville, then firſt lord of the treaſury and chancellor of the exchequer, who employed him as well in his public as private affairs, and joined him in a commiſſion with the late Sir Joſeph Ayloffe, bart. and Dr. Ducarel, for ſuperintending the regulation of the public records in Weſtminſter. On the death of his colleague, Mr. Topham, a deep and elegant ſcholar was ſubſtituted. In 1765, Mr. Aſtle was appointed receiver general of ſix pence in the pound on the civil liſt. In 1766, he was conſulted by the committee in the houſe of lords, concerning the printing of the antient records of parliament. In 1770, he was appointed by the houſe of lords to ſuperintend the work which he did to the end. On the death of H. Rooke, eſquire, chief clerk in the record office in the Tower, he ſucceeded to the office of keeper of the records. That he was eminently qualified to fill theſe ſituations, will beſt appear from his writings, many of which have enriched the Archæologia *.

But the work in which he has made every ſcholar his debtor, is, "The Origin and Progreſs of Writing, as well Hieroglyphic as Elementary; illuſtrated by engravings taken from marbles, MSS. and charters antient and modern; alſo ſome account of the origin and progreſs of printing, 1784, 4to. In this work, he has ſupplied the omiſſions of Hugo Hermanus, the learned Jeſuit †. A new edition was publiſhed in 1803, with one additional plate, from a MS. in the Britiſh Muſeum, marked Nero, D. IV. and a portrait of Mr. Aſtle, painted by Howard, and engraved by Shelton, in which the accidental loſs of an eye when at ſchool it concealed. He alſo publiſhed ſeveral curious charters, which in many caſes ſupply the broken links of the early periods of the hiſtory of this country; and ſhed conſiderable light on the manners and cuſtoms of our anceſtors.

Mr. Aſtle was elected a fellow of the Antiquarian Society, in 1763, and a fellow of the Royal Society, in 1766. He was beſides, a honorary member of ſeveral foreign literary ſocieties, and a truſtee of the Britiſh Muſeum.

The author of the "New Catalogue of Engliſh living Authors," thus delineates the literary character of Mr. Aſtle. "In order to treat his ſubject (the character and reign of Henry VII.) with advantage, he has exerted himſelf to view it on every ſide; and it muſt be allowed that he exhibits it in a very comprehenſive ſurvey. His learning, which is various, cannot eſcape obſervation; and his authorities in general are the beſt which could be found. His judgement, preciſion, and minuteneſs, are all to be highly commended. There is even a conſiderable ſpirit of philanthrophy in his work; and in ſo far he advances himſelf beyond the character of a mere antiquary. He diſplays not, however, any ſplendor or brightneſs of genius. He is ſimple and judicious, but not original. He avails himſelf of the labours of others with an aſſiduity that could not be wearied; and his collection of facts, being numerous, as well as exact, exhibits inſtructive openings into the important topics which he treats. His work is chiefly for conſultation, and ſerves to encourage rather

* Particularly the 4th, 7th, 10th, 12th,

† Hugo Hermanus, de Scribendi Origine.

than to ſuperſede the enquiries of thoſe who have a reliſh for the diplomatic ſcience, and the ſtudy of antiquity. We prize his labour more than his invention; and are more forcibly ſtruck with his patience than his ingenuity. In his language he is clear; and it is difficult to miſunderſtand the ſentiments he conveys; but he has no where the expreſſion of a maſter. The dryneſs of his manner ſuffers no interruption; it is cold, nerveleſs, and inſipid; and he advances through his performance without riſing into any ſtrain of animation, and without any approach towards elegance."

The reverend William Robinſon, who died at Burfield, in Berkſhire, aged ſeventy-five, was the ſon of Matthew Robinſon, eſquire, of Weſt Layton, in Yorkſhire, by Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Drake, eſquire, of Cambridgeſhire *. His elder brother, Matthew, Lord Rokeby, died November 30th, 1800, and he ſucceeded by his will to part of his eſtates in Kent, Yorkſhire, and Cambridgeſhire. In 1760, he married Mary, only daughter of Adam Richardſon, gent. Mr. Robinſon was educated at Weſtminſter and St. John's College, Cambridge, of which he was fellow, having proceeded B. A. 1750, M. A. 1754. In this learned ſeminary, he became acquainted with the poets Gray and Maſon †, who correſponded with him. In 1768, he was preſented to the rich living of Burford, on the death of the reverend George Talbot, who is mentioned in a letter of Lord Bolingbroke, in Swift's works, dated 1732, as inclined to make an exchange of this very living with the Dean, whom Bolingbroke wiſhed to bring back from Ireland, and place in his own neighbourhood ‡. Mrs. Scott and Mrs. Montague, of Portman Square, both well known in the literary world, were ſiſters of Mr. Robinſon. His ample fortune deſcended to his ſon, rector of Burfield, and his two daughters.

At his apartments in Greenwich Hoſpital, of a paralytic ſtroke, in the fifty-firſt year of his age, J. Willet Payne, eſquire, rear-admiral of the red, vice-admiral of the coaſts of Devonſhire and Cornwall, treaſurer of Greenwich Hoſpital, &c. He ſerved as a midſhipman aboard the Eagle, of ſixty-four guns, bearing the flag of Lord Howe, in the American war, whence he was made lieutenant, and promoted to the rank of poſt-captain, July 8th, 1780; he was appointed rear-admiral of the red, February 14th, 1799; and on the reſignation of Lord Bridport, in 1800, ſucceeded him in the office of treaſurer of Greenwich Hoſpital. He had the honour to convey the princeſs of Wales to England, in the Jupiter of fifty guns. Admiral Payne diſtinguiſhed himſelf on ſeveral occaſions, particularly in an action in the Weſt Indies, 1783, with a ſhip of very ſuperior force. He alſo commanded the Ruſſell, one of the ſhips in Earl Howe's memorable action on the firſt of June, 1794. For ſeveral years paſt, he had been the favourite companion of the heir apparent. He was allowed by all who had the beſt opportunities of knowing him, to be a gallant officer and a benevolent man.

On the 25th of November, Joſeph Wilton, eſquire, paid the debt of nature in the eighty-ſecond year of his age. He was a royal academician, and keeper of the academy. His public works, ſtatues, buſts, &c. ſufficiently evince his merit as an artiſt. Mr. Wilton was the favourite pupil of Mr. Delvauſe, a Flemiſh ſtatuary of conſiderable eminence. On the the expiration of his pupilage, he went to the royal academy at Paris, and practiſed under the celebrated M. Pegal, who was ſo highly pleaſed with his talents, that he recommended him to the firſt artiſts in Rome and Florence, in both of which places he ultimately ſpent many years ſtudying from the beſt models. He was at Rome in the year 1750, and gained the prize medal given by Benedict XIV. being ſaid to be the firſt Engliſhman that ever gained one for ſculpture. He returned home in 1755, after an abſence of ſixteen years in the company of theſe eminent artiſts, in their different lines, Sir W. Chambers, and Mr. Cypriani, with whom he continued to live in friendſhip, during the remainder of their lives. His profeſſional and private character went hand in hand, a ſteady friend and a kind maſter.

The ſciences, and the lovers of all ſcientific purſuits, loſt a warm friend in the death of George Biggen, eſquire, in the forty-third year of his age. This gentleman aſcended ſome years ago with M. Lunardi and Mrs. Sage, in an air-balloon. As he was a ſingle man of an affluent fortune, he indulged in thoſe purſuits that contributed to enlarge the powers of the mind. He ſpent a conſiderable time on the Continent, in habits of intimacy with men of congenial talents. Mr. Biggen ſtrenuouſly exerted himſelf to divert his ſcientific acquirements to uſeful purpoſes, and particularly agriculture and tanning, which recommended him to the intimate acquaintance of that noble patron of all uſeful arts, the late Duke of Bedford; ſo that a conſiderable portion of his time was ſpent at that ſchool of experiment Woburn Abbey, where different proceſſes were made on the barks of different kinds of wood, with a view to determine the proportions of the tanning principles they contained. Theſe experiments were afterwards printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions. Mr. Biggen having diſcovered ſome errors in the proceſs, began a new ſeries of experiments, in order to rectify them, in which his ſucceſs exceeded his expectation. Several of the experiments made at Woburn, were ſuggeſted by Mr. Biggin, that in

* Who made collections for an Athenæ Cantabrigienſes.

† See Maſon's Memoirs of Gray.

‡ See Swift's Works, edit. 1803, vol. xviii. p. 233.

particular of having ciſterns of water near the dung heaps, into which the cabbage ſtalks, and other refuſe of the kitchen garden, were thrown, to produce a liquor ſimilar, in ſome of its properties, to the water in which hemp or flax has been ſoaked, for watering the manure to promote its fermentation. Mr. B. at one time eſtabliſhed a tan yard on a large ſcale in Lambeth; where, by a chemical extraction of the tanning principle from bark, and a more ſcientific application of it to hides than is generally practiſed, leather of as good, and even better quality, was produced in ſome months leſs time than uſual.

Joſeph Oly, a native of the iſland of Otaheite, died at Mirfield, near Leeds, in the nineteenth year of his age. He was nearly allied to Pomue (the Otoo of Capt. Cook) the king of the country. He lived ſome months with the miſſionaries at Mattavia Bay, whom he uſed to mention by name with the moſt affectionate recollection: he was perſuaded to embark in company with another Otaheitean youth on board the Cornwall, Capt. Blythe, a South whaler, which touched at Otaheite in February 1799, on her way to Port Jackſon. In this veſſel he arrived in London, from whence he ſailed to the Weſt Indies. On his return, he was placed under the care of Dr. Okely, in the Moravian ſchool at Mirfield, in order to be inſtructed in the principles of the Chriſtian religion, with a view of being ſent home again thoroughly qualified to preach the goſpel to his countrymen. His progreſs in learning was rapid, if the impediments of the acquiſition of a new language is to be taken into the account. His manners were extremely gentle, his affections warm, and his amuſements of the moſt innocent kind. He died of a pulmonary complaint, which he bore with exemplary patience.

In his ſeventy-fifth year, the Rev. John Prior, B. D. vicar of Aſhby-de-la-Zouch. He was a native of Swiftland, and was maſter of the free-ſchool at Aſhby, where he reſided till his death. Mr. Prior was an excellent mathematician: he publiſhed a map of the county of Leiceſter in the year 1778, from an actual ſurvey taken in 1775—1777.

The name of Robert Jephſon, Eſq. who died this year in Ireland, will always hold a conſpicuous niche in the temple of fame as a dramatic writer. He held a commiſſion in the army for many years, and was formerly a member of the Iriſh parliament. The tragedy of Braganza was the firſt effort of his muſe; it was acted with ſucceſs at Drury-lane, and would have been received with ſtill greater applauſe, if the plot did not too cloſely reſemble that of Venice Preſerved. The Law of Lombardy, was acted nine nights at Drury-lane; the language is pure and claſſical, but the plot is evidently taken from "Much Ado about Nothing." There is ſcarcely a ſpecies of the drama, which he did not attempt, and often with ſucceſs. His convivial powers ſeemed to encreaſe with his years. His ludicrous productions were always read with great avidity, particularly his Epiſtle from Gorges Edmond Howard to George Faulkner.

Sir Robert Chambers, many years chief juſtice of the ſupreme court of judicature in Bengal, was the ſon of a reſpectable attorney at Newcaſtle upon Tyne. He was bred at Oxford. In 1745 he was choſen an exhibitor of Lincoln College; he afterwards became a fellow of Univerſity College, where he aſſociated with the firſt characters in that ſeminary, particularly Sir William Jones. In 1762 he was elected, by the univerſity, vinerian profeſſor of the laws of England. In 1766, the Earl of Litchfield, then chancellor of Oxford, gave him the appointment of principal of New Inn Hall, which office he continued to hold through life, as it required no reſidence or attendance. In 1768, he was offered the appointment of attorney general in Jamaica; which he thought proper to decline. In 1773, his profeſſional and academic fame had riſen to ſuch a height, that he was appointed ſecond judge of the ſupreme court of judicature in Bengal. Immediately before his departure for the Eaſt Indies, he married Miſs Wilton, the only daughter of the celebrated ſtatuary of that name. On the reſignation of Sir Elijah Impey, in 1791, Sir W. Chambers was advanced to the office of chief juſtice; and in 1797, he was elected preſident of the Aſiatic ſociety. At length, having remained in India twenty-five years, he obtained permiſſion to reſign, and was ſucceeded by Sir J. Anſtruther. He returned to England in 1799, in order to enjoy the fruits of his honeſt labours. In the autumn of 1802 his lungs were ſo much affected, that he was adviſed to viſit the ſouth of France; having reached Paris, he had an attack of a paralytic nature, and died on the 9th of May, in his ſixty-ſixth year.

Notwithſtanding the longeſt portion of his life was dedicated to the practice or adminiſtration of juſtice, yet he occaſionally found leiſure to cultivate thoſe ſtudies that charmed and embelliſhed his youthful days. A Latin epitaph on his friend Sir W. Jones, inſcribed by Flaxman on a monument erected in Oxford in 1803, may teſtify that the cares of the judge had not merged the ſtudies of the profeſſor. His collection of oriental books would enrich any muſeum.

Died, on the 26th of October, at his ſeat at Trentham Hall, county of Stafford, the Marquis of Stafford, the father of the houſe of peers. He was born in 1721; firſt married in 1744 to Elizabeth, daughter of Nicholas Fazakerley, Eſq.; ſecondly, in 1748, to Louiſa Egerton, daughter of Scrope, Duke of Bridgewater. His lordſhip was allied to many of the principal families in Great Britain. He was the laſt of the political junto called the Bloomſbury

bury gang, from their leader the old Duke of Bedford. Junius diſſolved this knot, which at one period was thought to be indiſſoluble. He was ſucceeded by Earl Gower, his eldeſt ſon, who was married in 1785 to the Counteſs of Sutherland. The preſent Marquis of Stafford is ſaid to be the richeſt nobleman in England, having joined the Sutherland and the Egerton eſtates to the immenſe inheritances of his own family.

At Aberdeen, in his 68th year, James Beattie, L.L.D. one of the profeſſors of moral philoſophy and logic, in the mariſchal college, and member of ſeveral philoſophical ſocieties. The doctor was born in the county of Kincardine, received the rudiments of his education at Aberdeen, taught ſchool for ſome years at Alloa in Fife; thence he went to Aberdeen, as aſſiſtant to the grammar ſchool of that town; and while in that ſituation, wrote his "Minſtrel," one of the moſt beautiful poetical productions in the Engliſh language. This poem was firſt publiſhed in 1770, and again in 1774. In his odes and elegies Gray was his model. Mr. Hume, perhaps, was the only writer that criticiſed the effuſions of his chaſte and feeling muſe with ſeverity. His Eſſay on the "Immutability of Truth, in oppoſition to Sophiſtry and Scepticiſm in 1777," 4to. introduced him to the acquaintance of Lord Lyttleton, Earl of Mansfield, Biſhops Hurd, Porteus, &c. He was appointed to a profeſſorſhip in Mariſchal College, through the favour of the noble family of Errol. His majeſty allowed him a penſion. Doctor Beattie wrote on many ſubjects; but thoſe on religion and morality have, and always will rank the higheſt. He uſed to ſpend his ſummers in England, with his early patroneſs Mrs. Montagu.

At Margate, Nicholas Gay, Eſq. F.R.S. a gentleman of mild and affectionate diſpoſition. He made probably the moſt extenſive tour of any man of his time, having viſited every town, and been introduced at every court in Europe.

John Topham, Eſq. F.R.S. and F.A.S. died at Cheltenham. This amiable gentleman, and profound ſcholar, was a native of Malton, in Yorkſhire. He acquired ſuch a knowledge of ancient hands, and the abbreviations uſed in old MSS. as raiſed him to a lucrative ſituation in the Paper Office. He entered himſelf at Gray's Inn, was called to the bar, and appointed a commiſſioner of bankrupts. He ſucceeded Dr. Lort, as keeper of the archiepiſcopal library at Lambeth; was ſecretary to the commiſſioners for ſelecting and publiſhing the public records of this kingdom. Mr. Topham's contributions to the Archæologia, are numerous and intereſting.

On the firſt of Auguſt Mr. William Woodfall died at his houſe in Weſtminſter, after a few days illneſs, in his fifty-eighth year. He was placed by his father at an early age to learn the art of printing. When out of his apprenticeſhip, he aſſiſted in his father's office in printing and editing one of the moſt amuſing and beſt informed prints of the day, "The Public Advertiſer*." As the ſtage in thoſe times was a place of rational amuſement, Mr. Woodfall, who, from his ſituation, was intimate with all the performers, became enamoured of the drama; and in order to indulge his growing propenſity for the ſtage, he made an excurſion to Scotland, and performed ſeveral times in a provincial theatre, under the management of Mr. Fiſher, who permitted him to appear in his favourite characters, in which he often ſhone to advantage. From Scotland, he went to Belfaſt, where he was very favourable received. He had the good ſenſe in time to liſten to thoſe that would not flatter him, and having experienced many changes of fortune in the courſe of his rambles, he began to think ſeriouſly of ſome mode of life leſs precarious than the one he had embraced, in order to provide bread for an amiable woman, whom he had married in the interval, and whoſe affection overpayed him for all the inconveniencies he had felt. He returned to London in 1772, and was kindly received by his friends. He engaged as editor of the "London Packet." From this ſituation he was called by the proprietors of the "Morning Chronicle," as printer and editor of that paper. In this arduous ſtation he continued with credit to himſelf and ſatisfaction to his readers till the year 1789, when he began a paper on his own account, called "The Diary." Mr. Woodfall was the firſt that undertook to detail the debates in both houſes of parliament on the night of the proceedings. Before his time a ſhort ſketch of the beſt ſpeeches were only given in newſpapers, and even that was frequently deferred for ſome days after they were delivered, when the gloſs of novelty perhaps was worn off, and the ſubject had nearly loſt its intereſt. As a journaliſt, no man was ever entitled to greater praiſe; with him private character was always ſacred. His paper was always open to whatever might contribute to promote the ſphere of our agriculture, trade or ſcience. As a reporter of the parliamentary debates, the moſt faithful: in this reſpect he was influenced by no party. Without taking a note to aſſiſt his memory, or an amanuenſis to relieve the fatigue of writing, he has been known to write ſixteen columns, after having ſat in a crowded gallery for as many hours. He was intimately acquainted with all the forms of the houſe and modes of proceeding, on almoſt every queſtion; and there were few ſubjects ſubmitted to the deciſion of the ſenate, of which he had not, at leaſt, a general knowledge.

He was always ready to communicate any information on theſe points to thoſe who were not as well experienced in them as himſelf. During the important diſcuſſion on the Iriſh propoſitions, relative to

* It was in this paper, the political letters of the celebrated *Junius* firſt appeared.

to a final adjuſtment of the trade between England and Ireland, he went to Dublin, and faithfully detailed the ſpeeches delivered on that important queſtion. As a dramatic critic, if not the moſt judicious, he was at leaſt the moſt impartial. The author and the players had nothing to fear from the ſeverity of his criticiſms. For a ſpace of nineteen years he was never known to be abſent one night from the gallery during the ſitting of parliament. This attendance, joined to the labour of writing, wore down his conſtitution; and when other papers, by the diviſion of labour, produced the ſame length of details with an earlier publication, he was obliged with reluctance to yield the conteſt. "The Diary" fell, and the hopes of providing for his family on ſo fluctuating a foundation, expired along with it. He ſought in the decline of his life to be appointed remembrancer of the city, an office for which he was peculiarly qualified. His friends entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes of his ſucceſs. They conceived that a man who had for years contributed ſo largely to the public amuſement and information, and who had enlarged the bounds of both, had a claim on the gratitude of his fellow citizens. But private friendſhips and ſuperior intereſt prevailed.

Though diſappointed, he was not diverted from his favourite purſuits; he was conſtant in his attendance at the bar of the houſe of lords till within a week of his death. His memory was as tenacious as ever, and his reports as impartial; in fine, he ſpared no pains to render his talents in that line as uſeful as poſſible. He was a man that improved his mind very much by converſation, and reading, when he could devote time either to the enjoyment of the one or the other, which he never did at the expence of his neceſſary avocations. His manners were amiable—

"A ſafe companion, and an eaſy friend."

His remains were interred in St. Margaret's church yard, Weſtminſter.

In his ſixty-firſt year, the Rev. William Collier, ſenior fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was many years a public tutor; rector of Orwell, county of Cambridge; Hebrew profeſſor 1771 to 1790. The diſtreſſes in which his imprudence involved him, compelled him to leave the univerſity, and to reſort for a morſel of bread to the publication by ſubſcription of a "Collection of Poems on ſeveral occaſions, with tranſlations from authors in different languages; dedicated to Prince William of Glouceſter."

At his ſeat of Caſtletown, in Ireland, the right honourable Thomas Conolly, forty years repreſentative for the county of London Derry, and at one time a member of the Britiſh parliament. He was ſon of the right honourable William Conolly by Anne Wentworth, eldeſt daughter of William Earl of Strafford; he was alſo nephew to the right honourable William Connolly, many years ſpeaker of the Iriſh houſe of commons. On the death of the late Earl of Strafford, he ſucceeded to a large property in England, which, joined to his eſtates in Ireland, ranked him as the richeſt commoner in that country. He was attached to the turf, but for many years before he died parted with his racing ſtud. In 1758 he married Lady Auguſta Lenox, daughter of Charles Duke of Richmond, and ſiſter of the preſent duke. In parliament he was always liſtened to with attention, careleſs of the graces of oratory, which he neither courted nor deſpiſed; his great object was to make himſelf underſtood in plain language, generally fraught with ſound argument. His laſt vote in the Iriſh houſe was for the incorporated union of Great Britain and Ireland. He had four ſiſters, the firſt was married to Ralph Earl of Roſs, the ſecond to Earl Howe, the third to the Earl of Buckinghamſhire, and the fourth to George Byng, Eſq. of the noble family of Torrington. As he died without iſſue, his Iriſh eſtates, and his magnificent ſeat at Caſtletown, devolves by will to his nephew, George Byng, Eſq. member at preſent for Middleſex.

In his ſeventy-fourth year, Sir William Hamilton, K. B. thirty-ſix years miniſter at the court of Naples. He was foſter brother of his preſent majeſty, and particularly honoured by the king throughout the whole of his public ſervice. Sir William was a man of extraordinary endowments of mind, elegant taſte, and poliſhed manners. The fine arts are peculiarly indebted to his unwearied exertions, to promote the love and cultivation of them in every branch. It was to his zeal that the buried treaſures of Herculaneum were brought to light, thoſe chaſte models of the claſſic æra of Rome. But this was not his only praiſe, he was not leſs active and ſucceſsful in his diplomatic capacity, in maintaining the harmony of the two courts, when the intrigues of an artful enemy wiſhed to diſſolve that amity which had ſubſiſted for ſo many years between England and Naples. The Engliſh noblility and gentry who travelled into Italy, ſpeak in the warmeſt terms of the ſplendid hoſpitality with which he repreſented his ſovereign. About the year 1791 he married an Engliſh lady, who was ſo high in favour with the queen of Naples, that her majeſty in a letter calls Lady Hamilton "her beſt friend and preſerver, to whom ſhe was indebted certainly for life, and probably for the crown." He enjoyed a penſion of 1200*l.* on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, conferred on him in conſideration of his long and faithful ſervices. He left his fortune to his nephew, the honourable Charles Greville, except an annuity of 700*l.* to Lady Hamilton during her life.

At

At his houſe in Cleveland Row, of a ſhort illneſs, brought on by a cold, Francis Duke of Bridgewater. He was born the 25th of May, 1726. His fortune enabled him to carry thoſe great plans into execution, which his active and enlightened mind had early projected, and which in the end enriched his coffers; but his labours were not more profitable to himſelf than to the public. His return to the Income Tax was 101,000*l.* a year. A large portion of which aroſe from the tolls of thoſe canals which he lived to complete. He was the third Duke of Bridgewater, and fifth ſon of Scroop, the firſt Duke of that name, by lady Rachel Ruſſell. His grace rarely took any part in politics, though he ſometimes appeared in the houſe of lords, and generally voted with his noble relative, the late Marquis of Stafford. He was a patron of many great national inſtitutions. He ſubſcribed 100,000*l.* to the loyalty loan, and all in ready money, at one time. By his will, he left moſt of his houſes, plate, pictures, &c. valued at 150,000*l.* to his nephew, the preſent Marquis of Stafford, together with his canal property in Lancaſhire, which brings in from 70,000*l.* to 80,000*l.* a year. This property is entailed on the ſecond ſon of the Marquis Francis Lord Gower. To general Egerton, now Earl of Bridgewater, he left eſtates to the amount of 30,000*l.* per annum, with funded property to the amount of 600,000*l.* He alſo bequeathed ſeveral legacies to the female branches of his family.

Thomas Pett, a noted miſer died this year, at an obſcure lodging in Clement's Inn Paſſage, Clare Market. He was a native of Warwickſhire; and at the age of ten years came to London with a ſolitary ſhilling in his pocket, on which he ſubſiſted for a week. As he had neither friends, relatives, or acquaintances in the capital, he was indebted, when his ſtock was exhauſted, to the humanity of an old woman that ſold pies, for a morſel of bread, and a night's lodging, in the depth of winter, till he could get into a ſituation of ſome kind or other, of which he was not very choice, for he was willing to do any thing even for the bit he eat. As the neighbours took ſome notice of him, one of them procured him a place with a tallow chandler in Whitechapel, where he remained for a fortnight, and might have continued longer, if his miſtreſs, a lady of true London mould, could have reconciled herſelf to his ruſtic accent and aukward manners, as ſhe conceived that both were unconquerable, ſhe diſmiſſed him on Sunday night, with this obſervation, "Your maſter hired you in my abſence, and I'll pack you off in his." The good huſband on his return, was very uneaſy about the boy, nor did he ſtop till he found him out; gave him a warm waiſtcoat and a pair of ſhoes. But his kindneſs did not end here, he bound him apprentice to a butcher in the Borough of Southwark, and was kind to him on every occaſion, which he remembered with gratitude to the day of his death. As he behaved very well during his apprenticeſhip, his maſter recommended him when he was out of his time, to a brother of the cleaver, in Clare Market, as a journeyman, whoſe honeſty might be depended on. For the firſt five years, he was engaged at twenty-five pounds a year, meat and drink. The accumulation of money, and abridgement of expence, were the two ſole objects of his ſolicitude. His expences were reduced to theſe three heads, lodging, clothing and diet. As to the firſt, he fixed on a back room, on the ſecond floor, with one window, that occaſionally admitted a ſtraggling beam of light; with reſpect to dreſs, every article was at ſecond hand, jocoſely obſerving, when he was twitted in his garb, that there was nothing new under the ſun, and that as colour was a mere matter of fancy, that was the beſt which ſtuck longeſt to its integrity, and with regard to diet, any thing was good enough for the belly, as it did not work. With reſpect to waſhing, he uſed to ſay, that no man deſerved a ſhirt that did not waſh it, and that the only fault he found with Lord North, was the duty he impoſed on ſoap. There was one expence that lay heavy on his mind, and robbed him of a night's reſt at leaſt once a week, and that was ſhaving. He was often heard to lament, that he had not learned to ſhave himſelf; he uſed to conſole himſelf, however, by hoping, that beards would one day be in faſhion. He made a promiſe one night, when he was thirſty, that as ſoon as he had accumulated a thouſand pounds, he would ſolace himſelf with a pint of beer every Sunday night. Fortune ſoon put it in his power to perform this promiſe, and he continued to obſerve it till the additional duty was laid on porter. He then ſunk to half a pint, as he thought that ſufficient for any man that did not chuſe to get drunk and die in a workhouſe. If he heard of an auction in the neighbourhood, he was ſure to run for a catalogue, and when he had collected a number of them together, he would ſell them for waſte paper. When he was told that the bank was reſtricted from paying in ſpecie, he ſhook loudly, (as Klopſtock the poet ſays,) took to his bed, and could not be prevailed upon to taſte a morſel, or wet his lips, till he was aſſured that all was right again. On Sundays, after dinner, he uſed to lock himſelf up in his room, and amuſe himſelf with reading an old news-paper, or writing rhymes, many of which, he left behind him, on ſlips of paper. The following will ſerve as a ſpecimen of his talents in the rhythmecal line:

On hearing that ſmall beer was raiſed.

They've rais'd the price of table drink,
What is the reaſon, do you think?
The tax on malt,—the cauſe, I hear!
But what has malt to do with beer?

When a man becomes a debtor,
Alas! he's at the mercy then,
Of ev'ry bailiff, dun and ſetter,
Monſters in the ſhape of men.

For if, that you ſhould run in debt,
You'll find that all I ſay is true,
Ah! then you'll think of Thomas *Pett*,
But think perhaps, too late to rue.

He was never known, even in the ſevereſt ſeaſon to kindle a fire in his room, nor to go to bed by candle light. He was a friend to good cheer at the expence of others, "every man," he ſaid, "ought to eat when he could get it." If he ventured into a public houſe, he always ſat in the darkeſt corner of the room, and never opened his lips, unleſs Bonaparte happened to be mentioned, or a pariſh feaſt, and then he would abuſe the one, and launch out in praiſe of roaſt beef and plumb-pudding, as the ſtaple diſh of every true Briton. Sometimes he would ſay a few words againſt the vile ſin of gluttony, but it was always with a full belly. He was very civil to the fair ſex, eſpecially his cuſtomers. For the laſt ten years of his life, he lived with a Mrs. Addiſon and Son, he had a ſalary of forty pounds a year, meat and drink included. In his manners, he was extremely inoffenſive, and juſt in all his dealings. He lived forty-two years a journeyman butcher in Clare Market; thirty of which he reſided in one room. In all that time, he was never known to treat any perſon to a glaſs of liquor, to run one penny in debt, or to lend or borrow a ſhilling. In his illneſs, he was adviſed to make his will, which at length he did with reluctance, obſerving, "that if the world wasn't tired of him, he wasn't tired of the world." When he had written his name, he exclaimed with a ſigh, "Now, I have ſigned away all my property, with my own hand." He left 2,475*l.* in the three *per cents.* to a number of diſtant relations, whom he had never ſeen, and lamented with his laſt breath, that he did not live to make it the round ſum of three thouſand pounds.

At her houſe, in St. Peter's Street, Canterbury, aged ſeventy, Mrs. Celeſtina Collins, widow. Although poſſeſſing an income of ſeventy pounds a year, ſhe lived in a ſtate of the greateſt poverty and filth. For many years, her conſtant companions were never leſs than a ſcore of fowls, whoſe ordure defiled her very bed, and the plate off which ſhe ate. A favourite old cock and rat were for a length of time conſtant attendants at her table, each partaking of the fragments of which even her penury ſpared them, till one day the rat not obſerving due decorum, met with its death from the hands of its miſtreſs. Her predelection for vermin extended to ſuch a degree, that, at her death, a neſt of mice was found in her bed. In her will, ſhe bequeathed 50*l.* to the miniſter of the pariſh, for a funeral ſermon; 100*l.* to the Kent and Canterbury hoſpitals; and the ſame ſum to the pariſh of St. Peter's; and one guinea to each of the perſons who ſhould carry her to the grave, beſides many other legacies to perſons in no degree related to her.

Having purſued the reſpective ſubjects, as far as the limits of our work would permit us to extend, a few remarks on our biographical ſtrictures, may not be wholly unneceſſary. Some, perhaps, may think that we have been too diffuſe, and others, that we have been too ſparing: but the object was to ſelect ſuch anecdotes as might place the character of the individual in the moſt impartial point of view, and at the ſame time to take care that they were founded in truth: names may have been omitted that were entitled to a place in this chapter, but it would not be fair to aſcribe this omiſſion to any illiberal motive or neglect.

We ſhall now cloſe this very eventful year with a few public characters. This would be a pleaſing taſk, if it were not the moſt arduous in hiſtory, and that which rarely gives a general ſatisfaction. As Mr. Addington, (now Lord Sidmouth,) filled a ſituation of high rank at that day, we ſhall attempt a faint outline of that ex-miniſter.

CHAP. VIII.

Public Characters.

THIS gentleman, who is the ſon of a country phyſician, received the rudiments of his claſſical education at Cheam ſchool, under the ſuperintendance of Dr. Gilpin, a gentleman whoſe taſte and learning have juſtly ranked him as one of the firſt teachers of the day: from this *private* ſeminary, Mr. Addington was tranſplanted to a *public* one—Wincheſter ſchool, under the care of Dr. Joſeph Warton, a gentleman to whoſe felicity of imparting inſtruction, the pulpit, the bar, and the ſenate, are indebted for ſome of their brighteſt ornaments. It will, perhaps, be a ſufficient recommendation of young Addington's induſtry and parts, to ſay that he was a great favourite with his tutor. He was bred in Oxford, and anſwered his terms in Lincoln's Inn, where Mr. Pitt was a ſtudent at the ſame time. The friendſhip which had grown up between that great ſtateſman, the Earl of Chatham and Dr. Addington, was revived in their ſons, and continued with mutual ardour for many years. The firſt official ſituation that Mr. Addington was called to fill, is one that requires a conſiderable portion of talents, addreſs, and promptitude—the high office of Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. And it is allowed on all hands, that no man ever diſcharged that important truſt with

with more impartiality and dignity. His knowledge of the laws of parliament, his vigilance in watching over the privileges of the houſe of commons, were very highly and deſervedly complimented on many occaſions. The ſuavity of his temper, added to his conciliatory manners, are not the feebleſt lines in his character. As an orator, he may be ranked in the middle claſs: he is not maſter of that happy choice of words that Mr. Pitt can command, nor that irreſiſtable train of argument that Mr. Fox brings into the field in every debate. His language, however, is neat, and many of his periods ſufficiently harmonious. On whatever ſubject he ſpeaks, he preſſes forward to the point in view, ſo that he rarely treſpaſſes long on the indulgence of the houſe. He held the reins of adminiſtration at a period when this country was threatened by a ſubtil and implacable foe. The diſpoſitions he made to meet and defeat theſe threats, may be appreciated from the impreſſion which they made on the firſt conſul of France, who undoubtedly lowered his haughty tone, when he found that Mr. Addington had called a willing nation into arms. If his adminiſtration was not marked by any brilliant actions by land or ſea, it muſt be acknowledged that he left nothing undone that could be done, in the ſituation in which he was placed, and that his meaſures were ſupported by the wiſeſt and beſt men in the kingdom *, and that his œconomy in the collection and diſtribution of the public money, was among many others, an additional proof of his honeſty as a miniſter, and his patriotiſm as a man.

Earl St. Vincent is deſcended of an antient family in the county of Stafford. He is the ſecond and youngeſt ſon of Swynfin Jervis, eſquire, barriſter at law, ſome time counſel to the board of Admiralty, and auditor of Greenwich-Hoſpital. His mother was Elizabeth, daughter of George Parker, of Palkhall, in Staffordſhire, and ſiſter to Sir Thomas lord chief baron of the court of Exchequer. His father at firſt intended to bring him up to his own profeſſion, and with this view ſent him to a ſchool at Burton-upon-Trent, in order to acquire a neceſſary ſtock of claſſical learning. It does not appear, however, that theſe ſtudies were ſuited to his genius, which was extremely vigorous in other purſuits for a boy of his years, and gave ſtrong indications of a mind that thirſted for ſomething beyond the lettered ſhores of Greece and Rome. It was at length diſcovered, that the inclination of young Jervis led to the ſea; and it is lucky for the glory of this country, that paternal indulgence yielded to filial wiſhes. He was rated a midſhipman in 1748, and ſerved in that capacity on board the Glouceſter, of fifty guns, the commanding ſhip on the Jamaica ſtation, (bearing the broad pendant of the honourable George Townſhend.) On the 19th of February, 1755, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant, and ſoon after choſen by that gallant officer, the late Sir Charles Saunders, to ſerve on board his ſhip.

He accompanied Sir Charles as his firſt lieutenant in the expedition ſent againſt Quebec. The diſappointments and difficulties experienced in that expedition, could be only ſurmounted by talents, gallantry, and perſeverance, the moſt unexampled, perhaps, in the annals of naval hiſtory. It was in this trying ſituation, that lieutenant Jervis, convinced his gallant commander, that he was worthy of his patronage. He was made captain of the Porcupine ſloop, almoſt as ſoon as the admiral reached the north end of the Iſle of Orleans. He was ſoon after raiſed to the rank of acting captain of the Experiment, a poſt-ſhip, mounting twenty guns, during the indiſpoſition of Sir John Strachan. Captain Jervis having been ordered out on a cruize in the Mediterranean, fell in with a large xebec trader, manned by French, under Mooriſh colours. The xebec mounted twenty-ſix guns of heavy calibre, beſides a conſiderable number of large ſwivels. The crew was a deſperate gang, lured only by the ſcent of plunder, and in number almoſt triple to that of the Experiment. The conflict was bloody. Savage ferocity was in the end obliged to yield to cool and determined courage; and the xebec was indebted for her ſafety to a light and favourable breeze. Captain Jervis having returned to England, he commanded the Unicorn, till the 13th of October, 1760, when he was promoted to the rank of poſt-captain of the Goſport, of forty guns; he returned to the Mediterranean, where he remained to the end of the war. In 1774, he was appointed to the Foudroyant, of eighty-four guns, ſuppoſed to be the fineſt two-decked ſhip in the navy. The Foudroyant being ordered to join the Channel fleet under the command of admiral Keppel, Captain Jervis was choſen by that commander as his ſecond; his bravery in that action, which will never be forgotten, would ſingly of itſelf ſtamp his name with immortality †.

The teſtimony which captain Jervis gave on the trial

* Earl Stanhope complimented the temperate, diſcreet, and conſtitutional meaſures which had been adopted by Lord Sidmouth, whom he was happy to ſee in that houſe. He had been ſupplanted, he thought unjuſtly ſupplanted, by a man of more glaring powers, but of leſs ſolid judgment than himſelf. The friends of that ſupplanter had gone up and down repreſenting that noble lord as a blockhead, which he was not—as a ſimpleton, which he was not—unleſs in afterwards joining thoſe who had thus abuſed him. To his conviction, the noble viſcount had, in his little finger, more real ſenſe and judgment, as to what concerned the real intereſt of the country, than his rival and ſucceſſor had in his whole perſon. *Earl Stanhope's Speech in the Houſe of Lords, March 8th, 1805.*

† From the evidence given on the trial of admiral Keppel, it appeared that the Foudroyant, which had got into her ſtation about three, and continued ſo till four the next morning, was

trial of admiral Keppel, beſpoke the mind of a brave and independent man. The omiſſion of it would be unpardonable. Upon the following queſtion being put by admiral Keppel.

Queſtion.—Your ſtation being neareſt to me during the purſuit of the enemy, and after the action, which gave you an opportunity of obſerving my conduct, and of ſeeing objects nearly in the ſame point of view with myſelf, I deſire you will ſtate to this court, any inſtance, if you ſaw, or knew of any ſuch, in which I negligently performed my duty on the 27th or 28th of July?

Anſwer.—With great reſpect to you, Sir, and deference to this court, I hope, I ſhall be indulged with having that queſtion put by the court.

The judge advocate *mutatis mutandis*, then put the queſtion.

Anſwer.—I feel myſelf bound to anſwer that queſtion; I believe it to be conſonant to the general practice of ſea-court martials. I cannot boaſt of a long acquaintance with admiral Keppel; I never had the honour of ſerving under him before; but I am happy in this opportunity to declare to this court, and to the whole world, that during the whole time the Engliſh fleet was in ſight of the French fleet, he diſplayed the greateſt naval ſkill and ability, and the boldeſt enterprize, upon the 27th of July, which, with the promptitude of Sir R. Harland, will be the ſubjects of my admiration and imitation, as long as I live!!

His action with the Pegaſe, of ſeventy-four guns, and ſeven hundred men, on the 20th of April, 1782, is one of the moſt memorable that ever was fought. Admiral Barrington, in his letter on this ſubject, ſays, "My pen is not equal to the praiſe that is due to the good conduct, bravery, and diſcipline of captain Jervis, his officers, and ſeamen, on this occaſion; let his own modeſt narrative, which I herewith incloſe, ſpeak for itſelf."

On the 29th of May, 1782, he was inveſted with the moſt honourable order of the Bath. In a few months after, he was advanced to the rank of commodore. In 1787, he was promoted to the rank of rear admiral of the blue; and in 1790, to the ſame rank in the white ſquadron. In February, 1794, he accepted of the command of a ſquadron deſtined for the Weſt Indies, in order to act in conjunction with a formidable land force under Sir Charles Grey, againſt the French ſettlements in that quarter. The whole armament having rendezvouſed at Barbadoes, operations were immediately commenced by an attack on the iſland of Martinique, which after a vigorous reſiſtance yielded to his majeſty's arms. The conduct of theſe gallant officers in the reduction of this iſland, did not eſcape the cenſure of the malicious: but theſe cenſures were ſo ill grounded, that they carried their own refutation on the face of them. Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis felt for the dignity of their characters, and publiſhed the whole of their conduct in a letter addreſſed to the Duke of Portland, which completely ſilenced the voice of ſlander, and if poſſible, added additional luſtre to their names.

"If a daring ſpirit of enterprize," ſays an elegant writer, "ever manifeſted in any character, it ſurely never ſhone more conſpicuous, than in the unparalleled attack on the 14th of February *. What is, however, if poſſible, ſtill more worthy of admiration, is the judicious cloſe of that glorious action, which evinced the gallant admiral's judgement to be equal to his valour."

His firſt feat in parliament was for Launceſton, in 1784. As a ſpeaker, his lordſhip is clear and unembarraſſed. His knowledge is not merely confined to his profeſſion; he has ſpoken on ſubjects in which the intereſt of his country was involved, with becoming warmth, a juſtneſs of conception, and a force of reaſoning, that could not be overturned by thoſe who had made oratory their ſtudy, and who had been in the frequent habits of ſpeaking.

Earl St. Vincent married on the 5th of June, 1783, Martha, daughter of Sir Thomas Parker, his maternal uncle, by whom he has no iſſue.

Robert Bankes Jenkinſon, Lord Hawkeſbury, is the eldeſt ſon of Charles Earl of Liverpool, by Mary, daughter of governor Watts. His mother died in child-birth of him. As he was the only pledge of a union founded in mutual affection, his father was reſolved that nothing ſhould be wanting to render him worthy of his deſcent. As the Earl of Liverpool is himſelf a man of literature, and has on many occaſions experienced the advantages of an early and liberal education, he was of courſe well qualified to ſelect the beſt teachers to preſide over the education of a ſon, who was intended from his infancy for a ſeat in the ſenate and the council of the nation. At a proper period, the ſubject of this memoir, was placed under Dr. Boardmore, in the Charter Houſe, a ſchool that has long maintained, and continues to maintain its claſſical fame. Mr.

was cloſely engaged, and in a moſt diſabled ſtate. Her main-maſt had received a ſhot very near through the head, which lodged in the check, and paſſed through the head of the maſt, and ſeveral other ſhot in different places; a large excavation had been made in her bowſprit, near the centre; the fore-top-maſt was ſo diſabled, that it was totally uſeleſs; every rope of her running rigging cut, and her ſhrouds demoliſhed; no braces or low lines left, and ſcarcely any haulyards, fore-ſtay, ſpring-ſtay, and topſail ties, and the footrope of the foretop-ſail ſhot away; her ſails alſo were very much ſhattered. In this ſtate ſhe was not in a condition to chaſe; but ſhe kept her ſtation next the Victory, as far to windward as poſſible. "I was covetous of wind," ſaid her brave commander, "becauſe diſabled as I then was, I conceived the advantage of the wind would carry me again into action."

* Off Cape St. Vincent.

Jenkinſon's

Jenkinſon's progreſs in learning was not ſo rapid as might be expected from a boy of his induſtry, and inquiſitive diſpoſition. This, however, did not damp thoſe hopes that

"Waits upon the flowery prime."

What he learned he retained, and what he retained, he was ſure to amplify, either through the medium of reading or living inſtruction; his emulation was excited by the praiſes which were ſhowered on thoſe who had out-ſtripped him in the lettered race, ſo that his health was at laſt impaired by too cloſe an application to his ſtudies, which were rarely mixed with thoſe amuſements that are not only excuſable, but even proper in the ſpring of life.

When ſufficiently qualified to enter the univerſity, he was matriculated of Chriſt Church, Oxford, and though his father was not raiſed to the peerage at the time, yet he was entered as the ſon of a nobleman. Dr. Hall was his tutor, a man whoſe name will be always ranked amongſt the firſt ſcholars of the age. Mr. Jenkinſon's academical ſtudies were now more varied, he read the beſt books on the conſtitution and the laws of his native country, and left the univerſity with the character of a ſtudious young man, of ſolid, if not of ſhining parts. As ſoon as he was of age, he took his ſeat in the houſe of commons, for the borough of Rye, in Suſſex. His maiden ſpeech was delivered on a ſubject of the firſt importance, an alliance with Ruſſia. It was ſo replete with information, that Mr. Sheridan called it "a ſpeech of unprecedented talent;" and Mr. Fox nodded approbation. Almoſt every one that he has delivered from that day to the preſent, in either houſe of parliament, ſmell of the lamp: he has ſeldom ventured at a reply, a proof that he is well acquainted with his own powers, and that he has ſufficient prudence to remain within that circle which ſevere reading and the inſtructions of his father have preſcribed. He was never known to paſs over that boundary, except when he talked one night in the houſe of commons of marching directly to Paris. He is an entire ſtranger to the graces of the orator; his delivery is clear, but his tones are pompous and ſwelling. He was appointed maſter of the mint, which he reſigned on being raiſed to the office of ſecretary of ſtate for the foreign department, during the adminiſtration of Mr. Addington. When Mr. Pitt re-aſſumed the reins, he was made ſecretary for the home department.

In 1798, he was married to lady Louiſa Hervey, daughter of the late Lord Biſhop of Derry, and ſiſter to the preſent Earl of Briſtol, by whom he has no iſſue. This amiable pair may be looked up to as an example of domeſtic felicity in high life: but in thoſe retired ſcenes, their benevolence and charity are active; a number of children, the ſons and daughters of the neighbouring peaſants, are reared and educated at their expence.

Lord Hawkeſbury has one brother by the half blood, the honourable Cecil Jenkinſon, at preſent ſecretary of legation at the court of Vienna.

Sir Francis Burdett, bart. is deſcended from an antient family long ſettled in Derbyſhire. He was born in 1773, and educated at Weſtminſter ſchool.

This gentleman's ſpeeches in and out of parliament, have attracted a great deal of public notice, and have rarely eſcaped the comments and diſcuſſions of thoſe who are accuſtomed to view men and meaſures through the medium of party; by which means the moſt erect minds have appeared diſtorted. It is not eaſy to place the political portrait of Sir Francis in that point of view on which the lineaments can be traced in the light of truth: if his ſpeeches were too highly coloured, or in plain Engliſh, if they were not ſuited to the temper of the times, with the candid he will always find an aplogy in his youth, and the natural warmth of his heart, deeply impreſſed with the glowing paſſages on liberty and public ſpirit, which he had juſt read at ſchool, which has rendered the writings of the antients ſo dear to every Engliſhman that can feel and enjoy the bleſſings that emanate from a conſtitution that has braved the ſhocks of faction, and the tide of time. He was, beſides, the repreſentative of a family that bled in the cauſe of their country; not one branch of which was ever known to give a venal vote on any occaſion, or a ſilent one, when that freedom in which they were nurtured was attacked.

His talents as a public ſpeaker, and the principles on which he acted, were known to the public ſoon after he obtained a ſeat in parliament; but perhaps they would not have been ſo generally known, if he had not offered himſelf a candidate to repreſent the rich and populous county of Middleſex at the laſt general election. This furniſhed him with an opportunity of defending his political conduct. The high and independent characters that ſupported him in that arduous conteſt, would do honour to any man of the moſt exalted birth, rank, and talents. In his ſpeeches on the huſtings during the poll on that occaſion, he found it neceſſary almoſt as often as he ſpoke, to repel the attacks of his opponents. "I am," ſaid he, "charged as an enemy to the Britiſh conſtitution? No. I am an enemy to its abuſes, which I ever have, and ever ſhall, actively and loudly reprobate. My principles, gentlemen, ſtand upon the genuine baſis of the Britiſh conſtitution, which conſiſts in a fair exerciſe of the prerogative of the crown, controlled, and regulated by the rights and intereſts of the people. Of the ſoundneſs of theſe principles, I am perfectly convinced, they are as eſſential to the ſecurity of the king, as to that of the humbleſt individual in the land. They as nearly concern the ſtability of the throne, as the

rights and happineſs of the people. In my political conduct, I have ever been a ſteady ſupporter of what is called the Whig intereſt of this country. Without being a party man, without having any private views, I have on all occaſions, to the utmoſt of my abilities, given that intereſt my unbiaſſed and active ſupport: I have done this, becauſe I believe the Whig principles are thoſe which muſt ſave the country; that the creed profeſſed by thoſe who ſupport that intereſt, is a creed calculated for freemen. Various has been the epithets affixed to my name: ſome have termed me a wild-headed enthuſiaſt. That appellation does not ſhock me, for I know that in theſe times to labour for the public good, and to ſtruggle for the liberties of mankind upon diſintereſted principles, is looked upon as the higheſt degree of wildneſs and enthuſiaſm. Some have attributed to me a ſpirit of Quixotiſm, others have abuſed me for Jacobiniſm, but neither the one nor the other, nor any opprobrious epithet which the friends of injuſtice or oppreſſion may attach to my name, ſhall ever deter me from vindicating the oppreſſed, from uſing every endeavour in my power to maintain the rights and liberties of my country. Some have charged me with want of reſpect in ſpeaking of the houſe of commons. To them I anſwer, that no man living bears a higher reſpect for that houſe than I. I eſteem it, I revere it. In my eſtimation, there is more honour and dignity in ſitting there the real repreſentative of two or three thouſand freemen, the immediate guardian of public liberty, than in any other ſituation whatever. It has been aſſerted, and moſt induſtriouſly circulated by my enemies, that my principles differ materially from thoſe of many honourable and diſtinguiſhed perſons who have long been reſpected and eſteemed as the ſteadieſt ſupporters of the conſtitutional liberties of their country. Allow me to take this opportunity of denying, in the moſt unequivocal manner, the foulneſs of this malignant charge. Accuſtomed from my firſt entrance into public life, always to conſult my own judgment reſpecting public men and public meaſures, I may in ſome inſtances have differed from thoſe honourable perſons, the purity of whoſe principles, and the rectitude of whoſe conduct I have always admitted, and ever been ready to proclaim. But while I might differ from them on particular points, I never for a moment forgot a principle, which, I am convinced, ought never to be loſt ſight of. I never forgot the principle, that men of honor, who are agreed in their general principles, men whoſe object is the ſupport of rational freedom, the prevention of injuſtice, and the puniſhment of oppreſſion, may with perfect conſiſtency differ in details, and that where the end of all is the ſame, it would be abſurd to ſay, that they ſhould not individually have a fair right of entertaining their own opinion, as to the means by which that end is to be obtained." Let his votes and ſpeeches in parliament be compared with this declaration, and they will be found to go hand and hand.

Sir Francis is married to a daughter of Mr. Coutts, the banker, by whom he has many children. His enemies allow that he is an affectionate huſband, a tender father, a warm friend, and the beſt of landlords. As his fortune is large, he lives in a ſtile of ſplendid hoſpitality, eſpecially, in the country, where his table is ſucceſſively encircled by his own tenantry, particularly thoſe whoſe induſtry and irreproachable lives have entitled them to a ſhare in the eſteem of a man who was never known to participate in the faſhionable follies or diſſipations of the day, whoſe leiſure moments are employed in reading, and thereby adding to that ſtock of knowledge which he laid in at ſchool, the accumulation of which is one of the leading features of his character.

We ſhall cloſe this faint ſketch with the following lines written on Sir Francis, by an unknown hand.

Lo! even in thoſe degen'rate times,
Polluted with nefarious crimes,
One man among the untainted few,
Who dares engage in Virtue's cauſe,
And ſtands the champion of her laws,
Without a venal view!

Gen'rous in manners, as in blood,
His darling aim, his country's good;
Superior to the wiles of ſtate,
Nor bribes, nor arts could ever find,
An entrance to his honeſt mind,
Inflexible as fate.

Freedom of will, and ſacred choice,
In him ſhall ſilence Slander's voice.
The love heaven planted in his mind,
Diffuſive to his ſpecies flows;
A patriot of the world it ſhows,
The friend of human kind.

Francis Plowden, eſquire, an eminent barriſter, was born in the year 1753, at Plowden Hall, in Shropſhire, where his anceſtors flouriſhed, even in the days of William the Norman, who did not attempt to deprive them of an eſtate, which, however extenſive, was often inadequate to the noble calls of generoſity and benevolence. He was left an orphan in his infancy: and as the ſuperintendance of his education devolved on his guardians, they, in juſtice, it muſt be ſaid, diſcharged that truſt with fidelity, nay, even with parental affection. He was educated at the Engliſh ſeminary at St. Omers, where, to uſe his own words, "he learned nothing he ever was wiſhed to forget." His ſtudies were rendered ſubſervient to that profeſſion in which he ſhines with ſo much celebrity; he was conſulted at an early period as a chamber counſel and conveyancer. When the liberality of the Britiſh ſenate threw open the courts of law to the admiſſion of Catholics, Mr. Plowden, as

a gentleman of that perſuaſion, availed himſelf of that liberality; he entered the Middle Temple, in 1792*, and was called to the bar in 1797. Soon after the Duke of Portland was raiſed to the high rank of Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, that learned body conferred on Mr. Plowden, an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. Notwithſtanding his profeſſional avocations, he has publiſhed ſeveral works, diſtinguiſhed by a flowing ſtile, freedom of thought, and above all, a love of his country. His *Jura Anglorum*, is allowed to be a work of great merit and reſearch. This was followed by another, intitled, "The Conſtitution of the United Kingdom," dedicated to Lord Elden, lord high chancellor of Great Britain. The importance of the ſubject and object will be beſt conveyed in his own words. "The conſtitution of this kingdom is as a human inſtitution, eſpecially liable to variation and change: in the viciſſitude of political events, it may be improved or impaired: it may loſe in one way, what it may gain in another; and there are ſtorms in empires, which for a time ſo diſturb its component parts, that they are ſcarcely diſtinguiſhable till a calm reſtores them to their primitive order and function. It is more neceſſary therefore to watch, trace, and minute the events and circumſtances, which affect the conſtitution in times of danger and trouble, than in the ſerenity of peace and proſperity. It is our happineſs and boaſt, that we enjoy a conſtitution, which has for centuries been the admiration and envy of ſurrounding nations: and from a wiſh for its perpetuity, I have undertaken to ſubmit to the public, as faithful a portrait of it, on this occaſion of the union of the kingdom, as my humble efforts can produce.

"If it be true, that that conſtitution is the beſt, which has been productive of the moſt political happineſs, for the ſpace of many centuries, the palm of pre-eminence will be readily adjudged to the conſtitution of Great Britain, which now by the union is formally extended to the kingdom of Ireland. It is the appropriate and excluſive merit of this conſtitution, to be founded on principles ſo deeply rooted in the rights of ſocial union, that in every party conteſt, in every revolution, in every convulſion of government, the aſcendency has always been maintained by reſorting to them." The next was one of the moſt laborious that could poſſibly fall to the lot of man, namely, a Hiſtory of Ireland, founded as all hiſtory ſhould be, on the eternal baſis of TRUTH. Mr. Addington, who was miniſter at the time, was ſo well convinced of Mr. Plowden's abilities for the execution of a work, that would exhibit the mutual advantages that would ariſe from the union between Great Britain and Ireland, that he promiſed to patronize the undertaking. Mr. Plowden went to Dublin, where he collected a large maſs of materials, which he has certainly arranged in a manner that does great credit to his induſtry, taſte, and judgment. Earl Fitzwilliam, with a liberality that diſtinguiſhes that nobleman, furniſhed him with the manuſcript papers of his illuſtrious but unfortunate anceſtor, Earl Strafford; and ſeveral others threw open their archives to him on that occaſion.

As Ireland for the laſt five hundred years has been an arena in which every paſſion that rules the human mind, has fought in turn, it was difficult for Mr. Plowden to give a faithful detail of each, ſo as not to incur the cenſure of thoſe who wiſhed to keep alive the dying embers of thoſe paſſions, either through the prejudice of education, intereſted views, or through an honeſt, but miſtaken zeal, in ſupport of opinions, that they might conceive to be eſſential to the glory and independence of the country. The very idea of encountering ſuch a difference of ſentiment, would have diſheartened any man who was not cheered with the aſſurance that truth was great, and that it would prevail: in order however to inſure this triumph, the hiſtorian has honeſtly pointed out the ſteps that have been trodden, in order to ſhew thoſe that led aſide from the great object he had in view—the proſperity of the Britiſh empire: this could be only done by a ſeries of facts, and their reſults: and it muſt be allowed, that he has not omitted a link in this great chain. His documents are valuable, and their value is ſtill increaſed by their authenticity. As inſtruction is the end of hiſtory, Mr. Plowden has conſtantly reſorted to that mine which contained the pureſt veins of this invaluable ore; and if it does not always ſparkle, it will be found to have loſt nothing of its intrinſic excellence. Mr. Plowden married Miſs Phillips, a lady deſcended of an antient and wealthy family in Wales: to a mind highly cultivated, ſhe joins a moſt refined taſte in all theſe arts that embelliſh female excellence, which ſtill derive a luſtre from the moſt poliſhed manners and amiable diſpoſition.

Samuel Whitbread, eſquire, member for Bedford, is the only ſon of the late Samuel Whitbread, eſquire, the creator of his own fortune. As the father was not ſo anxious that his ſon ſhould add to the wealth which he himſelf had already acquired, as that he ſhould enjoy it in ſuch a manner as to make every one happy about him, and of courſe, that his name ſhould be reſpected. And as he knew that a good education was the firſt ſtep towards the accompliſhment of this wiſh, he ſent his ſon to Eton, where Mr. Grey, and the late Mr. Lambton, member for Durham, had juſt began their literary career, as congenial minds will draw each other, young Whitbread was immediately received into their friendſhip, participated in all their amuſements, and kept an equal pace with them in ſtudies, of which the public are daily reaping the benefits. At a proper period, Mr. Whitbread was entered of Chriſt College, Oxford, and thence removed to Cambridge, where

* His anceſtor, the great Edmund Plowden, was treaſurer of the Middle Temple, in the reign of queen Elizabeth.

where he once more joined Mr. Grey and Mr. Lambton. In 1785, he went to travel under Mr. Coxe, Fellow of King's College. Having remained ſome time in France, he paſſed over to Italy, the once happy country of the arts. The noble eſtabliſhment which his father allowed him was not waſted in thoſe purſuits, which no doubt gave birth to the ſeverity of Mr. Gay's lines*. No, it was expended in thoſe purſuits that tend to enrich the mind with uſeful information, and at the ſame time to ſtrengthen the judgment, and to trace the effect of laws and climate on the actions and manners of men.

In 1788, Mr. Whitbread married the ſiſter of his friend Mr. Grey, member for Northumberland. He was not long in the houſe of commons, when an opportunity preſented itſelf of calling forth thoſe talents which had been cultivated with ſo much ſucceſs. The queſtion of the abolition of the Slave Trade was brought forward; Mr. Whitbread's ſpeech on that ſubject made a great impreſſion on the houſe. He pointed out in very forcible and elegant language, the infamy, inhumanity, and impolicy, of the continuance of that traffic. Mr. Pitt complimented him on the occaſion, as well as the "hereditary humanity of the Whitbread's:" theſe compliments, however, did not puff him up with an over-weening opinion of his powers as a ſpeaker, for he rarely offered himſelf to the chair, unleſs ſome great conſtitutional queſtion was agitated, which he always put in a new point of view, or illuſtrated by a train of well-digeſted arguments. His ſpeech on the conduct of Lord Melville, on the eighth of April, is undoubtedly one of the firſt that ever was delivered in that houſe, either as to arrangement, argument, or impreſſive and appropriate language. No orator ever made better uſe of his materials, or fewer appeals to the paſſions. His peroration is fine, "When I turn my eyes to the country gentlemen, thoſe guardians of the public purſe, I cannot doubt of receiving their cordial ſupport, in oppoſition to a principle of peculation, which had been ſucceſſfully practiſed on the public of Great Britain for many years, and that too, by perſons entruſted with the official conduct of its reſources. If I look to the officers of the navy or the army, who compoſe a part of this houſe, I know there is not one of them who would vote in ſupport of a ſyſtem of corruption, ſuch as had been carried on by perſons againſt whom my enquiry is directed. I am convinced that their minds are not tainted with ſuch ſordid and corrupt notions, as to induce them to ſupport public peculators. If I turn to the commercial men, I am am ſatisfied that they are not filled with horror and diſguſt alone, but even with trembling, at the conduct which I have now endeavoured to point out, by which it was poſſible that ruin might have been hurled on them. Would it have been a vindication of Aſlett, ſuppoſing that his ſpeculations had been more fortunate than they had ultimately turned out, to have come forward and ſaid, "There is your money back again, you are not injured—you have no right to complain, I only took an accommodation from you, by which you have loſt nothing, and you have no right to paſs any puniſhment on me for ſo trivial and innocent an offence?"

The right honourable Charles Abbot, Speaker of the houſe of commons, is the ſon of a clergyman of the eſtabliſhed church, who having experienced the conſolation and rational pleaſures that ariſe from the cultivation of letters, was happy to find that his ſon gave early indications of a mind in which "the ſeeds of ſcience love to grow," and which, if watered with inſtruction, would tower and expand into maturity. Having been prepared by his father for a public ſeminary, he was ſent to Weſtminſter ſchool, and entered a king's ſcholar of Chriſt Church, Oxford, where he carried off two prizes in Latin and Engliſh poetry. He was originally intended for the church, but the bent of his ſtudies led him to the law, of which he was ambitious to make himſelf a profound maſter. When he laboured in this mine, he used to illumine the black lettered pages of Coke, with thoſe lighter ſtudies that captivate our youth, and often extend their charming influence to the laſt moment of life. His library was well ſtored with the beſt of writers on the laws and antiquities of England. From this ſource of intellectual treaſure, he enriched a mind capable of every purſuit, either uſeful or ornamental in the field of learning. His talents and integrity recommended him to a ſeat in the houſe of commons. In 1800, he went as ſecretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, where he diſcharged his duty highly to the ſatisfaction of all, which was by no means an eaſy taſk at the time, when party it is well known ran ſo high at the day in that kingdom.

It is well known that the public archives of this country abound in records, rolls, ſtate-papers, &c. The value of thoſe documents may in ſome meaſure be eſtimated from thoſe already publiſhed in Rymer's Fœdera. The hands in which theſe records were written, are known but to a few at this day; and if theſe keys ſhould be loſt, the treaſures to which they once opened would become uſeleſs. A great many of our ingenious countrymen have devoted a large portion of their time in attempts to retrieve the Punic, Malteſe, and other alphabets, for the purpoſe of explaining a few broken inſcriptions, which,

* Thus the dull lad too tall for ſchool,
With travel finiſhes the fool,
Studious of every coxcomb's airs,
He drinks, games, dreſſes, whores and ſwears,
With ſcorn o'erlooks all virtuous arts,
For vice is fitted to his parts.
GAY'S FABLES.

after

after all their labours, are ſtill involved in the miſt of learned conjecture, ſo as to afford little aid either to the hiſtorian or the chronologiſt, whilſt our own hidden treaſures, if brought into day, would ſhed light on our laws, conſtitution, and the cuſtoms and manners of our anceſtors, ſo as to form a regular ſeries of the progreſs of the arts of civilization, and the ſtrength and weakneſs at different periods of thoſe ties that hold ſociety together, and give to law the force of example, and the ſtamp of veneration.

Mr. Abbot ſaw this in every point of view, and communicated what he felt on this ſubject to thoſe who were diſpoſed to reſcue ſuch a maſs of hiſtorical materials from damps, moths, and worms. The ardor of his mind was not to be damped by the diſappointments which others had experienced in attempts to carry ſo laudable a deſign into execution. The houſe of commons, much to the credit of that enlightened body, acceded to his wiſhes. In the year 1801, a committee was appointed to conſider of the ſtate of the public records of the kingdom, of which Mr. Abbot was chosen the chairman. The reſult of their proceedings is already felt, immenſe numbers of documents have been reſcued, which were omitted by Prynne, Rylye, &c. &c. and which when embodied, will form the moſt precious collection of national antiquity. Mr. Abbot's knowledge of the uſage and practice of parliament, joined to his impartiality, have eminently qualified him for the chair which he now fills, with ſo much honour to himſelf and the houſe.

The caſting vote which he gave on the eighth of April, on the charges brought againſt Lord Melville, will hand down his name to the lateſt poſterity as an independent man, eſpecially as that vote, which might be conſidered as the eſſence of the majority on that queſtion, as Dr. Lawrence obſerved, will raiſe the houſe of commons ſtill higher in the eſtimation of the people, as the grand inqueſt of the nation, the guardian of the public purſe, and the ſure depoſitory of the rights and liberties of the ſubject.

Mr. Abbot married a daughter of Sir P. Gipps, member for the city of Canterbury, by whom he has iſſue.

Perhaps it may not be irrelevant to the matter in hand to add ſomething of the office and dignity of the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons.

In the firſt place, according to the forms of the houſe time immemorial, the candidate for the chair ſhould be preſent in the houſe when he is nominated, and that he be a member duly returned, and of whoſe election there is no doubt. If there is one perſon propoſed, and no objection made to him, it is not uſual to put the queſtion; but if any other perſon is propoſed, the ſenſe of the houſe is taken on the name of the firſt perſon propoſed. This queſtion is put by the head clerk. The ſucceſsful candidate is then conducted by the members who propoſed him to the chair; as ſoon as he is placed in it, the mace is laid upon the table by the ſerjeant. It has been uſual for perſons when propoſed to be ſpeakers to decline that office, from a modeſt ſenſe of their inability to diſcharge ſuch an important truſt; and even on the ſteps of the chair to beg of the houſe to proceed to the election of another more worthy *.

When they are preſented to the king for his approbation, in their ſpeech at the bar of the houſe of lords, it is the practice to expreſs the diffidence they entertain of their own abilities to execute ſo important a truſt. There are few inſtances of the king refuſing his approbation of the election of a ſpeaker †.

During the abſence of the ſpeaker, whether from illneſs or any other incidental cauſe, no buſineſs can be done, or any queſtion put, except the queſtion of adjournment; and that queſtion muſt be put by the clerk.

There is one part of the ſpeaker's duty, that of iſſuing his warrant to the clerk of the crown for making out writs for the election of members, in the room of ſuch members as ſhall die, or become peers, during a receſs of parliament ‡; which, by a late act of parliament, he is enabled to execute by deputies appointed by himſelf, in caſe he ſhall be abſent out of the realm §.

The ſpeaker cannot take the chair till forty members are preſent. At four o'clock he generally counts the houſe, and if forty members are not preſent, he can adjourn the houſe without a queſtion.

The ſpeaker calls on the member by name, who riſes firſt to ſpeak. It often happens however, that two members riſing nearly at the ſame time, the houſe do not immediately acquieſce in the ſpeaker's deciſion of who was up firſt; they have a right to put the queſtion, "which member was firſt up?" An inſtance of this kind is extremely rare.

The ſpeaker appoints tellers.

It is eſſential to the diſpatch of buſineſs, that the rule and order of the houſe, "that no member ſhould ſpeak twice to the ſame queſtion," ſhould be ſtrictly adhered to; and it is the duty of the ſpeaker to maintain the obſervance of this rule, without waiting for the interpoſition of the houſe ‖.

When the houſe orders any member, or other perſon, to be reprimanded, or thanked, it is the ſpeaker's duty to execute the commands of the

* Vide Elſynge, p. 160—165.

† On the 7th of March 1678, Charles II. refuſed his approbation of the election of Sir Edward Seymour to be ſpeaker.

‡ See 24th George III. cap. 26.

§ See Hatſel's Precedents.

‖ Hatſel.

houſe; and the ſpeech which he makes on theſe occaſions is frequently ordered to be printed, and in that caſe is entered on the journals.

On the 21ſt of June 1604, agreed for a rule, that, when Mr. Speaker deſires to ſpeak, he might be heard without interruption, if the houſe be ſilent, and not in diſpute.

In matters of doubt he is "to explain," but not to "ſway." When referred to on any dubious point of order or practice, it is his duty to ſtate every thing he knows upon the ſubject, from the journals, or the hiſtory of parliament; but he ought not to argue or draw concluſions from this information. He has no voice but to utter the ſenſe of the houſe when declared *.

If the numbers upon a diviſion ſhould be equal, it becomes the ſpeaker's office to give a caſting voice: it has been ſometimes uſual, in giving this vote, to give, at the ſame time, the reaſons which induce him to it†; but at that moment, all poſſibility of his ſwaying or influencing the houſe by theſe reaſons is paſt.

With reſpect to his rank, the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons has conſtantly taken next to peers of Great Britain both in and out of parliament time. In all public commiſſions he is ſo ranked, and has precedence at the council table as a privy counſellor.

During the ſitting of parliament and the adjournment of it, the ſpeaker on all public occaſions appears in his gown, attended by the mace.

George Tierney, Eſq. member for the Borough of Southwark, is the ſon of a gentleman, who realized a handſome fortune with a fair character. Young Mr. Tierney was deſtined for the bar, and the progreſs that he made in ſchool learning, furniſhed the beſt grounded hopes of his ſucceſs in a profeſſion, of all others the moſt laborious, the rugged paths of which can be only ſmoothed by the emoluments and honours which are daily ſhowered on thoſe who have preſſed forward to the goal. Soon after Mr. Tierney was called to the bar, his friends conceived that his induſtry and talents would reap an earlier harveſt in the fruitful ſoil of India than in his native climate, they were not diſappointed in this expectation. Having paſſed ſome years in that country, he returned with an eaſy fortune, and unblemiſhed fame. Having obtained a ſeat in the houſe of commons, he joined the ſtandard of oppoſition, and was very juſtly conſidered by that body as an acquiſition of which any party might boaſt. His intimate knowledge of India politics rendered him a formidable opponent to Mr. Dundas (now Lord Melville) eſpecially on all queſtions of finance, which regarded that quarter. It is well known that Mr. Dundas valued himſelf highly on the accuracy of theſe financial details, the ſimplicity of which he had reduced the income and expenditure of the three preſidencies, ſo that the exceſs or deficit of each might be ſeen at one glance. Mr. Tierney uſed to combat, and often with ſucceſs, many of his ſtatements, particularly thoſe of his eſtimates, and the company's accounts.

But his knowledge of finance was not confined to that of India; it embraced the different branches of the public revenue of Great Britain, and the deepeſt intereſt of the empire, either in a commercial or political point of view. In his reaſonings on theſe ſubjects, he has frequently pointed out the reſults of ſuch and ſuch meaſures, and time has frequently confirmed the truth of his predictions. His oppoſition to the adminiſtration of Mr. Pitt is well known, at the ſame time it muſt be allowed that he oppoſed the meaſures of that miniſter by arguments drawn from the queſtion in debate, and that he did not run into any that did not bear upon ſome part of it. When Mr. Addington came into power, Mr. Tierney ſeemed to think favourably of that gentleman's views, as well as many others, of what is now called the *Old Oppoſition*. He combated however ſome of his financial ſtatements with great clearneſs and force of argument. When Mr. Addington moved for leave to bring in a bill for impoſing reſtrictions on the bank, for a time to be limited, Mr. Tierney ſaid he did not wiſh the bank doors to be thrown open without a due deliberation; but he was anxious that a committee ſhould be appointed, previous to the introduction of the bill, to enquire into the ſtate of the bank. He ſaid it was material to ſhew the country what the bank was doing; that it was preparing to open and pay in ſpecie; that it was ready to do ſo when parliament ſhould permit. The public had a right to ſay to the bank directors, "You have been theſe laſt ſix years reaping a productive harveſt from our inconvenience; we only aſk you now to convert into caſh the notes for which we have given you credit ſo long." They had no apology for declining it, unleſs incapacity, and he did not ſuppoſe that to be the caſe.

On the 1ſt of June 1803, Mr. Tierney was appointed treaſurer of the navy, and a member of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council. On accepting this office, he offered himſelf once more to the electors of the Borough of Southwark, and was again returned by a majority of voices, that evinced he had not loſt their confidence. They ſtill remembered his former ſervices, and were too generous to ſuppoſe that a man had abandoned his principles, becauſe he accepted a place in a popular adminiſtration. Nor does it appear on this occaſion, that he broke with thoſe friends with whom he uſed to vote, for they continued to addreſs each other with the greateſt cordiality, even on queſtions that created a difference of opinion. He was not treated out of doors, however, with the ſame degree of liberality, even thoſe with whom he had till that time been

* Hatſel.

† Ibid.

been a favourite, began to think that in ſome inſtances he had ſwerved from thoſe principles that at firſt recommended him to public eſtimation. As the late Mr. Burke has drawn the character of a member of parliament, we ſhall introduce it as a ſtandard by which that of Mr. Tierney's may be tried.

"In my opinion," ſays Mr. Burke*, "it is our duty, when we have the deſires of the people before us, to purſue them, not in the ſpirit of literal obedience, which may militate with their very principle, much leſs to treat them with a peeviſh and contentious litigation, as if we were adverſe parties in a ſuit. It would be moſt diſhonourable for a faithful repreſentative of the commons, to take advantage of any inartificial expreſſion of the peoples wiſhes, in order to fruſtrate their attainment of what they have an undoubted right to expect. We are under infinite obligations to our conſtituents, who have raiſed us to ſo diſtinguiſhed a truſt, and have imparted ſuch a degree of ſanctity to our moral characters. We ought to walk before them with purity, plainneſs, and integrity of heart, with filial love, and not with ſlaviſh fear, which is always a low and tricking thing."

When he took his ſeat on the treaſury bench, it was expected that Mr. Addington would have found an able advocate in a man of his acknowledged dexterity in attack and defence; but whether it was, that the meaſures of adminiſtration were ſufficiently palatable, or that they would be found to be ſo, certain it is, that he rarely ſpoke on any queſtion that was not immediately connected with the duties of his office, to the very minutiæ of which, he paid an uncommon degree of attention. All his ſpeeches are delivered in an even tone of voice, he ſeldom or ever riſes to any degree of animation, even on topics that would gather ſtrength in an impaſſioned and well-directed tone. His arguments are always well arranged, and bear evident marks of a ſtrong mind. His language is not brilliant, and yet perhaps not one word could be changed for a better. His principal force lies in reply, in which he is generally happy. A proof that he is maſter of himſelf, maſter of his ſubject, and that if his talents are not firſt rate, they are ſecond to none.

Dr. Jenner.—It is highly to the praiſe of the preſent age, that men of genius and obſervation, inſtead of waſting their time in ſpinning metaphyſical cobwebs, or in the diſcuſſion of ſpeculative queſtions, that only ſerve to envelope the human mind in idle theories, devote their attention to thoſe purſuits that lead to the nobler ends, ſuch eſpecially as thoſe that diminiſh the number of diſeaſes that "fleſh is heir to." In this claſs, the name of Dr. Jenner has already obtained ſo high a rank, that any attempt at panegyric would be needleſs; or at beſt but a vain diſplay of idle declamation.

Doctor Edward Jenner is the youngeſt ſon of the Rev. Stephen Jenner, rector of Rockhampton, and vicar of Berkeley, in Glouceſterſhire, where the ſubject of this ſketch was born in 1749.

Having loſt his father, whilſt yet a boy, the care of his education devolved on his eldeſt brother, the Rev. Stephen Jenner, who to the warmeſt fraternal affections, united thoſe powers that render inſtruction delightful in every ſtage. He was ſent to complete his claſſical ſtudies at Cirenceſter. The bent of his literary purſuits ſoon pointed out the profeſſion in which he would ſhine, and that inclination and nature might at once be gratified, he was placed under the care of Mr. Ludlow, of Sodbury, a man every way qualified to inſtruct him in ſurgery and pharmacy. In order to qualify him for the moſt extended ſphere of practice, he was removed to the late Mr. John Hunter, with whom he lived two years as a houſe pupil.

The preceptor was ſo highly pleaſed with the amiable manners, and penetrating mind of his pupil, that he offered to take him as a partner in his profeſſion. And in order that the young man might have a wide field for the diſplay of his abilities, the Doctor propoſed to deliver a courſe of lectures in Natural Hiſtory, a ſubject congenial to the talents of both, and which no doubt would have been a rich treat to all the lovers of that extenſive branch of ſcience.

As the love of knowledge was Dr. Jenner's ſole ambition, he ſettled at Berkely, where he was beloved and eſteemed by an extenſive circle, and where his practice was followed by ſo much ſucceſs, that his fame as a medical man called forth invitations from different quarters; but no allurement or hopes of fortune could tempt him to leave his native town, in which he found many charms that could render his life agreeable, and contribute to his favourite reſearches.

His practice as a ſurgeon became ſo extenſive, that he was perſuaded to take out a diploma: thus, in ſome meaſure diſengaged from ſurgery, he returned to thoſe ſtudies which he long wiſhed, even in the fatigue of buſineſs to reſume—natural hiſtory, &c. &c. He had ſome leiſure now to arrange his thoughts, and having elucidated ſome points in ornithology, he wrote a paper on that ſubject, which ſhed ſo much light on many diſputed points, that he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society.

The many improvements and diſcoveries which he made in the healing art, have laudably excited the emulation of men of ſimilar minds, who with pride and gratitude acknowledge the obligations they are under to a man born for the good of his kind.

The havock which the ſmall pox made at certain periods in this country, led him at firſt to conſider if nature in pity to the human race, had not reſerved ſome remedy, if not wholly to eradicate, at leaſt to ſubdue the malignancy of that diſeaſe.

This ſubject arreſted his attention ſo early as the year 1776. He found among thoſe whom he had inoculated

* Letter to Sir H. Langriſh.

inoculated for the ſmall pox, that the infection did not operate on thoſe who had undergone the caſual cow pox. This clue led him through a labyrinth of opinions and experiments, till he found at length that the ſlender hopes of ſucceſs which he entertained in the beginning, had terminated on the ſide of humanity, which on this occaſion has obtained a noble and decided victory.

This happy diſcovery was communicated to the world by Dr. Jenner, in a tract publiſhed in 1798, entitled, "An Enquiry into the Cauſes and Effects of the Variolæ Vaccinæ: a Diſeaſe diſcovered in ſome of the Weſtern Counties of England, particularly Glouceſterſhire, and known by the name of the Cow Pox." The avidity with which this ſlender publication was read, and the number of converts to the reaſonings which it contained, induced the Doctor to publiſh another treatiſe, entitled "The Origin of Vaccine Inoculation," a very curious and intereſting production. Theſe publications did not eſcape animadverſion; but it is true, that the animadverſions were of a liberal caſt. Bacon ſays, "that diſcuſſion is the filtering ſtone of knowledge," which was amply verified in this reſpect. The Doctor anſwered his opponents in that firm and moderate tone which might be expected from one, who had nothing ſo near at heart as the cauſe of truth; he did not wiſh to build a temporary fame on a ſandy foundation, he wiſhed that every trial ſhould be duely weighed, as he knew that nothing would be ſo fatal to the diſcovery as a haſty deciſion in its favour, or the indiſcreet zeal of his friends. Mr. Ring, through the medium of the Medical Journal, was the firſt who repreſented vaccine inoculation, in that favourable light in which it is now viewed. As popular prejudice began to ſubſide, men of acknowledged talents ſtepped forward, and riſked their medical fame on the ſucceſs of it. Mr. Keate and Mr. Ruſh introduced it into the army; Dr. Trotter, phyſician to the fleet, and Dr. Blaine, one of the commiſſioners of the Sick and Hurt Office, recommended it to the navy. The admiralty ſanctioned the benevolent recommendation.

On this occaſion, the phyſicians and ſurgeons of the navy, preſented a gold medal to Dr. Jenner, accompanied by an appropriate addreſs. The medal repreſents Apollo, the god of phyſic, introducing a ſeaman recovered from vaccine inoculation to Britannia, who in return extends a civic crown, on which is inſcribed JENNER, with this motto:

Alba nautis ſtella refulſit.
A benign ſtar ſhone on the mariners.

On the reverſe is an anchor: above, GEORGIO TERTIO REGE; underneath, SPENCER DUCE. The fame of Dr. JENNER extended to the continent, and found patrons in every quarter of France, Germany, Italy, &c. The parliament of the united kingdom granted him a reward of 10,000*l.* The promptitude with which this ſum was voted, and the honourable manner in which his name was mentioned by the ſeveral members who ſpoke on the occaſion, muſt be highly gratifying to his feelings.

Several foreigners of the firſt rank in life and diſtinction in the medical world, have born teſtimony to his merit. The preſent empreſs dowager of Ruſſia, tranſmitted the Doctor a diamond ring of great value, by the hands of Lord St. Helens, accompanied with a letter, of which the following is a tranſlation:

"SIR,

"The practice of vaccine inoculation in England having been attended with the happieſt ſucceſs, which is well atteſted, I have eagerly imitated that example, by introducing it into the charitable inſtitutions under my direction.

"My endeavours having perfectly anſwered my expectations, I feel a pleaſure in reporting their ſucceſs, and in teſtifying my acknowledgments to him, who has rendered this ſignal ſervice to humanity.

"This motive induces me to offer to you, Sir, the ring ſent herewith, as a teſtimony of the ſentiments of eſteem and regard, with which I am,

Your's affectionately,
MARY."

Paloweſky,
Auguſt 10th, 1802.

To this we ſhall add the following, not the leſs flattering, becauſe they came from foreign parts.

AD EDWARDUM JENNER.

Te mater omnis, te lachrymabilis
Accurret uxor, ne caducum
Orba virum, pueroſque ploret.
Seu confluentes forte timet notas
Decora virgo,—faciem eripis
Periclitantem, protegiſque
Delicias juvunum futuras.

To thee the tender mother flies,
With precant hands, and ſtreaming eyes,
T' implore thy healing power,
To blunt that monſter's venom'd tooth,
That loves to prey on roſy youth,
As killing as the canker to the flower.

Nor Health alone to the ſhould bow,
Let Beauty offer up her vow;
To thee the friend of human kind,
The chaſe you firſt began purſue,
And keep that fell diſeaſe in view,
Nor let it leave a name behind.

ON DR. JENNER,

By Dr. THEMMON, *a Dutch* PHYSICIAN.

Cynthia ut aufugiunt ad lucida, prodit
Cum Pelago ex vaſto ſol, oriente die.
Sic evaneſcunt medicorum inventa priorum
Cum nova JENNERI naſcitur ſalus.

Tranſlated

Tranſlated by J. RING, *Eſquire.*

As the bright ſtars and Cynthia fade away,
Before the glories of the dawning day,
So the fair fame of each invention dies,
When the new ſun of JENNER gilds the ſkies.

In 1788, Dr. Jenner married Miſs Catherine Kingſcote, ſiſter of Colonel Robert Kingſcote, of Kingſcote, in Glouceſterſhire, one of the oldeſt and moſt reſpectable families in that county.

The right honourable John Foſter, member for the county of Louth, is the ſon of the late Anthony Lord Chief Baron Foſter, of the kingdom of Ireland. Having early evinced that ſpecies of talent, which the Spectator ſays, "will wear well." He was deſtined by his father for that profeſſion in which he himſelf had deſervedly roſe by gradual ſteps to ſuch eminence. He was educated at the ſame ſchool with the ingenious Lovel Edgeworth, eſquire, and afterwards entered a fellow commoner in Trinity College, Dublin, where the late lord chancellor of Ireland, and Mr. Grattan, were his cotemporaries and companions. In this univerſity, he was diſtinguiſhed by the progreſs that he made in uſeful ſtudies, for which nature had indulged him with a quick perception, and a clearneſs of comprehenſion, beyond the generality of young men of his age. In Michaelmas term 1776, he was called to the Iriſh bar, while his father was yet on the bench. If his views had been ſolely confined to his profeſſion, it is very probable that he would have excelled in it, but his great object was to awaken the public ſpirit of his country, and to direct it to agriculture and trade. To this great and truly laudable end, he devoted all his ſtudies; and in a ſhort time he had the gratification to find that his exertions were not in vain; premiums were held out to encourage the plough and the ſhuttle, ſo that the progreſs of both in a few years exceeded the moſt ſanguine hopes. Numbers of gentlemen of property entered into his views, and the legiſlature ſeconded their efforts in ſuch a manner, that beggary and idleneſs gradually yielded to induſtry and thoſe comforts that ſpring out of labour and ingenuity. By theſe rewards and examples, the ſtate of the peaſantry was conſiderably ameliorated: bogs and marſhes were drained, canals were projected, breweries erected, and the barren mountain was clothed with verdure. The linen manufactory flouriſhed beyond all former periods, under his patronage, a manufactory that furniſhed millions with bread, and diffuſed content over every countenance that was concerned in it.

In 1778, Mr. Foſter was returned to ſerve in parliament for the county of Louth; this furniſhed him with an opportunity of recommending ſome of theſe plans to the legiſlature, which he had digeſted in his cloſet: accordingly, he introduced a ſyſtem of corn laws, which was calculated to meet any ſcarcity that might ariſe from a bad harveſt; and above all, to defeat the ſordid views of the monopoliſt. This ſyſtem is founded on ſo broad and liberal a baſis, that the advantages of the grower and conſumer are equally conſulted.

In 1785, Mr. Foſter was appointed chancellor of the Iriſh Exchequer. In 1786, he reſigned this office, on being choſen Speaker of the houſe of commons, a ſituation which he filled to the time of the union. His ſpeech on that occaſion, ſhews how intimately he was acquainted with the trade, manufactures, &c. of Ireland, even in the minuteſt detail.

Mr. Foſter was always adverſe to the admiſſion of Catholics to legiſlative functions. When the bill for admitting them to a participation of the elective franchiſe was brought into the Iriſh houſe, he came forward in a manly and decided manner, and gave the reaſons which would influence him to oppoſe it in every ſtage. Time has not diminiſhed the force of theſe reaſons, for he oppoſed the Catholic petition in the Britiſh ſenate. When Mr. Foſter ſucceeded Mr. Corry as chancellor of the Iriſh exchequer, it is ſaid that he ſubmitted the meaſures on which he intended to act to Mr. Pitt, and that he accepted that office on the expreſs condition that he ſhould be aided in carrying thoſe meaſures into effect.

His eſtate at Collon, in the county of Louth, on which he reſides in the receſs of parliament, is highly cultivated; and he has enabled and encouraged his tenantry to follow his example. In all his improvements in agriculture, planting, building, &c. he appears to have Pope's lines conſtantly in view:

'Tis uſe alone that ſanctifies expence,
And ſplendor borrows all her rays from ſenſe.

Mr. Foſter has one ſon.—Mrs. Foſter was created baroneſs of Oriel, in 1790.

The right honourable Barry Yelverton, Lord Avenmore, chief baron of the Exchequer in Ireland, is one of the few who are ſolely indebted to their own merit for their elevation in life. He is the ſon of a wool-comber in the neighbourhood of Canturk, whoſe induſtry enabled him to give his ſon a claſſical education, which qualified him to enter the univerſity of Dublin as a ſervitor, where he proceeded bachelor of arts. Having run his academic courſe with the applauſe of the beſt judges of claſſical learning in that ſeminary, as time was his eſtate, he was determined that a moment of it ſhould not be waſted; from the ſituation in which fortune had placed him, he very prudently thought that it could not be better employed than in "pouring freſh inſtructions on the youthful mind." He was accordingly engaged as an aſſiſtant in the Rev. Mr. Buck's academy, Dublin, which was then conducted on a very large and liberal ſcale. "Genius," ſays Dr. Johnſon,

" is a mind of large general powers, accidentally determined to ſome particular direction." Mr. Yelverton's predelection for the ſtudy of the law, aroſe, it is ſaid, from having heard a very young barriſter deliver an energetic ſpeech, in a court of law, in the ſide of juſtice and humanity—a ſucceſsful advocate in ſuch a cauſe, appeared as it ought to appear, in his eyes, to be an office of the firſt conſequence; from that moment, he could not let the bar out of his view, though the difficulties that lay betwixt him and it were almoſt inſurmountable; as his finances were low, and the claims of an aged father on his ſlender purſe, put every other conſideration however preſſing out of competition, for there never was a more dutiful and affectionate ſon.

Theſe obſtacles, however, were at length happily ſurmounted by his marriage with a lady of the name of Nugent, who was deſcended of a good family. Her fortune, with decent œconomy, enabled him to anſwer his terms in the Middle Temple, and to purchaſe ſome of the beſt law books: he was called to the Iriſh bar in 1764.

The ſtate of the Iriſh bar at that time has been ſo happily deſcribed, by a gentleman of the day, that his lines will not be thought intruſive.

> Within the courts I ſaw, but ſaw too late,
> The buſ'neſs chiefly done, by ſix or eight
> Fav'rites of fortune! whoſe ſagacious hand,
> Cull'd from five hundred, this her ſilken band,
> Plac'd in the van, ſome fears poſſeſs'd their mind,
> For ever and anon they look'd behind.
> 'Twere hard they knew, to hold their ſtations long,
> The ground was ſlippery, and the preſs was throng,
> Lift but a foot,—the rear-rank man they feel
> In lock-ſtep progreſs treading on their heel.

Mr. Yelverton felt the truth of what the poet ſung. By degrees, however, his talents made their way, and no man roſe faſter into light, from the moment he began to emerge from that obſcurity in which he had lain for ſome years. In 1776, he was returned to ſerve in the Iriſh parliament. Oppoſition at that time began to gather conſiderable ſtrength; Mr. Yelverton joined that body, and continued to act in the cloſeſt union with it, till his country obtained thoſe commercial privileges, which he conceived ſhe was entitled to; but when he found that many of his party looked to a reform in the repreſentation, by means of the volunteer aſſociations, he oppoſed that meaſure as an experiment at once replete with fallacy and danger. Having brought in a bill for the repeal of Poyning's Law, he urged the conſtitutional propriety of it in ſuch forcible language, that it paſſed into an act of the legiſlature.

In 1782, during the Portland adminiſtration, he ſucceeded Mr. Scott* as attorney general; and in 1784, he was raiſed to the bench, as chief baron of the Exchequer.

In 1789, he declared himſelf a decided friend to the party which aſſerted the right of Ireland to chooſe her own regent. On the 16th of June 1795, he was created baron Yelverton, of Avonmore, in the county of Cork.

As a public ſpeaker, his ruling power is argument, rather ſparing of figures, not through any penury of imagination, but through choice and ſeverity of judgment, for he can riſe with his ſubject almoſt to any height: and as his delivery is clear and ſlow, the impreſſion is at once deep and dignified.

His lordſhip's taſte in polite learning is univerſally acknowledged, and though he has not written any thing to entitle him to the name of a poet; yet the tuneful race is always the favourites of his leiſure moments, and their beauties the theme of his converſation in thoſe circles that can

> " Reliſh thoſe temperate ſweets that never cloy."

Henry Dundas, Viſcount Melville, is the deſcendant of the younger branch of a family, often mentioned in Scottiſh Hiſtory, as having diſtinguiſhed themſelves in council, but oftener in the " well foughten field." The immediate progenitors of his lordſhip have moved in the juridical line, and have ſucceſſively riſen, to the higheſt honours of the Scotch bar. His father was Lord Preſident, as well as his eldeſt brother by the half-blood.

The ſubject of this memoir was the youngeſt ſon by a ſecond marriage; he was deſigned for the bar, as the ſhorteſt road to fame and fortune. His father, who trod all the mazes of this thorny path, led his ſon by the hand through the moſt difficult, and had the ſatisfaction in the end to find that the hopes which he had cheriſhed of his ſon's abilities, were likely to be crowned with ſucceſs. Henry was bred in the univerſity of Edinburgh, and in 1763, was called to the Scotch bar. Few men ever ſtarted with more advantages in a profeſſion; ſprung from a family, in which a deep knowledge of law might be ſaid to have been hereditary, connected either by blood or marriage with ſome of the firſt families in his native country: his brother on the bench, a well proportioned fine figure, a prepoſſeſſing countenance, and an addreſs, if not the moſt graceful, yet intereſting. He ſeems to have been ſenſible of theſe advantages, as he made the beſt and moſt honourable uſe of them; for, in the courſe of few a years, he was raiſed to the rank of lord advocate of Scotland, whilſt yet a young man.

The late Lord Kaimes, who was undoubtedly a man of taſte and genius, was ſo highly pleaſed with ſome of our young advocate's ſpeeches in the *General Aſſembly* of the church of Scotland, that he dedicated a work to him, which cannot be read too often, or ſufficiently admired, namely, " PRINCIPLES OF EQUITY."

The flames of war had now burſt forth in America. Lord

* Afterwards Earl of Clonmell.

Lord North, in the very commencement of the unhappy conteſt, found that it would involve him in difficulties, beyond any other in which this country was ever engaged. He ſaw that all his endeavours would be warmly contended by men of firſt rate talents, principles, and character, that pleaſantry, round aſſertion, and prompt replies, would often be neceſſary in the abſence of argument, or when argument were too feeble to ſatisfy the public mind. He conceived that he ſhould find on thoſe occaſions, a powerful aſſiſtance in Mr. Dundas, who about that time, had taken his ſeat in parliament for the city of Edinburgh. He was not diſappointed in this expectation, for as often as his lordſhip was attacked, Mr. Dundas was at hand to aſſiſt him, and when he could not confute his opponents, he was ſure to reſort to a ſtrain of pleaſantry, which never failed to put the houſe in good humour.

When Mr. Dundas ſaw that the American war was likely to terminate in the independence of that country, that the political power of his noble patron was in the wane, and that every diviſion in the houſe of commons, thinned the ranks of the miniſter, he turned his eyes to India, as an extenſive field for the exerciſe of his talents. He began without loſs of time to ſtudy Indian politics, but he did not entirely confine himſelf to the jarring intereſts of the native princes of that country, he ſtudied the very nature of the ſoil, the revenues that it would produce, the beſt mode of inſuring the collection of theſe revenues. Nay, his views extended to the very geography of Hindoſtan, in the knowledge of which he was not excelled even by thoſe who had reſided many years in that quarter, and who had made it a great part of their ſtudy. It muſt be allowed, that his views of India were more enlarged than thoſe which are aſcribed to him; he certainly laboured to render the ſituation of the company's ſervants as comfortable as poſſible, and to reward the meritorious, without any diſtinction of country or family connexions.

During the ſhort-lived adminiſtrations of Lord Shelburne and Mr. Fox, Mr. Dundas was not inactive. Each of theſe adminiſtrations would, it is ſaid, have gladly accepted of his ſervices, but he ſaw that a general election would place Mr. Pitt, a young miniſter, and the ſon of the great Earl of Chatham, at the head of a powerful majority. The appointments of *treaſurer of the navy, and preſident of the board of controul of the East India company, in the management of their affairs, with a ſeat in the cabinet*, were the firſt rewards of Mr. Dundas's ſervices in the arrangements of the new adminiſtration. As preſident of the board of controul, his firſt care was to convince the country, that the credit which his friends had given to him for his knowledge of Indian affairs, was not founded in any vain diſplay of talent, and that the plans which he had deviſed for the mutual benefit of the mother country, and her diſtant poſſeſſions, would evince that they were founded in wiſdom and practicability. And in order that the public might form a more preciſe judgment than heretofore of the ſtate of the public revenue, he brought forward an Indian budget every year, in which he detailed the annual income and expenditure of the preſidencies, in ſo clear and ſimple a manner, that the progreſs of the trade and finance, or the checks that occaſionally retarded either the one or the other, were exhibited at one view. As treaſurer of the navy, he brought two bills into the houſe of commons, which paſſed into a law, to facilitate and expedite the payment of ſeamens' wages, the benefit of which has been felt, and gratefully acknowledged by that intrepid body.

Mr. Dundas was never known to be forgetful of his native country in any ſituation. The meaſure of the reſtoration of the *forfeited eſtates* in Scotland, was among the firſt and nobleſt efforts of his riſing influence, a meaſure that has poured balm into the wounds of civil diſcord, obliterated the traces of rebellion, and which has tended to unite a gallant nation in one common bond of intereſt and loyalty, under the mild adminiſtration of a ſovereign, in whoſe beams they have riſen through their induſtry to honour and proſperity.

The remoteſt corners of the Highlands have felt the care of his foſtering hand. Several ſchools at his recommendation have been planted even in the mountains, in which the Engliſh language is now taught. The reſult of which, is, that local prejudices are daily ſubſiding, and a communication is now opened between the highlander and lowlander, through the medium of one common tongue.

The plans for the formation of the fencible regiments in that country, are ſaid to have originated with him.

He has been accuſed of two much partiality for his native country; how far that accuſation may or may not be well founded, muſt depend on the objects to which it was directed; if he beckoned modeſt merit from the ſhade; if he ſtrung the arm of induſtry, or promoted the uſeful arts, ſo far he is entitled to praiſe; if on the other, he promoted thoſe that were unfit to fill the offices they were appointed to, he was ſo far reprehenſible. If he rewarded talents only, the Dundaſſes muſt poſſeſs an uncommon portion of that heavenly gift; for we find a few months ago, that the different branches of his family filled places to the amount of ſixty thouſand pounds a year.

The greateſt queſtions that could intereſt a great empire, were agitated in the houſe of commons during the time Mr. Dundas had a ſeat in it.—The

American

American war—the war in India—the impeachement of Mr. Haſtings—the regency—the ſlave trade—French revolution—union with Ireland, &c.

In all theſe queſtions, he took an active and decided part, and rarely gave a ſilent vote on any one of them. He oppoſed all conciliation with America; he united in the vote of impeachment againſt Mr. Haſtings, when he found the charges againſt that gentleman were ſufficiently ſtrong to put him upon his trial. His conduct on the queſtion of the regency bill, was always marked with the higheſt reſpect for the heir apparent. As often as any topic connected with the French revolution found its way into debate, he ſpoke with warmth; but his language was always tempered with diſcretion; he never deſcended, when ſpeaking of the founders of that revolution, into any language beneath the dignity of a Britiſh ſenator. He came forward as a ſtrenuous advocate for the gradual abolition of the ſlave trade, and made a ſpeech in favour of that propoſition, that contained a ſeries of arguments as demonſtrative as any propoſition in Euclid. Notwithſtanding he had all the advantages of an early education, and ſpent much of his time with Lord Kaimes, Drs. Robertſon, Blair, &c. yet he has never given any ſhining proof of his reading, or thoſe advantages that are derived from the converſation of men, whoſe writings are ſo univerſally admired. In all his ſpeeches, he has never been known to quote one author ancient or modern, either to enforce an argument by an oppoſite authority, or to enliven a paſſage that would admit of borrowed ornament. He has no choice of words, or integrity of metaphor; nothing of the *lucidus ordo*; content, it ſeems, if he can clothe his arguments in plain language; and ſometimes he is ſo lucky in his arguments, that he can diſpenſe with the rhetorical figures, which at beſt are but the trappings of eloquence. He has frequently laid himſelf open from ſome inconſiderate expreſſion, to the attack of his opponents, who by that means have turned the tide of ridicule againſt him: but if it flowed from its native ſource, and was not mingled with gall, he would join in the laugh as heartily as any man in the houſe.

He was never known to loſe his temper but once or twice during the whole time that he ſat in the houſe. Mr. Courtenay attacked him one night on a point which is now forgotten, and which we do not wiſh to revive. The ſhaft of that wit gauled him ſo ſeverely, that he gave way for a few minutes to his reſentment; but Henry was himſelf again in a very ſhort time. Neither Mr. Burke's ſneers, nor the ſeverity of his remarks, could ever draw an ill-natured expreſſion from him. Whilſt on the other hand, no man could ſooner move Mr. Burke's bile than Mr. Dundas, to the great amuſement of ſome, and the inſtruction of all, for it was in thoſe burſts of paſſion that the Britiſh Cicero uſed to pour forth a tide of eloquence that ſwept away thing before it, and enriched the very banks it inundated. Mr. Dundas always paid the greateſt attention to every member that ſpoke, particularly Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan; and when ſome tedious and inſignificant ſpeakers were coughed down, he never joined in it, except once, when Mr. Burke had nearly exhauſted the patience of the houſe, on a ſubject unworthy of that great orator, the cough became almoſt univerſal: Mr. Burke was ſtung with indignation, and complained of it in the bittereſt terms. "It is very hard," ſaid Mr. Dundas, "that the honourable gentleman ſhould be diſpleaſed with the houſe for exerciſing one of its earlieſt privileges."

He was not fond of conſuming the time of the houſe in long ſpeeches, unleſs, when he ſpoke againſt time, then the time was ſhort indeed, for his pleaſantry was inexhauſtible; and what heightened it ſtill more was the peculiarity of his dialect, and the mode of pronouncing ſome words, which uſed to ſet the houſe in a roar. He rarely or ever ſpoke of patriotiſm or public ſpirit, nor yet did he ſneer at thoſe that made profeſſions of them. He had lived to ſee many changes in the political creeds of many men, and could perhaps trace all theſe changes to cauſes, that did not perhaps impreſs him with the higheſt opinion of the political *conſiſtency* of man. He was one of thoſe that preferred ſolid pudding to empty praiſe; and forgot the toils of the ſtateſman in a convivial circle, in which he always ſhone to the greateſt advantage. During the debates on the war with France, he never evinced any indecent triumph when any member of oppoſition deſerted that ſtandard; and when Mr. Burke came over to the treaſury ſide, he flattered himſelf, no doubt, that he would be received with open arms by Mr. Dundas; but he was miſtaken, the reception was cool; perhaps he could not forget what Mr. Burke once ſaid in his ſpeech on the nabob of Arcot's debts, "Delicacy and Mr. Dundas would form a rare coalition."

We do not find that Lord Melville has patronized any men of learning except Dr. Gillies, who was private tutor to his ſons; for that gentleman he procured the place of hiſtoriographer for Scotland; but the doctor has not publiſhed any thing on the ſubject of his native country; perhaps he is content to reſt his fame on his Hiſtory of Greece, which however is not the only one that is read and approved. With theſe qualities he will always be remembered as a man poſſeſſed of a certain portion of talent, pleaſant on all occaſions, eaſy of acceſs, hoſpitable, an affectionate father, a good landlord, a kind maſter, the warmeſt friend, and an open enemy. The impeachment which now hangs over him has fixed the public attention, and until that is decided

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it would not be fair to say any thing on the subject. The result however will form a continuation of this subject in the progress of our history.

His lordship has been twice married, first to a Miss Rennie, daughter of a ship builder for the coasting trade in the West India islands, by whom he had issue sons and daughters. Lady Jane Hope, his present wife, is sister of the Earl of Hopetoun. His lordship holds the Melville estate from his first wife. He has no issue by his present lady.

Philip Earl of Hardwicke, Viscount Royston, lord lieutenant of Ireland, grand master of the order of St. Patrick, lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Cambridge, president of Addenbrooke's Hospital, and a vice-president of the board of agriculture, is grandson of the great chancellor Hardwicke*. He was born 31st of May, 1757, and succeeded his uncle the Earl of Hardwicke, May 16th, 1790. Having received an education suitable to his rank and prospects in life, instead of applying himself to the study of politics, and the intrigues of party, he preferred the cultivation and encouragement of those arts that contribute to the real wealth and stability of a state; not that he neglected his duty in the senate, in which he was very highly respected, even by those from whom he happened to differ in political opinion. If we are to trace his public character by the votes which he gave in parliament, it will place it indeed in a very independent and honourable point of view, as the result of deliberate conviction, and a mind that was not to be warped by those ambitious views that lead to the "uneasy seats of high desires," content with his paternal acres, and the well earned honours of his family. It does great credit to Mr. Addington's discernment, that he sought for a man, and found one, that could fill a situation not less arduous than exalted—the vice-regal government of Ireland. Lord Hardwicke assumed that high office at a period when the clearest heads were divided on the best means of calling back the deluded subject in that country to his duty and allegiance, and of healing those wounds, which intestine jars, and the heat of faction had inflicted. As he was the immediate descendant of a nobleman that had traced the constitution of England to its very foundation, and that had pointed out the advantages of it in language that will never be forgotten; and as his lordship could not cast his eye on any part of his own country, that he did not see the blessings of it written in the countenance of the meanest peasant, he wished to preserve those blessings to his fellow-subjects in Ireland, as the surest means of strengthening the interest of the British empire by a union of minds.

One great means of effecting this, was to permit the great streams of public justice to flow in their constitutional channels. In the month of January, 1803, judges were sent by special commission to try the disturbers of the public peace in the counties of Limerick, Tipperary, and Waterford; in the two former of which commotion had been very general; the latter was only affected from its proximity.

In the progress of these trials, nothing of a treasonable disposition was discoverable in these unfortunate subjects. Those wretched creatures were deluded to act, not from any political stimulus, for abstract politics could never have been made a motive of action with their class, by the most refined intrigues. The artifices used to set them in motion, was more familiar to their business and bosoms, more adapted to their powers of comprehension; they were invited to fix a rate for potatoes, the almost universal food of the multitude in those parts, and to join in a system of opposition to the introduction of *strangers*, (by whom were meant persons of any other vicinity) from becoming the tenants of farms, and to compel the land proprietors in their counties to treat with, exclusively, the old occupiers, causes which constituted popular pretexts and clamours of long standing in Ireland. It also appeared, that a forward lead in these matters was taken by men of the disbanded regiments of militia, who had, during the calamitous period of the troubles of their country, been indulged in so much licentiousness, and so much of party, more than of military discipline, had been instilled into the superiors, that it is not to be wondered at, that they were on their return to their countries, utterly unfitted for the purposes and habits of sober life. Upon this head we must ever refer to the just and animated censure of the illustrious Abercrombie.

The sacrifices which were made to public justice on the above occasion, restored at least the appearance of tranquillity. The people were awed to submission; that they were reclaimed, we have every reason to doubt. These have since manifested themselves by repeated inclinations of an angry unappeased spirit, and of unsubdued rancour; but since the period to which we have alluded, no overt act of any considerable extent or moment has occurred in these countries. The magistrates of Tipperary and Limerick, on this occasion, earnestly petitioned to be

*The right honourable Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke, is universally allowed to have been one of the greatest lawyers that ever shone at the English bar, whether the depth of legal knowledge, the clearness of his conception, the powerful side of his eloquence, or the purity of his conduct be regarded. Such a combination of powers that rarely fall to the lot of any one man, soon raised him to those high and unenvied honours, which have descended with so much lustre to his family. He was appointed solicitor-general in 1721, in the thirtieth year of his age: he was made attorney-general in 1733: he was afterwards appointed chief justice of the King's Bench, and in 1736, lord high chancellor. He died on the 6th of March, 1764, at the age of seventy-three.

indulged with the power of inflicting diſcretionary puniſhment and tranſportation, under what is called in Ireland the "Inſurrection Act," to which his majeſty's government in Ireland refuſed to concede; and choſe the milder and more authorized mode of legal proceeding. It is more than probable, that under the circumſtances of local irritation, and inconſiderate intemperance every where abounding, that had the prayer of the magiſtrates been liſtened to, the flames of rebellion would have been rekindled throughout the entire of that fine country, the ſouth of Ireland The courſe wiſely adopted, met with complete ſucceſs, and tranquillity was reſtored as to inſurrection in Dublin, on the 23d of July, 1803. The debates on that ſubject in the houſe of commons, on the 11th of Auguſt, (detailed in the preceding part of our hiſtory,) will preclude the neceſſity of advancing any thing on it here. We ſhall only remark, that the conduct of Lord Hardwicke, on that trying occaſion, was defended by thoſe who had the beſt opportunity of being well informed on the whole of the tranſaction. In the conflict of public opinion, it is not to be expected that any man can pleaſe all, however high in power, or anxious to diſpenſe that power in acts of juſtice and benevolence. Lord Hardwicke has undoubtedly proved, that his moderation and firmneſs go hand in hand, that he is a real friend to the agriculture and manufactures of Ireland, he has patronized every plan that may tend to improve and beautify the city of Dublin, ſo as to render it the ſeat of arts, urbanity, and occaſional reſidence of the wealthy *.

His excellency has occaſionally travelled through many parts of Ireland, in order that he might ſee the ſtate of the country, and the ſituation of its inhabitants with his own eyes. Dionyſius, of Halicarnaſſus ſays, that "mankind eaſily learn what is their intereſt, and what is not, when they ſee it explained by many examples." His lordſhip, as already obſerved, is a warm friend to the agriculture of that country; but it avails little, in compariſon, to cultivate the fields, when the mind is left to be overrun with the briars and thorns of ſuperſtition and ignorance. If his lordſhip would promote the diſſemination of ſchools in Ireland, it would afford the faireſt hopes of ſucceſs. The Iriſh poſſeſs a flexibility of mind as well as of body—they are beſides fond of learning, and as Camden ſays, "of pregnant wit;" by ſuch inſtitutions morality and religion would be promoted.

"To judge of the methods," ſays a late learned prelate †, "which have been, or may be appointed to propagate or preſerve religion and learning, we muſt conſider the nature, capacities, and circumſtances of men in general; the influences under which they act, and which of them may be properly made uſe of for this purpoſe. Religion being the ſervice of a free agent, all external force is excluded as abſolutely improper: inſtruction, therefore, is the proper application to a reaſonable mind." If his lordſhip would countenance this great undertaking, it is not to be doubted, but that it would be followed up by every well-wiſher to the united kingdom.

We ſhall now add ſomething of the pre-eminences and privileges of the viceroyſhip of Ireland, taken from the letters patent appointing Lionel, Duke of Dorset, to be his majeſty's lieutenant general of Ireland. By theſe preſents, his grace had full power and authority to keep, and cauſe to be kept, the peace, laws, and cuſtoms of the ſaid kingdom.—To make proclamations, and duly to award executions, and all offenders and delinquents to correct, impriſon, or ſet at liberty, and deliver according to due courſe of law; and alſo to puniſh all and ſingular rebels of his majeſty's ſaid kingdom, and others whatſoever hereafter invading the ſaid kingdom, and intending to plunder, moleſt, or in any other manner whatſoever, to deſtroy or lay waſte the ſaid kingdom, and the king's ſubjects of the ſame, and ſuch as refuſe to juſtify themſelves according to the the laws and cuſtoms aforeſaid; and if neceſſity require it, to puniſh by the king's regal authority, and by ſuch other ways and means as are moſt proper, according to their demerits; and with death itſelf, if the nature of the caſe require it; and for that cauſe to raiſe, ſummon, and levy the king's ſubjects, and with the ſubjects ſo levied, to march againſt the ſaid rebels, and them to invade, conquer, and chaſtiſe.

The lord lieutenant was likewiſe inveſted with full power and authority to pardon, abſolve, remit and releaſe, all treaſons, and alſo felonies, murders, rapes there, and other cauſes and offences whatſoever, committed or to be committed by his majeſty's ſubjects of his ſaid kingdom of Ireland, or by other perſons reſiding there, (treaſons which concern the deſtruction of the king's life only excepted.)

He was empowered during the king's pleaſure to give, grant, and confer to whatſoever fit perſons he ſhould pleaſe, all eccleſiaſtical offices, as well with cure as without cure, that is to ſay, vicarages, perſonages, prebends, charterſhips, chaplainſhips of hoſpitals, archdeaconries, and other benefices whatſoever, (the nomination, preſentation, and granting

* Without cities, urbanity and civility cannot take place. In large communities only, the hardneſs and roughneſs of naked nature can be ground down, and poliſhed. It is from a frequent collision of many minds, that thoſe ſparks of genius are ſtruck out, which not only enlighten the underſtanding, but correct the heart, and furniſh thoſe innumerable embelliſhments of art, which give unſpeakable charms to ſocial intercourſe, and, in ſome degree, exalt the dignity of human nature. Dr. Campbell.

† Thomas Lord Biſhop of Saliſbury.

of archbiſhops, biſhops, and deans, always excepted) as well in cathedral as collegiate churches, hoſpitals, and pariſh churches, in whatſoever place within his majeſty's ſaid kingdom of Ireland.

Previous to the Union, the lord lieutenant had power to ſummon a parliament to be held according to the laws, ſtatutes, and cuſtoms of Ireland, whenſoever it ſhould ſeem moſt expedient to him, having firſt aſked and obtained the king's conſent for that purpoſe; and alſo to prorogue the parliament, and to diſſolve it, as neceſſity ſhould require.

In addition to the leading public characters of our own nation, perhaps the reader will pardon a ſlight deviation from our plan, in giving a ſketch of Mr. Otto, whoſe miſſion to this country has incorporated his name in our hiſtory.

Mr. Otto is deſcended of a German family, that ſettled upwards of a century ago in Straſburgh, where, notwithſtanding they were proteſtants, they enjoyed conſiderable immunities, and filled many municipal offices of great truſt and reſpectability, which they uniformly diſcharged with the greateſt fidelity and honour. Mr. Otto's grandfather was nominated, without any ſolicitation on his part, to the diſtinguiſhed rank of grand chancellor of the court of the Landgrave of Heſſe Darmſtadt: his father was a privy counſellor to the ſame prince. His merit would have ſoon raiſed him to a more exalted ſituation, if death had not ſnatched him away in the prime of life. Mr. Otto was ſcarce eight years old when his country and himſelf experienced an irreparable loſs in the death of his father. The inclination and talents of young Otto led him to the ſtudy of hiſtory, politics, and the Belles Lettres. In 1777 the Marquis de la Luzerne, the French miniſter at Munich, applied to the univerſity of Straſburgh for a young gentleman ſufficiently qualified to act as his private ſecretary. Mr. Otto, who was then ſcarce eighteen years of age, was recommended by the profeſſors, and in a ſhort time he proved that their recommendation did honour to their judgment. He accompanied the ſame ambaſſador to the United States of America. Soon after M. de la Luzerne came in a diplomatic capacity to England, and Mr. Otto was left chargé des affaires in America.

In 1788, he was recommended to Louis XVI. as a fit perſon to be ſent to England as miniſter plenipotentiary, but the revolution deranged the whole of the ſyſtem of which Mr. Otto was to have acted a part. He remained in America till the year 1792, when he returned to Paris at the moment when the trial of the king was on the eve of taking place. The ruling party at the time placed him, as it is generally ſaid, againſt his will, at the head of the office of foreign affairs, and in that ſituation he wrote the pacific propoſition delivered by M. Maret to Lord Grenville.

The faction, who at firſt thought to avail themſelves of his influence and talents, on finding that his views did not not correſpond with their own, ordered him to be ſeized and impriſoned in the Luxemburg, under the ſpecious pretext of a ſecret correſpondence with England: his papers were ſcrupulouſly examined by two commiſſaries of the committee of public ſafety; but they found none, except ſuch as bore marks of his moderation and love for his wife and his daughter.

Merlin was ſo overcome with the mingled affection of the huſband and father, that, for once in his life, he gave way to the feelings of humanity, and made ſuch a report to the committee, that Otto was not only ſet at liberty, but reinſtated in the office of foreign affairs.

Juſtly apprehenſive that innocence was not a ſufficient ſhield to ward off the ſhafts of malevolence and envy, he retired to his country houſe near Paris, where, as often as the turbulence of the times would permit him, he devoted his mind to his books, his garden, and the inſtruction of his daughter, a moſt accompliſhed young woman.

In this retirement he could not eſcape the eye of the Abbe Sieyes; he pitched on him as a proper perſon to accompany him to Berlin, where Mr. Otto remained till 1799, when he received an order to proceed to England, as an agent to preſide over the exchange of priſoners; but it is thought that this was only a covert, and that the real object was to ſeize the firſt favourable opportunity to open a negotiation for peace. He arrived in London a few days after the letter of Bonaparte to the king, and did not by any means exceed the bounds of his oſtenſible commiſſion, except in the caſe of the fiſhermen. His firſt attempt was to negotiate an armiſtice, which, after many efforts, terminated in the preliminaries of the 1ſt of October 1801.

Mr. Otto is a man of uncommon erudition; during his reſidence in America, he wrote many ingenious papers on ſubjects of natural hiſtory, &c. which have been printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions of that country; in many of which he has paid the higheſt compliments to Bacon, Locke, Newton, &c. and thoſe luminaries which have diſſipated the clouds of ignorance that once hung over the mental horizon of England.

Charles Whitworth, was created baron Whitworth, of Newport Pratt, in the county of Galway, on the 21ſt of March 1800, as well as knight of the bath. In 1786 he was appointed miniſter plenipotentiary to the court of Warſaw; in 1788 envoy extraordinary and miniſter-plenipotentiary to the court of Ruſſia; in 1793 miniſter and plenipotentiary to the court of Denmark; in 1802 ambaſſador extraordinary and miniſter-plenipotentiary to the French republic. He was married April 7, 1800,

to

to Arabella-Diana, relict of John Frederick, duke of Dorſet.

His lordſhip is deſcended of an ancient family, and eldeſt ſon of the late Francis Whitworth, Eſq. He was educated in the univerſity of Oxford, after which he viſited the different courts on the Continent, in which he was diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *handſome Engliſhman*.

The neceſſary qualifications of an ambaſſador may be enumerated, but it is rare to find a perſon in whom they have been united. The government of this country, however, has been very ſucceſsful in conſulting the honour and dignity of his majeſty's crown, and the intereſt of his empire, in the ſucceſſive appointments of ambaſſadors to the court of St. Peterſburgh. Witneſs, Lord Cathcart, Sir George, now Lord Macartney, Sir Robert Gunning, Sir James Harris, now Lord Malmſbury. On the recal of the latter, Sir Charles Whitworth was appointed to ſucceed him. His birth, education, fine perſonal figure, addreſs, and the fluency with which he ſpoke the modern languages, pointed him out as a fit perſon to ſhine at a court where every nation was ambitious of appearing to the greateſt advantage in the diplomatic line. Sir Charles was duly ſenſible of the many duties that devolved on him on this occaſion, and it is well known that he diſcharged them with the greateſt honour and fidelity. The Ruſſians were highly pleaſed with the affability of his manners, and the hoſpitality of his table. The Engliſh, who viſited that country, were proud of the high eſtimation in which their ambaſſador was held; and as they were, and continue to be, the favourite nation, he omitted no opportunity that might ſtill enhance that diſtinction, of which they rendered themſelves ſo worthy by their conduct in all their tranſactions with the inhabitants of that ſtate.

Miniſters could not perhaps give a better proof of their diſcernment than the choice they made of Lord Whitworth to negotiate with Bonaparte. The manner in which he diſcharged that miſſion is the beſt proof of his penetration and talents, which even the ſubtlety of Talleyrand could neither ſooth nor miſlead.

As the whole of this negotiation is now before the public, and narrated with hiſtorical fidelity in this work, we ſhall only obſerve, that the conduct of Lord Whitworth throughout the whole of that arduous buſineſs, is marked with firmneſs, temper, candour, and dignity. His lordſhip's letter to Lord Hawkeſbury, dated Paris, February the 21ſt, 1803, contains a plain and unaffected narrative of the ſteps which he purſued to preſerve the bleſſings of peace to this country, conſiſtent with that high ſenſe of national honour, which never ſhould be ſacrificed to any conſideration whatever. Lord Whitworth, finding that all his efforts were ineffectual to bring the negotiation to an amicable concluſion, demanded the neceſſary paſſports for his return, and arrived in London, on the 19th of May, 1803. The day after his majeſty's declaration of war had been iſſued againſt France.

As we have now brought the tranſactions of the year 1803 to an end, we truſt the indulgent reader will find that we have omitted no one event that ought to be recorded in the Hiſtory of England, as a faithful depoſitory of facts, which have happened in our own day, by which they can be traced to their true ſource, and exhibited in their native colours; we alſo hope it will be found that we have ſo far filled the plan that we propoſed in the out ſet to follow—ſo as to form a faithful picture of a year, in which the flattering hopes of a peace was ſucceeded by a war, which has called forth the gallantry of our countrymen by ſea and land, beyond all former examples; a period in which we have to congratulate the country, on the increaſing ſpirit, order, and patriotic energy of the volunteer army, and in which our manufactures have maintained their ſuperiority in the foreign markets.

Such circumſtances as theſe, will always render a narrative intereſting to every Britiſh ſubject that can place a due value on the Hiſtory of his own country, either as matter of inſtruction, rational amuſement, or a combination of both, agreeably to the couplet of the inimitable COWLEY,

> That writer only hits the white,
> Who mixes profit with delight.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

Eaſt and Weſt Indies.—Naval Actions.—Defence of the Country.—Precaution of Miniſters.—Modification of the Volunteer Syſtem.—Royal Preſentation of Colours.—State of our Trade in the Month of January 1804.

AS we are involved in hoſtilities that differ in almoſt every feature from any other in which we were ever engaged, a war that threatened in the very beginning to put the reſources, the courage, and the policy of this country to the higheſt teſt; it is almoſt needleſs to obſerve, that it muſt be extremely intereſting to mark the progreſs of it in theſe views. With this determination we now enter on the year 1804; a year that may be ſaid to have been big with the fate of the Britiſh empire.

Our affairs in the Eaſt Indies began to aſſume the moſt favourable appearance. Our alliances were renewed and ſtrengthened on terms of mutual advantage with ſome of the moſt powerful of the native princes of that country, particularly with Madajee Boonſlah, the chief of the Eaſtern Mahrattas. An overland diſpatch, by way of Buſſorah, brought the welcome intelligence that his highneſs the Peiſhwa had been enthroned at Poonah; and as he was ſenſible that he was indebted for his exaltation to the influence of our government in India, he ceded to the Britiſh a territory, of which the yearly revenue is eſtimated at 775,000*l.* ſterling. Theſe proſpects of growing proſperity and future tranquillity in that quarter were a little clouded with the appearance of a man who inherited all the qualities of Tippoo Saib; and with, if poſſible, an additional degree of hatred to the Engliſh name. We allude to Holkar. As Scindia had however wreſted from him a conſiderable portion of his territory, had cut off his ſupplies, and beſieged him in Indoor, (his capital) it was thought that he would have yielded almoſt to any terms; but Holkar found means to make his eſcape, and to collect an immenſe number of troops, lured by the ſcent of plunder, who have committed incalculable ravages in the peaceable dominions of our allies in that part of the world. Our government in India at this time concluded a treaty of commerce with the Perſian ambaſſador, which promiſed the moſt favourable reſults.

The Britiſh intereſt in America, which was rather on the wane, began to revive, in conſequence of the following circumſtance. Bonaparte had compelled the court of Madrid to make a transfer of the rich province of Louiſiana to the government of the United States of America; but Spain heſitated, under the pretext that France had not performed the treaty of Ildefonſo, with reſpect to the king of Etruria. The congreſs eaſily ſaw that the delay was not to be attributed to Spain, which was the mere organ of Bonaparte's intrigue, but that he had repented of his bargain, and that he only wanted ſome excuſe to cancel it. In this interval the war between this country and France broke out, a circumſtance to which the Americans very juſtly attributed the ſucceſs of the negotiation. France was now willing to ſell what ſhe could not retain; the treaty was ſigned, and Louiſiana, for a fixed ſum, ceded to the Americans, who, notwithſtanding, could not forget the duplicity of the firſt conſul in this as well as in other affairs of leſs moment.

In the Weſt Indies our cruiſers were uncommonly vigilant and ſucceſsful in the capture of ſeveral of the veſſels of the enemy, particularly their privateers, which, notwitſtanding they were manned by the moſt deſperate adventurers, were forced to yield in every action to ſuperior courage and diſcipline.

The London Gazette, of the 3d of January 1804, contained a letter from Captain Younghuſband, of the Oſprey, off Martinique. The circumſtances of which, in juſtice to the gallantry of our ſeamen, deſerves to be recorded in his own words: "I diſcovered (ſaid the captain) "a ſuſpicious ſail under the land of Trinidad, and immediately chaſed, but on arriving within four miles of her it fell calm, and I was now convinced ſhe was an enemy's privateer, from the number of ſweeps ſhe was rowing; and having no chance of coming up to her in the Oſprey, I ſent three boats to attack her, under the command of Lieutenant Robert Henderſon: the cutter in which he was, rowing much faſter than the other boats, he, without waiting to be joined by them, in the moſt brave and determined manner, and under a heavy fire from the guns and muſquetry of the ſchooner, boarded and captured the French ſchooner privateer La Reſource, mounting four four-pounders, and having on board forty-three men, two of whom were killed, and twelve wounded."

The cutter had only ſeventeen ſeamen in her. It is needleſs to add, that they all behaved with the utmoſt bravery.

An action not leſs hazardous and ſpirited was announced in the Gazette of the 28th of January 1804, in a letter from Captain Graves, of his Majeſty's ſhip Blenheim, dated off Martinique. The captain ſtated, that having obſerved the French privateer L'Harmonie put into the harbour of Maria, in the

bay of St. Anne, Martinique, with a prize, induced him to ſuggeſt a plan for the capture of this veſſel, eſpecially as ſhe had been more deſtructive to our commerce than any other which had appeared in thoſe ſeas; and for this purpoſe he attempted, againſt a ſtrong breeze and lee current, to beat up from off the Diamond Rock to the place where ſhe lay at anchor. Having reconnoitred the harbour of Maria, together with the batteries on each ſide of it, and alſo one above the town, he determined on the attempt. He therefore ordered ſixty ſeamen, with two lieutenants and ſixty marines, all of the Blenheim, to carry the enterprize into execution. The former, in their boats, to attack the privateer, and the latter, at the ſame inſtant, to ſurprize, or in any event to ſtorm, Fort Dunkirk, a battery of nine guns on the ſtarboard ſide of the harbour. The Drake having joined, Captain Ferris volunteered his ſervices, and took the command of the ſeamen, to whom he added fourteen from the Drake. All things being ready, both parties ſet off ſo timely as to commence the attack at the ſame moment, which was crowned with ſucceſs. The fort was completely ſurpriſed, the priſoners, fifteen in number, taken, the guns were diſmounted, and ſpiked, their carriages totally deſtroyed, and the magazine blown up. *The barracks were ſpared, as a large and ripe field of canes adjoining muſt have inevitably been deſtroyed*, had they *been ſet fire* to.

The L'Harmonie was commanded by citizen Noyer, had eight carriage guns, and ſixty-ſix men, at the attack. The detachment of royal marines, who ſurprized the fort, was led on by Lieutenant Beatie, who, after being challenged and fired upon by two centinels, and entirely ignorant of the nature and number of the troops they had to contend with, puſhed directly into the fort with fixed bayonets, when the enemy cried for quarter. By the ſilence with which the battery was carried, one hundred of the militia of the fort of St. Ann's were cut off from the point of rendezvous, and thus the place was ſecured without the loſs of a man on our part.

On the 26th of January intelligence was received of the evacuation of the French poſt of St. Domingo, by General Rochambeau, and the troops under his command. This event took place on the 28th of November 1803, in conſequence of a capitulation between Rochambeau and the black General Deſſalines. Admiral Duckford, at the ſame time captured the French ſhipping, conſiſting of three frigates, ſeveral ſmaller ſhips of war, and a number of merchantmen.

Our diſtant poſſeſſions being thus placed out of the reach of danger, government directed their attention to every ſuggeſtion that was practically calculated to place the country in that ſituation that would ſet the menaces of the foe at defiance.

The following circular letter from the ſecretary of ſtate was addreſſed to the ſeveral lords lieutenants of counties.

"*Whitehall, Jan.* 16, 1804.

"MY LORD,

"Referring your lordſhip to the directions contained in my circular letter to you, of the 31ſt of October laſt, for their removal in caſes of emergency, or rendering uſeleſs, if need be, ſuch horſes, draught cattle, and carriages, as ſhall not be wanted for the purpoſes therein mentioned; I am to deſire that your lordſhip will conſider, in every reſpect, as included in thoſe directions, all ſuch veſſels, boats or craft, as ſhall not be wanted for the like purpoſes, or ſhall not be armed or equipped for the annoyance of the enemy. As I am informed by his royal highneſs the commander in chief that only one light cart per company can, on ſuch emergency, be allowed to volunteer corps, for carrying their camp kettles and neceſſaries on their march, I beg leave to recommend it to your lordſhip to give directions, that one ſuch cart be allowed before-hand to each company of volunteers within the county of ———, and that one ſuch cart be always kept marked and numbered as the carriage intended for the uſe of that particular company for this ſervice.

"In conſequence alſo of a late ſuggeſtion from his royal highneſs the commander in chief, I have ſtrongly to recommend it to your lordſhip, in communication with the general commanding the diſtrict in which the county of ——— is included, to give directions for allotting and marking a ſufficient number of waggons for moving the volunteer force where it is not placed in the vicinity of the coaſt; and it would be found extremely uſeful, if boards, ſuch as are uſed for ſeats in market carts, could be provided, and kept in readineſs at the place or places of general aſſembly, ready to be ſlung upon the waggons, to which place of aſſembly theſe waggons ſhould be bound to repair, upon the ſignal of alarm being given.

"I have the honour to be, my lord,

"Your lordſhip's, &c.

"C. YORKE."

As the ſpirit of volunteering encreaſed in proportion to the danger that firſt excited it, government conceived that the diſcipline of that immenſe force might be ſtill rendered more military by a few modifications. The firſt meaſure was to reſerve to the commanders of the corps, the power excluſively, to preſent to the commander in chief, ſuch perſons as they might deem fit to fill the vacant appointments among the officers. The delicate manner in which government conducted itſelf however, in this particular, removed thoſe apprehenſions which at firſt were entertained, that it would not be

be palatable to the volunteers. The different modifications to which we alluded will be found in the following circular letter, addreſſed to the lieutenants of the ſeveral counties in Great Britain.

" MY LORD,

" His majeſty's confidential ſervants have thought it to be their duty, on further conſidering the improvements of which the volunteer ſyſtem is capable to extend to it every uſeful aid and aſſiſtance which it can receive, conſiſtant with that due attention to that principle of œconomy on which the whole ſyſtem is founded, and have reſolved to allow of adjutants and ſerjeant majors on permanent pay to corps of the different deſcriptions of force, conſiſting of the following numbers, without any other conditions or reſtrictions than ſuch as may be applicable to the whole volunteer eſtabliſhment.

CAVALRY.—To every corps, conſiſting of not leſs than three hundred effective rank and file of cavalry, an adjutant on permanent pay will be allowed (pay, when not called out into actual ſervice, 6*s. per* day, 2*s.* ditto for a horſe.)

To every corps of cavalry, under three hundred rank and file, but conſiſting of not leſs than three troops of forty effective rank and file each, a ſerjeant major will be allowed on permanent pay (pay, when not called out into actual ſervice, 3*s.* 11*d. per* day, including 9*d.* for a horſe.)

INFANTRY.—To every corps of infantry (including artillery) conſiſting of not leſs than five hundred effective rank and file, one adjutant and one ſerjeant major, on permanent pay will be allowed (pay, when not called out into actual ſervice, 6*s. per* day; ditto of ſerjeant major, ditto, 1*s.* 6*d. per* day, and 2*s.* 6*d. per* week extra.

To every corps of infantry, conſiſting of not leſs than three hundred effective rank and file, one adjutant, but no ſerjeant major, will be allowed on permanent pay (pay 6*s. per* day, as above.)

To a corps of infantry, under three hundred effective rank and file, but conſiſting of not leſs than three companies of ſixty privates each, one ſerjeant major will be allowed, on permanent pay (pay as above, 1*s.* 6*d. per* day, and 2*s.* 6*d. per* week extra.)

When the corps to which the adjutants and ſerjeant majors are appointed ſhall be called out on actual ſervice by competent authority, theſe ſtaff officers will receive the pay of their reſpective ranks, as in the line.

The adjutants are to be recommended by the lords lieutenants, for his majeſty's approbation, in the uſual manner; but no recommendation of an adjutant can be attended to, unleſs the perſon recommended has ſerved four years at leaſt, as a commiſſioned officer, or a ſerjeant major in the regulars, embodied militia, fencibles, or Eaſt India Company's ſervice; and the recommendation muſt likewiſe diſtinctly expreſs the actual period of the ſervice of the perſon recommended, and ſpecify the particular corps in which the ſervice was performed.

Serjeant majors may be appointed by the commandant of the corps, from among perſons who have ſerved at leaſt three years as non commiſſioned officers, in his majeſty's regular, embodied militia, or fencible forces; and the period of ſuch ſervice, and the particular corps in which it was performed, are to be diſtinctly ſpecified in the firſt pay liſt which ſhall be tranſmitted to the War-office after the appointment takes place.

All adjutants and ſerjeant majors who are placed on permanent pay are to conſider themſelves as, at all times, at the diſpoſal and under the commanding officer of the corps for the time being, and are expected to give their attendance whenever required, for the drill, good order, and management of the corps.

It is not intended by this arrangement to make any alterations as to the appointment of adjutants or ſerjeant majors without pay; they will ſtill be allowed to corps of different ſtrength, as directed by the militia laws, and as before pointed out by the War-office regulations of the 28th of September 1803.

C. YORKE.

Whitehall, Jan. 14, 1804.

It muſt be a circumſtance highly gratifying to the generality of the volunteer corps, that their colours have been preſented to them by ſome of the moſt beautiful and accompliſhed of their countrywomen, with appropriate ſpeeches that breathed the pureſt patriotic ſentiments. The queen intimated her intention to preſent the volunteers who had formed themſelves into a corps under her majeſty's auſpices and name, with a pair of colours, ornamented with the moſt ſuperb needle-work, executed by the princeſſes. The corps was accordingly drawn up in military array at Ranelagh, in order to receive this honour, on the 4th of January. The ſpectacle was magnificent beyond deſcription. The princeſſes, with a long train of the nobility of both ſexes, were preſent. The preparatory ceremony having been gone through, Lady Harrington, as the repreſentative of the queen, read the following addreſs:

" GENTLEMEN,

" Her majeſty having been graciouſly pleaſed to confer upon me the honour of preſenting to you theſe colours, I am anxious to expreſs how highly I am flattered by this diſtinguiſhed mark of the queen's favour. At a time, of all others the moſt awful, when our country is threatened with the unprovoked attack of a moſt implacable enemy, and when you have evinced your readineſs to ſtand forward in the defence of every thing that is moſt dear to us all, what can be more gratifying, or more honourable to you,

you, than being peculiarly diſtinguiſhed by her majeſty, and receiving your colours from her? Animated as your hearts muſt be by gratitude to the queen, no addition to every other noble ſentiment that has guided you from the moment of your firſt offer of your ſervices, would not only be ſuperfluous, but preſumptuous in me, to add any thing upon the occaſion, than the expreſſion of every fervent wiſh for your ſucceſs in the event of the enemy carrying his threats into execution; confident that no power, however ſtrenuouſly exerted, will ever wreſt theſe colours from you, while there is yet left a man in your corps to defend them."

To which Lord Hobart replied in the following words:

" MADAM,

" In the name of the corps which I have the honour to command, I am to convey our humble and grateful acknowledgments for the diſtinguiſhed favour with which her majeſty has been pleaſed to honour us on this occaſion; and, encouraged by ſo flattering an inſtance of her majeſty's condeſcenſion, I am the more confident in expreſſing a full perſuaſion that thoſe ſentiments which originally called forth our ſervices, will uniformly govern our conduct, ſo long as it ſhall be his majeſty's pleaſure to permit their continuance. Stimulated to the diſcharge of our duty, by the moſt powerful motives that can influence the mind of man, the protection of every thing that is dear to us in private life, and every thing that is valuable in public eſtimation, our religion, our laws, our liberty, and our king; I can venture to aſſure her majeſty, that the expectation ſhe may have formed of our exertions ſhall not be diſappointed. And if the day ſhould come, when his majeſty, actuated by that valour for which his family has ever been conſpicuous, and by that affection which he has always manifeſted towards his people, ſhall think fit to ſhare their dangers; if that anxious and animating period ſhould arrive, then, may thoſe colours, the gift of our moſt gracious queen, prove a ſhield to guard and defend the ſacred perſon of our beloved ſovereign againſt any hazard to which it may be expoſed by the deſperate efforts of an inordinate and deſtructive ambition."

The ground of the colours was a rich purple ſilk, in the centre her majeſty's arms, embroidered and ſurmounted with ſprigs of variegated colours and deſigns. At the lower corners were the letters C. R, and under the coat of arms were the words, " QUEEN'S ROYAL VOLUNTEERS."

As it was reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the enemy would endeavour at almoſt any expence to procure all the information he could relative to the actual ſtate of the country, it is much to the praiſe of miniſters that their vigilance in this reſpect was not to be defeated by any of thoſe deceptive arts, which the French have ſo often practiſed with ſucceſs. The following notification on this head was tranſmitted to the magiſtrates reſident on the coaſt of Eſſex.

" *Whitehall, Dec.* 24, 1803.

" GENTLEMEN,

" It having appeared that Dutch veſſels from Holland, under Pruſſian colours, have been in the practice of reſorting to the eaſt coaſt of England, for the double purpoſe of carrying on contraband trade and *conveying intelligence* to the enemy, it has been judged proper to direct that they ſhould in future be prevented from ſo doing between the Humber and the Downs, Yarmouth Roads and the Downs excepted. As, however, the meaſures taken for this purpoſe may in ſome inſtances be eluded, by their putting perſons clandeſtinely on ſhore, where the coaſt will permit it; the attention of the magiſtrates, reſiding in the neighbourhood of the coaſt of Eſſex, is particularly called to this circumſtance, in order that they may direct the peace officers to be particularly watchful in diſcovering any perſons of this deſcription, and in bringing them before the magiſtrates to be examined.

" I am, &c.

" C. YORKE."

From the tone of the public prints in France, and the moſt authentic private intelligence from that country, it ſeemed to be the general opinion of the French that the firſt conſul would attempt the invaſion of this country in the courſe of a very few days. Immenſe bodies of troops were encamped along the coaſt of Boulogne *, &c. Their numbers, no doubt, were magnified, as well as thoſe of the flat-bottomed boats. Bonaparte arrived at Boulogne on the 4th of January; and if any credit was to be attached to the Gallic accounts, his very preſence operated like magic on the ſpirits of the ſoldiers, deſtined for the *conqueſt* of England. His viſit was ſo ſhort, that the object of it could not be diſcovered even by thoſe who were in the habits of interpreting his nods and looks; nor did it give that ſatisfaction to thoſe who expected that it was intended as an immediate prelude to the invaſion. England was not however the only country on which he intended to pour the vials of his indignation. Denmark had incurred his diſpleaſure, and ſhe was alſo threatened at the very inſtant with a viſit of ſixty thouſand Frenchmen. When the crown prince was told of this inſolent threat, he obſerved, with a

* From the moſt accurate ſtatements it appeared, that the army of the camp of St. Omer, at that time, amounted to ſeventy thouſand men, and that one hundred thouſand were ſtationed along the coaſt from Boulogne to Oſtend.

ſpirit

ſpirit becoming the dignity of his high rank; "If the French dare to invade Denmark, it ſhall be over the dead bodies of myſelf and my countrymen."

Notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the weather, our cruiſers continued to annoy the enemy's boats, even under their own batteries. On the 5th of January the Immortalité *, and Archer gun brig, brought two gun boats, a Dutch galliot, and a ſchuyt, into the Downs. The gun boats were of the firſt claſs, carrying an eighteen pounder in the prow, and a twelve pounder aft. They fired at the Immortalité twice with their great guns, and kept a very briſk fire of muſketry for about an hour. Their rigging and ſails were cut almoſt to pieces, and ſeveral ſhots lodged in their hulls. They were cut off the ſhore by the boats belonging to the Immortalité, cloſe off the harbour of Boulogne. There was not a man hurt on our ſide.

The gallant Admiral Cornwallis, who had been driven off Breſt in the tremendous gales of the 24th and 25th of December, reſumed his ſtation on the 1ſt of January, off that harbour.

A circumſtance of leſs importance than the following, has found a place in hiſtory.

On the 20th of January a large coaſting ſloop, called the Dick, of Cheſter, laden with ſlate for Caernarvon, bound to Portſmouth, was boarded and taken two miles off the Runnel Stone, by a boat armed, belonging to a French brig privateer, of fourteen ſixes, lately from Dunkirk, the privateer then about four miles from them. It being fine weather, they took Mr. Davis (the maſter and owner) with all the crew, except the mate, out of her, and put them on board the privateer; the mate was left on board the ſloop with four Frenchmen. The mate, (a fine daring Welchman) told the Frenchmen that he was well acquainted with a port under their lee, and unleſs they would give up the helm to him, every ſoul of them would periſh. They conſented, and he bore away for England. He then perſuaded them to go below, to make a good fire, and take tea; and when they were down he kept them there, having previouſly ſecured a muſket and a hanger. In this ſituation he brought her ſafe into Torbay.

Having now exhibited the moſt prominent features of the firſt month of the new year, we ſhall make a few remarks on the ſtate of our trade in that period. The ſcarcity of ſilver coin, which was felt by all claſſes engaged in buſineſs, was in a great meaſure remedied by a large emiſſion of dollars. Britiſh manufactures found their way into moſt of the great foreign markets, in which they had ſo long maintained their pre-eminence. The Baltic trade, which was ſuſpended, as uſual, in the winter, began to reſume its activity; large quantities of goods were exported to Tonningen and Embden. Our merchants opened a conſiderable market in Stettin, in Pomerania; through which large quantities of our manufactures paſſed into Pruſſia, Upper Saxony, Poland, and all Germany, without danger of ſeizure by the French. The ports of Spain and Portugal continued open to our merchandiſe.

The trade opened to the countries on the Black Sea, was daily extending itſelf; and it is to be hoped that ſo advantageous a branch of commerce will be encouraged, for it will greatly improve our intercourſe over land with India, and ſupply us with different raw materials, which we can work up with the greateſt advantage.

The trade in goods of all ſorts to America, and the Weſt Indies, flouriſhed beyond any former example.

CHAP. II.

Meeting of Parliament after the Chriſtmas Receſs.—Committee appointed to try the Merits of the Middleſex Election.—Additional Modification of the Volunteer Syſtem.—The Riſe and Progreſs of that Inſtitution, as detailed in the Houſe of Commons by Mr. Secretary Yorke.

ON Wedneſday, the 1ſt of February 1804, the houſe of commons met purſuant to adjournment. Several notices of motion were given, and the days on which they were to be brought forward fixed.

The next day Mr. Fox made a motion relative to one of the petitions preſented againſt the return for

* The crew of the Immortalité have highly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the preſent war; if any thing could add to their fame, it is the following inſcription on a mural monument in Deal church yard:—

In memory of
DAVID BROWNE,
Late a ſeaman on board his majeſty's ſhip *Immortalité*,
Who died of the wounds he received
In an action with a diviſion of the enemy's flotilla,
Off Cape Blanc Nez,
On the coaſt of France, 23d Oct. 1804;
Likewiſe of JAMES WILSON, WILLIAM BENNET,
WILLIAM TERRENT, JOHN DOWAL,
GEORGE PACKER, ſeamen,
Who loſt their lives on the ſame occaſion;
Of WILLIAM PANBUCKER, ſeaman,
Killed 6th Sept. 1804;
JOHN EGERTON, marine, killed 7th Feb. 1804;
And of JOHN REDOURT, ſeaman,
Killed 3d Nov. 1803.
This ſtone was erected by
Their SHIPMATES,
In memory of their departed worth.
"They were brave men,"
And fell at the poſt
Their country had aſſigned them.

the county of Middleſex. He thought it unneceſſary to enlarge on the point, but he could not help making one remark, namely, that the houſe ought to be extremely circumſpect in putting any conſtruction on a ſtatute, which its ſtrict meaning and letter did not authorize. On paſſing the act to which he alluded, there was hardly any point of diſcretion left to the houſe, and the act (24th of the king) expreſsly defined the powers of parliament. There was one clauſe in it on which he ſhould reſt his argument, that clauſe laid it down in the moſt unqualified terms, that the houſe ſhould not proceed on any petition, complaining of an undue election or return, unleſs the petitioners deſcribed themſelves in the body of the petition as perſons having a right to vote. This was not the caſe either directly or indirectly in the petition of which he complained. Mr. Fox having enforced this obſervation at ſome length, remarked, that orders had frequently been made in parliament inadvertently, and that the preſent evil might be remedied by diſcharging the order for the conſideration of the petition. He then moved, that the order of the day (3d of Feb. 1804) for taking the ſaid petition into conſideration, be diſcharged.

Mr. Tierney ſaid, that in all caſes of a doubtful nature, the houſe ought to throw open the door as wide as poſſible; and that under that impreſſion, he ſhould vote againſt the motion.

Mr. Addington contended, that if the petitioners had deſcribed themſelves in ſuch a way as was generally underſtood, he ſhould certainly hold the mandatory injunction of the act ſet aſide. The houſe ſhould look to precedents, otherwiſe gentlemen would be dealing unfairly by the people, if they ſhould ſay that thoſe who have a right ſhould not obtain a hearing. The precedents were numerous. On the firſt meeting of parliament, after the general election in 1790, petitions were preſented from perſons complaining of undue returns, which did not allude to their capacity of voting as freeholders. This was the caſe in the boroughs of Sterling, Orkney, Shetland, and Radnor; but the latter petition was withdrawn. By thoſe precedents, and the caſe of Worceſter in 1796, according to the arguments of Mr. Fox, the deciſions of the committees muſt have been unjuſt. It was ſomewhat remarkable, that though the petition in queſtion was preſented in the courſe of the laſt ſeſſion, and ſince renewed, no notice whatever was taken of the ſuppoſed irregularity till the laſt moment, when the petitioners were to be told they could not be heard at all. It would be hard indeed if a petition adapted to the forms of the houſe from another petition on the journals, and which had been entertained, agreeably to the practice ſanctioned by parliament, ſhould be rejected in ſuch a manner. Mr. Sheridan inſiſted that the act contained two clauſes, which were equally imperative. Firſt, the petitioners ſhould alledge their right to vote; and, ſecondly, that they ſhould enter into a recognizance, and ſureties for certain ſums; the conſequence of non-compliance in either caſe was, that the petition ſhould not be proceeded upon. Mr. Fox ſummed up the arguments on both ſides, and contended that the clauſes in the act were imperative, and ought to have the aſcendency of any precedent whatever. The queſtion was put and negatived by a majority of ninety-ſix to twenty-four.

A committee was ballotted to try the merits of the petition, complaining of an undue return for the county of Middleſex. The following are the names of the members choſen on that occaſion: Sir W. W. Wynne, Bart. P. W. Baker, Hon. M. G. J. Stewart, Charles Cokerill, R. B. S. Ainſlie, C. S. Cawthorn, J. A. Wright, Sir David Carnegie, Bart. Lord Marſham, Hon. E. S. Cooper, Lord John Thynne, J. B. Waſh, Hon. N. Fellowes. The ſitting member (Sir F. Burdett) having waved his right of appointing a nominee, the committee withdrew, and retained Nicholas Calvert, on the part of the ſitting member; and J. H. Browne, on the part of William Mainwaring, the petitioner.

As Mr. Secretary Yorke had given notice that he intended to bring forward a motion relative to the volunteer ſyſtem, he roſe to ſtate the outline of it. He hoped that the importance of the ſubject would entitle it to all that coolneſs and candour of diſcuſſion, in which alone it could be brought to a fair iſſue. He preſumed that as every gentleman in the houſe was equally intereſted in the honour and ſafety of the country, that the clamour would not be renewed, and that no man would endeavour to ſet the volunteers againſt the government, or the government againſt the volunteers. Againſt ſuch inſidious attempts he would ſet the volunteers on their guard. He wiſhed gentlemen would conſider the meaſure as a whole, and hoped that they would not be diſappointed when he ſtated that the bill which he meant to propoſe, would contain nothing new or very extraordinary, becauſe his ſhort experience in parliament, had taught him that gentle meaſures were always the beſt. With regard to the nature and object of the volunteer inſtitution, few words he apprehended would be neceſſary. Firſt, the ſituation of this country; ſecondly, that of Europe, and particularly of France, pointed out the indiſpenſible neceſſity of the maintenance of a larger military force in Great Britain than at any other period. It was impoſſible to conceive that the navy could be adequate to all the purpoſes of defence; neither could it be expected that Great Britain and Ireland could defend themſelves by a regular army. He could not at the time preciſely ſtate to what extent the regular army amounted. But he felt confident that this country never could be defended by a regular

gular army alone. The regulars might amount to ninety thouſand men; and, from the moſt mature inveſtigation he could beſtow, he did not think it could be augmented. If therefore the country could not have regulars or militias ſufficient for its defence, it became eſſentially neceſſary to have the great maſs of the people trained to the uſe of arms. This had already been obtained, and, it had been ſo managed as to fall light, in point of expence, on individuals. The volunteer ſyſtem was firſt inſtituted in 1782; it was revived in 1794, after the campaign in the low countries took an unfortunate turn; a bill was then paſſed into a law, granting to the volunteers an exemption from militia ballots; and, under that bill, the volunteers who took up arms amounted to one hundred and fifty thouſand effective men, all entitled to exemption, ſubject to no rules or regulations, but what they themſelves made, unleſs they ſhould be called out to repel an invading enemy. He was ready to admit, that the danger of that period was great; indeed parliament admitted that, by returning its thanks to the volunteers on the peace. After the peace, when miniſters thought it neceſſary to ſtrengthen the country, it was deemed adviſeable to perpetuate the ſyſtem; and the act of the 42d of the king was paſſed, whereby the yeomanry, and ſome of the beſt corps of infantry, were retained. Even when that meaſure was agitated, no very conſiderable reduction took place. On the breaking out of the preſent war, there was no great proſpect of continental aſſiſtance; and, from the menacing poſture of France, it became neceſſary to paſs the General Defence Act, of the 43d of the king. That bill paſſed with general unanimity, and no part of it was more reliſhed than that of doing away all compulſory ſervice. In a very ſhort time after an incredible number of volunteers, ſtarted as it were out of the earth, nearly four hundred thouſand; and were he to add the number in the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire, they would be nearly four hundred and fifty thouſand; and with the omitted counties, would in all make a grand total of five hundred thouſand. He was, in ſtating this, to be underſtood, as ſpeaking excluſively of Ireland, although the bill would have ſome reference to that part of the empire, where the yeomanry and volunteers, had, by acts and deeds, ſet a bright example to their brethren of Great Britain. He then proceeded to ſtate, that the total number of volunteers was very nearly three-fourths of the people in the firſt claſs under the Defence Act. The ſituation in which the volunteers ſtand appeared to be, by a deciſion of the court of King's Bench, that, when they are not actually called out, they have a right to reſign. That deciſion was different from an opinion given by the attorney general. Be that however as it might, he ſtated that it was the intention of miniſters, that the volunteers ſhould have the right to reſign, if they were not called out by invaſion.

He was of opinion that any coercion would be unneceſſary, becauſe he was firmly perſuaded, that among ſuch a number of volunteers, the zeal, the energy, and the fixed determination which induced them to come forth voluntarily in defence of their country, inſtead of experiencing any abatement, would be ſtill encreaſed in the hour of danger. It would be incredible, nay, it would be impoſſible to ſuppoſe, that ſuch a high degree of enthuſiaſtic patriotiſm and public ſpirit ſhould abandon ſuch an immenſe maſs of men, ſo as to prevent them from ſtill oppoſing, with the ſame energy, that ruinous ſyſtem with which the enemy continued to threaten us. Having ſtated ſeveral matters of minor conſideration, he then adverted to the volunteer ſyſtem as it then ſtood, which he ſaid was founded on the Defence Act; that is, miniſters accepted of the volunteers, becauſe they judged them to be the moſt eligible for the defence of the country. He inſiſted that his majeſty was empowered by the act juſt mentioned, to call out all his ſubjects for the general defence; and if one ſyſtem failed, another might be reſorted to. It had been ſaid that the exemptions were extremely burdenſome, in certain diſtricts, as to the militia. With regard to the militia, he contended, that no member of a volunteer corps was exempted from the ballot; he was only exempted from actual ſervice in the militia ſo long as he continued a volunteer. The moment he withdrew, he was ſubject to ſerve, in order to fill up a vacancy, or even as a ſupernumerary. With reſpect to the army of reſerve, they were placed on a different footing, for without doubt they were totally exempt from the ballot for that force. The honourable ſecretary then came to what he conceived to be the defects and inconveniencies of that ſyſtem. Theſe inconveniencies related chiefly to the volunteers in their inactive ſtate; for, whence once called out to actual ſervice, very few or any of them would remain. One defect was, that as the ſyſtem in its nature was entirely voluntary, it was impoſſible to expect that military diſcipline could be carried to ſuch a height, as it would be practicable in other caſes; and he thought it would be a groſs miſtake to ſuppoſe that the volunteer ſyſtem could be viewed in the ſame light, or attempted to be put on the ſame footing, with the regular or militia army. A great miſconception had originated from a natural deſire in moſt of the volunteer officers to bring their men forward as quickly, and to as great a degree of perfection in diſcipline as poſſible. It would not be conſiſtent with prudence to endeavour to exert too great a degree of ſtrictneſs as to their continuing their perſonal attendance on all occaſions. It would no doubt be highly inexpedient to attempt to take men from their neceſſary occupations, during a longer period

than what might be really ſufficient to inſtruct them in military exerciſes, in the manner in which it was intended they ſhould be employed. By attempting to do ſo, the whole ſyſtem might be endangered, eſpecially in the commercial diſtricts. The next inconvenience ſtated to belong to the volunteer ſyſtem was, that of each particular corps having a committee, by which important matters were determined. From every enquiry, he found that only ſome particular corps had formed ſuch committees, and thoſe only with a view of attending to and managing their pecuniary concerns. If the houſe would attend to the nature of that ſyſtem, they would recollect in how many inſtances the expences of individuals had been defrayed by themſelves. It ſhould not then be matter of ſurprize, that ſuch corps ſhould have adopted ſome meaſures for the prudent management of their reſpective funds. He would, however, admit that in ſome few caſes, there might have been attempts to interfere with military command and diſcipline, which did not belong to ſuch committees. Such practices ſhould not be indulged; nay, an immediate ſtop ought to be put to them. This evil, however, could not exiſt, when volunteer corps were called out into actual ſervice; as they would then be placed on pay like the regular and militia army. The next point was the election of officers. There certainly was a great difference to be obſerved between the choice of officers on the firſt aſſociation of ſuch corps, and afterwards on filling up vacancies which might occaſionally ariſe in the courſe of their continuance. It was very natural to ſuppoſe that men of ſuch a deſcription, aſſociating together, ſhould wiſh to be commanded by gentlemen whom they reſpected and revered. But how did parliament act? The act itſelf allowed no officers to be elected; they were required to be commiſſioned by his majeſty, being firſt recommended by lord lieutenants of counties. There was nothing in law or practice on which any corps could found their claim of chooſing their own officers, or which could ſtamp any ſuch claim with validity. It has ſo happened in all the volunteer corps, that the commanding officer ſtated the vacancy to the lord lieutenant, and recommended ſome perſon to fill it; and if the lord lieutenant knew any thing to the diſadvantage of that individual, he of courſe declined ſending in his name. On the other hand, if he thought the perſon proper, he did ſo; ſo that in fact the claim amounted to nothing, for it never was in the contemplation of parliament even for a moment, that any ſuch claim ſhould be attended to. If ſuch preſumed right could poſſibly be ſet up, it would be extremely dangerous, and one that ought not to be allowed on any occaſion; nay, he would not heſitate to ſay, that if any corps ſhould think fit to inſiſt on ſuch a right, he ſhould think it his duty to adviſe his majeſty to decline and diſcontinue the ſervices of ſuch corps altogether. There might have been ſome of the old corps who, by expreſs commiſſion, or long practice, had continued to exerciſe ſuch privilege, which had exiſted during the laſt war. It might be adviſeable ſo far, to admit ſuch a deviation from the general rule. Another defect was ſaid to be, that there were no efficacious means of enforcing a regular attendance, or even propriety of conduct when under arms. As the law then ſtood, that could not be accompliſhed but by one of two ways. It was perfectly clear that in caſe of repeated neglect, it was left in the power of the commanding officer to diſmiſs any individual who had ſo tranſgreſſed; and, in conſequence of ſuch diſmiſſal, he became liable to ſerve for the army of reſerve, or the militia. Beſides, no perſon was entitled to exemption, unleſs he attended a certain number of days. It was an opinion that a ſtronger meaſure was neceſſary to enforce attendance. He was much inclined to doubt it, it did not make a part of the ſyſtem during the laſt war. If a member did not attend, he ſhould be diſmiſſed; and when diſmiſſed, reduced to the ſituation of any other ſubject not ſerving in the volunteer army. Having thus ſtated what he conceived to be the real defects and inconveniencies attached to the volunteer ſyſtem, ſome of them appeared to be inherent in the ſyſtem, and were of courſe incapable of remedy. But the queſtion was, whether it would not be moſt adviſeable to take the ſyſtem, with all its defects and inconveniencies, with all the objections that could be oppoſed to it, rather than reſort to other means, perhaps, liable to ſtill greater. In the ſituation in which the country then ſtood, thoſe were the wiſeſt men, who adopted the leaſt dangerous, the moſt palatable and moſt conſtitutional mode of defence. In his opinion the houſe ought to improve the ſyſtem as far as poſſible, and not to attempt any novelties. In the firſt place the power, which was veſted in his majeſty, by his prerogative, as well as by law, was ſufficient to remedy moſt of thoſe evils. The king had the power to make ſuch rules and regulations as he might think proper. He might diſmiſs any particular member or officer of a corps, or he might diſband the whole corps. He had alſo the power to reſort to the Defence Act, and might order out the firſt, ſecond, or third claſs of his ſubjects to be trained; and he might order any of theſe claſſes upon actual ſervice, in caſe of neceſſity; or, if the volunteers ſhould not be thought ſufficient, the *Levy en Maſſe* Act, might be brought into force. Under theſe circumſtances it was plain, that, with a moderate exerciſe of his majeſty's prerogative, and the power of the crown, theſe inconveniencies might be conquered; becauſe, if a corps ſhould act upon unlawful privileges, they may be called forth into the general maſs. The interpoſition of parliament

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ment would only become neceſſary in a caſe like that on which he was then ſpeaking; firſt, in order to conſolidate the ſeveral acts which had been already paſſed on the ſubject, both for the ſake of making them more clear and intelligible, and conſequently the more eaſy in their obſervance; and for the purpoſe of regulating the exemptions in a different manner. The exemption from the militia was acquired by volunteers, in conſequence of a regular attendance during only five days in the year, and the returns for that purpoſe were annual. As to the exemption from the army of reſerve, a regular attendance of twenty-four days became neceſſary, and the returns were made three times in the year. He thought it would be preferable to place theſe exemptions upon one and the ſame footing, and to adopt the attendance which was requiſite for the army of reſerve. It being in the option of every one to withdraw, previous to the paſſing the act, knowing that they ſhould be liable to the ballots. Liſts ſhould be ordered to be made of ſuch members as reſigned, on giving due notice to the commanding officer; and no exemption from ſervice ſhould then be allowed to any member who had ſent in his reſignation. It would be alſo neceſſary that returns ſhould be made at the ſame time, during the year, of the actual ſtate and condition of every corps, in order to regulate the exemptions claimed by individuals. He then proceeded to ſtate all the clauſes which related to volunteers, when called out to actual ſervice. Should an actual invaſion happen, or a rebellion occur, all perſons enrolled as volunteers would be liable to march. Theſe were the leading points which he judged it expedient to detail, preparatory to the introduction of the bill, which he propoſed to ſubmit to the conſideration of the houſe. He was perſuaded that the volunteers themſelves would ſee the propriety of adhering to theſe principles, which they themſelves undertook to abide by at the commencement of the war, when the ſituation of public affairs was critical, but not more critical than they were at the time he was ſpeaking: And he had no doubt that every man who then valued his property, who had a regard for his wife and family, for his honour and the ſafety of his country, would ſtill ſee the propriety and neceſſity of adhering to ſuch manly and patriotic ſentiments. He who thought that the adoption of ſuch meaſures was neceſſary on the outſet of the war, would ſtill admit that every thing which was dear to him, might be yet in as great, if not in an increaſed degree of danger, in proportion to the time which the enemy had employed to prepare for our threatened deſtruction. He then moved, "That leave be given to bring in a bill to explain, amend, and conſolidate the proviſions contained in the ſeveral acts then in force relative to the yeomanry and volunteer corps throughout the united kingdom."

Mr. Sheridan agreed that the right of electing officers did not exiſt in any corps, in whoſe original offer of ſervice ſuch right was not expreſsly demanded and acceded to by government. A diſtinction had been drawn between the right which a volunteer corps might have at its original formation, and after it had been actually eſtabliſhed. He would never ſubſcribe to the reſult which was attempted to be drawn from inference, which was, that becauſe no expreſs covenant was entered into between a volunteer corps and government, ſuch a corps ſhould not have the right of electing or recommending its own officers; that ſuch right ſhould not be allowed to them, although, according to its original conſtitution, the members underſtood that this privilege belonged to them. Of any attempt of this nature, which would go to evade an implied contract, he ſhould highly diſapprove. It would be quibbling with the judgment, it would be breaking faith with the engagements of a gallant body of men, who were entitled to the moſt reſpectful attention, the moſt honourable dealing: whoſe zeal in the public cauſe, if any thing could damp, might be affected conſiderably by any departure on the part of government from the terms upon which they underſtood themſelves to have originally taken up arms. If, in the firſt inſtance, government had refuſed to any volunteer corps the power of electing its own officers, then ſuch corps might have withdrawn its offer of ſervice, and there would have been no apparent injuſtice; but if, after ſuch corps had been actually formed, and made conſiderable progreſs in diſcipline, it ſhould be attempted to deprive the members of a right which they conceived themſelves entitled to, and without even a hint of the deſign at the period of their firſt offer of ſervice, there could be no principle or policy to excuſe ſuch conduct. There were ſome inſtances he underſtood where the agreements entered into with the volunteer corps were of a particular nature; where the tender of ſervice was upon certain conditions. In ſuch caſes miniſters ought to be tenderly cautious that the faith of government ſhould not be violated. Mr. Whitbread commanded a corps at Bedford, which, in its original offer of ſervice, ſtated its conditions; namely, that two gentlemen, whoſe names were mentioned, and of whom Mr. Whitbread was one, ſhould have the command; and that all the other officers ſhould be elected by the corps, which right of election to fill up any vacancies that might afterwards occur, was to reſt with the members of the corps. This propoſition was accepted without any objection, either expreſs or implied, to the conditions upon which the offer was made: a caſe of this kind therefore, and, perhaps, there were many

quite similar, was in juſtice and candour entitled to exception from any rule that was intended to be made general.

Lord Caſtlereagh conceived there was a diſtinction between that which a corps might do previous to its becoming a military body, and that which it might do after it had been formed into ſuch a body. Having been once formed into a military corps, it was a delicate thing to expoſe ſuch corps to the inconveniencies of a popular election. Yet there were exceptions to this general rule, where his majeſty had been pleaſed to recognize a cuſtom of chooſing the officers by the men; and where that was the caſe, the cuſtom ſhould remain undiſturbed, for that was what good faith required.

It was in his opinion highly material, that let the recommendation of officers come from whatever quarter it might, the feelings of the men ſhould be conſulted, and regarded with great delicacy; for after all, a volunteer corps ſhould never be made to reſemble any other military body; though it was clear that they never could be well provided, unleſs his majeſty had the general choice of thoſe who were to command theſe corps; for his majeſty alone ought, generally ſpeaking, to have the power of ſaying who was fit for the command of a military force in his dominions. Mr. Whitbread ſaid, the terms of the corps which he had the honour to command were, that they ſhould ſerve under officers ſpecifically named by themſelves; not only ſo, but alſo ſuch as they might recommend hereafter to his majeſty. Their ſervices were accepted, after they ſent in theſe terms; nor were the terms in the leaſt degree qualified when the ſervice of the corps was accepted. If they had been told that they ſhould not have this choice, or that they ſhould not be allowed to continue to have that choice, he apprehended that no ſuch corps as that which he alluded to would have been formed at all. For his own part, had he offered his ſervices as a private in any volunteer corps, which he ſhould be ready to do at any time if he were not in the ſituation to command a corps, he owned he ſhould be very unwilling to ſerve under an officer appointed by the crown to command him, without his own conſent. Mr. Whitbread then ſtated his opinion of the volunteer ſyſtem, and of the general maſs of its members. He was ready to confeſs that he did not think the ſyſtem of volunteer ſervice was the beſt either for the purpoſe of making military efforts, or for œconomy. No man could poſſibly entertain a higher opinion of the patriotic motives and principles of the volunteers than he, but yet he could not help thinking it was eſſential to look back upon the matter, and to examine into the queſtion of what we had really to truſt to in this maſs of three hundred and fifty thouſand men. He believed that a great part of this maſs was ſuch as could not be depended on for effective ſtrength. They had been too indiſcriminately accepted by government; perſons of all ages, and of all deſcriptions, without regard to infirmity, or any unfitneſs; among whom many who were not able to march, had been received as volunteers. There was certainly a great enthuſiaſm, and all deſcriptions ruſhed forward; this did honour to the zeal of the country undoubtedly, but it ſhould not be diſguiſed at the ſame time that, in ſome inſtances, not above one-half of a whole diſtrict were actually fit for effective ſervice. With regard to that part of the volunteer ſyſtem which was called the œconomical part of it, they were miſtaken who thought it ſo to the public. Who are the public? The individuals of whom it is compoſed. It was a groſs miſtake to ſuppoſe that a ſyſtem, by which no money was taken out of the public purſe in form, did not really cauſe a great expence to the public. The expence to the public was the ſame, in whatever way it was defrayed, as long as it came out of the pockets of the individuals of whom the public was compoſed; for what difference was there between putting 50*l.* into a ſubſcription cheſt to ſupport a volunteer corps, and paying a tax to that amount into the exchequer.

Another objection to the ſyſtem was, that the volunteers were ſubject every hour to the danger of diſſolution. Suppoſe a corps ſhould ſay they did not like their commander, and that they wanted to chooſe another, and they were not to be allowed that privilege. They were no longer volunteers, according to the doctrine laid down by the honourable ſecretary. There was another reaſon why he was apprehenſive they might be diſſolved, which was, want of funds to carry on the ſyſtem. There was no corps that he had known any thing of, that was not in ſome degree or other in debt. Many corps had endeavoured to excel others in their dreſs and ornaments, which he did not blame; it was natural enough when men felt the ardour of a military ſpirit; but it was attended with an expence that could not be ſupported, unleſs the funds of almoſt every corps in the kingdom were encreaſed. Men muſt be cloathed from head to foot; and, after a great coat and the other articles of dreſs were provided, it would not, on the moſt moderate computation, amount to leſs than four pounds per man, which would be a heavy ſum in the whole. The only remedy was a ſecond ſubſcription, which would fall heavy on many perſons who could ſcarce ſupport the taxes already impoſed. He hoped the mover of the queſtion would conſider of allowing volunteers the privilege of recommending their officers to the crown, and alſo of the expence of providing cloathing for the volunteers. Mr. Windham

adjured miniſters to conſider the real ſituation of the country, and whether its greateſt danger did not reſult from the inefficiency of the volunteer ſyſtem, from its ambiguities, amendments, explanations, &c. &c. all confuſing and joſtling with each other; whether the failure of this our fundamental ſyſtem of defence was not certain; whether this great edifice of ſtrength was not conſtructed of materials ſo unſuitable, that a few months, perhaps, a few weeks, would complete its ruin? It was now almoſt evident to any man, that the downfal of this fabric was near, and that merely putting a few bricks here and there, or plaiſtering it a little in front, could not put the crazy manſion into even a tolerable ſtate.

Colonel Eyre looked on the volunteer ſyſtem as the ſtrength of the government, and the ſecurity of the conſtitution; and he no had doubt that inſtead of exhibiting the crazy fabric which Mr. Windham had pictured, that it would afford a bulwark ſufficient to withſtand every effort of the enemy.

Sir John Wrotteſly complimented the zeal of the volunteers in that part of the country to which he belonged (Staffordſ). Mr. Secretary Yorke obſerved, as to the circumſtance mentioned by Mr. Whitbread, of his corps having made their offer of ſervice on the expreſs condition of being allowed to chooſe their officers; he was not aware of any ſuch condition in the offer; poſſibly the lord lieutenant had tranſmitted the offer without ſtating the condition; if, however, the offer were ſo, it was ſimilar to many others, which had been connived at, for it could be nothing more than comivance. He was ſorry if it was ſuppoſed that there was a right to fill up vacancies for officers as they occurred, in the mode alluded to; for if it ſhould be inſiſted upon, he ſhould conſider it as his duty to recommend the diſſolution of every corps that required it. Mr. Sturges wiſhed the bill had originated in a committee of the whole houſe. He begged to ſuggeſt to the conſideration of miniſters, whether there was not ſomething like a breach of faith in altering the period of ſervice neceſſary, to give a title to the exemption. At firſt the exemption was granted for five days; at preſent twenty days were required; and it was further propoſed to extend it to twenty-four days.

The attorney general noticed the miſchievous tendency of the idea, that every alteration in the volunteer duties was a breach of faith. Mr. T. Grenville declared that he ſhould not heſitate to ſay, even in that early ſtage of the buſineſs, that the plan in queſtion was not calculated in any degree to meet the evils propoſed to be rectified. Mr. Hobhouſe remarked, that the gentlemen who had expreſſed their hoſtility to the propoſed meaſure, were very ready to detect errors, but they ſuggeſted no alteration, or adviſed no plan. They aſſerted in bold and confident language, that the edifice of the ſtate was tottering to its baſe, but they furniſhed no buttreſſes or aſſiſtance to keep it from falling. Did they recollect it was much eaſier to add to what was defective, than to repair what was miſchievous. Doctor Lawrence wiſhed to preſs on the houſe the neceſſity of mature deliberation, and not to ſuffer a meaſure of the laſt conſequence to the ſecurity and defence of the country to ſlide in, as a little bill unheeded and undiſcuſſed. The chancellor of the exchequer ſtated that the object of the bill was to obviate the inconveniencies which had been found to ariſe from the effect of the ſyſtem, as it had exiſted, to remove the difficulties which it had experienced in the execution, and to apply an effectual remedy to the practical defects and inconveniencies which had occurred. The practical inconveniencies might be arranged under three heads; firſt, the election of officers; ſecond, the conduct of committees; and, third, the right of reſignation. The only inſtance in which his majeſty's miniſters could countenance committees, was, in the adjuſtment of their accounts. As to the election of officers, there was a probability that it would be put on ſuch a footing as would give entire and eventual ſatisfaction. With regard to reſignation, that was a topic that could be diſcuſſed with more advantage in the committee. Sir W. Young ſpoke at ſome length againſt the volunteer ſyſtem, as at the time regulated. Leave was given to bring in the bill.

From the prudent meaſures which the governor of Ceylon had adopted in the year 1803, it was expected that the affections of the king of Candi *, and thoſe of his ſubjects, would be fully conciliated; and that matters would be placed on ſuch a footing, as to put an end to thoſe jealouſies which the natives entertained of the Engliſh power in that quarter; but thoſe hopes were too ſanguine. On the 7th of February 1804, the following extract of

* In the war which unfortunately and unexpectedly broke out in Ceylon, in the beginning of the year 1803, the king of Candi was at firſt defeated in every engagement, notwithſtanding the multitudes he brought into the field. The Britiſh, flaſhed with ſucceſſive victories, preſſed on into the interior of his dominions. His capital was taken; but the conquerors found they had advanced too far, and having ſpread themſelves over a wide extent of country, their numbers were inſufficient to maintain all the poſts they had taken. They were beſides attacked with diſeaſes, and ignorant of the local advantages and diſadvantages of the country. Their proviſions in many of the poſts they occupied exhauſted, as well as their ammunition, ſo that they were on many occaſions obliged to cut their way, ſword in hand, through the iſland. This war what led to the diſaſtrous capitulation of Major Davie, who was always conſidered as a gallant officer. The garriſon, which was thus cruelly maſſacred, conſiſted of three hundred and forty-three officers and men. Thus the kingdom of Candi was loſt as rapidly as it was gained.

diſpatch

diſpatch appeared in the London Gazette from the honourable Frederick North, dated Columbo, July 8, 1803.

" I encloſe the depoſition of a perſon, ſtating himſelf to be an eye-witneſs of one of the moſt atrocious acts of perfidy and cruelty ever committed. Every particular of the narration may not be true, but it appears that Candi was attacked in the midſt of a truce by the firſt Adigaar, on the 23d, or rather, I believe, on the 24th ult. That Major Davie, commanding the garriſon there, capitulated on the following day, and that after he left the fort, all the Engliſh ſoldiers who accompanied him were treacherouſly murdered in cold blood. I cannot believe that Major Davie would have conſented to evacuate on any terms leſs favourable, than thoſe ſtated in the depoſition, viz. of being allowed to proceed with arms and ammunition to Trincomaleé, and that care ſhould be taken of the ſick, whom he left behind; for the fort was rendered, in the opinion of moſt military men, tenable againſt any force that was likely to be brought againſt it, and large ſupplies of proviſions had been ſent thither, in addition to thoſe which Lieutenant-colonel Barbut declared to be ſufficient for ſix months conſumption, two months ago. Lieutenant Huſkiſſon was alſo on the road from Trincomaleé (as Major Davie muſt have known) with a hundred Doolies, under an eſcort of one hundred and fifty Malays; and when I heard of the breach of the truce, I ordered Lieutenant-colonel Hunter to proceed from Trincomaleé with two hundred of his majeſty's tenth regiment, and fifty Malays, to ſecure the evacuation, which, had it been delayed for a fortnight, would have been effected with ſafety. But what I can leſs account for, is, that Major Davie, having obtained ſuch terms, could have conſented to lay down his arms; when he muſt have felt that the perſon who inſiſted on ſuch infraction of agreement, could have no other deſign but that of murdering him and his men; and when he muſt, in common with all the army, have known that a corps of forty Europeans, in good health, and of two hundred Malays, might cut their way through an army of Candians, to any part of the iſland. Indeed, Captain Mudge, late commandant of Fort Macdowall, brought off his men in circumſtances of as great difficulty; and a ſmall detachment of twenty-two invalid Malays, fourteen convaleſcents of the nineteenth regiment from Candi, and ſixty ſepoys, under Lieutenant Nixon, Enſign Grant, and Enſign Smellie, defended themſelves in a miſerable little fort of faſcines at Dembadenia, for more than a week, againſt an immenſe multitude collected by the ſecond Adigaar, after they had expended their ammunition, till they were relieved by a detachment of fifty Europeans, and as many ſepoys, whom I ſent, under the command of Captain Blackall, of the fifty-firſt, to bring them down, in which he ſucceeded without loſs. Under the impreſſion of ſo dreadful a misfortune, it is ſatisfactory to me to ſtate, that an opinion formed of a ſpirit of defection in his majeſty's Malay regiment, is perfectly unfounded. Some individuals had indeed deſerted from Candi; but the great majority, including all officers of influence and reſpectability, were ſtaunch to the end. Thoſe who, after the Engliſh were ſeparated from them, were forced into the Candian ſervice, were certainly not blameable; and of theſe, five have already eſcaped, and arrived here, who ſay, that all the others are ready to follow their example. The princes of that nation, who are ſettled at Columbo, waited on me as ſoon as the melancholy intelligence arrived, to aſſure me of their regret and indignation, at hearing that any Malays had deſerted, and of their invariable attachment to the Britiſh government. To this extract is annexed the depoſition of Milihanage Joannes, a Laſcoryn of the reformed religion, who had made his eſcape from Candi. In this affidavit he ſtated, that he was preſent when Major Davie received an ola from the Adigaar, which the major read, importing, that the whole might proceed to Trincomaleé, without receiving any moleſtation; and that the next day (the 7th of June 1803) they ſet out with arms and ammunition. On the third day of their march, as they were preparing to croſs a river on a raft, an order came from the Adigaar to Major Davie, to make his men lay down their arms, and return to Candi; which, after ſome time, they conſented to. On their way they came to a village, where two cannons were placed, when the Malays were ordered to ſeparate from the reſt, and to proceed to Candi, which they did. Soon afterwards all the priſoners were taken, two by two, and delivered over to the Candians, who took them to a little diſtance and cut their heads off. They were going to kill the women, but this was put a ſtop to by order of the Adigaar. Major Davie, and the captain of the artillery, were carried off to the Adigaar; the deponent ſaw them the next day, and was told they were to be carried to Hargaroonketti, where the king was at the time. In the evening the Adigaar collected all the effects which the Engliſh had left, and ordered all the cannon to be fired without ball, as a mark of rejoicing."

The flames of war, which were thought to be nearly extinguiſhed, were new lighted up in the neighbourhood of the preſidency of Bombay. Scindia, a powerful Mahratta chief, having taken umbrage at the part which the Britiſh took in eſpouſing the cauſe of Bajerow, the Peiſhwa, declared war againſt the Engliſh. General Wellefley was immediately inveſted with the command of the troops,

troops (ſixteen thouſand men, infantry, and cavalry) he commenced, without loſs of time, the ſiege of Alemadnaghur, which was taken in three days by an eſcalade in the month of Auguſt 1803, with very inconſiderable loſs on our ſide. The fortreſs thus captured, is one of the moſt conſiderable in the territories of Scindia, and the very key of his dominions. At the commencement of the war Scindia calculated with the utmoſt certainty, that it would have ſtood a ſiege of from three to four months, and in that time he believed he would have been able to come to its relief. The vigour and promptitude however of our military operations, diſconcerted his plans. In addition to this important acquiſition the Bombay troops, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Woodington, had taken Baroach, in the Guzzarat. Great havoc took place of the Arabs in the fort, as the buſineſs was decided by the bayonet. The only officer killed in this dreadful conflict was Captain Temple, of the eighty-ſixth regiment. Holkar, it is ſaid, offered to remain neutral, on condition that he ſhould ſhare in the ſpoils of his rivals. A conſiderable force at the ſame time marched from the Bengal provinces into the rajah of Benares' country, ſo that the native princes in hoſtility were to be attacked on all ſides. The Malabarians threatened to give the Engliſh a good deal of trouble, but were quiet by the prudent conduct of the government. Notwithſtanding the brilliancy of our ſucceſſes in India, it is certain that they encreaſe the expence of that eſtabliſhment in the end, and that they impede our trade in that quarter. It is a pity that ſome plan cannot be deviſed to reconcile the jarring intereſts of the native chieftains, ſo as to ſecure the alliance of the moſt powerful by intereſt, which is the ſtrongeſt band of union in every nation.

Our cruiſers in the Weſt Indies continued to follow up their ſucceſſes with a rapidity that ſtruck terror into the enemy. The London Gazette, in the beginning of February, announced the following captures: Lieutenant Canning, of his majeſty's ſhip Deſireé, on the 18th of Auguſt 1803, brought out of Monte Chriſti Roads, five ſchooners and a ſloop, under a heavy fire from the batteries. On the 4th of September 1803, our boats, manned by a part of the crew of the Deſireé, brought out of the ſame roads ſix ſail of ſchooners, being all the veſſels in that anchorage. Sir T. Duckworth tranſmitted a liſt of veſſels captured, detained, and deſtroyed, by his majeſty's ſhips under his command on the Jamaica ſtation, to the amount of forty-five, in the ſpace of ſix weeks.

"The average value," ſays an intelligent writer, "of the loſſes of the enemy at ſea, in the Weſt Indies, from the breaking out of the war up to the month of February 1804, was eſtimated at a million ſterling a month. It is true that much of this is entirely, and that comparatively but little, goes in the end to enrich the Britiſh captors."

The deſtruction of the French national brig La Mutiné, on the coaſt of Cuba, is of too intereſting a nature to be paſſed over in a ſummary way. The following letter on that ſubject appeared in the London Gazette on the 7th of February 1804.

"*Racoon, off the Eaſtward of Jamaica, Auguſt* 20.

"SIR,

"Upon receiving the information that the French privateers, which were long ſince ſuppoſed to have been fitting out in the ports of Cuba, had probably put to ſea, I worked up along ſhore from Lucca to the eaſt end of Jamaica, to ſee the coaſt clear, and then croſſed over to St. Jago-de-la-Cuba, where I ſaw four freſh ſchooners at anchor, apparently armed. I of courſe watched the port very narrowly; and in a few days I fell in with three of them, at day-light in the morning; two of which I have captured, under tedious chaces, from their ſeparating on different courſes; and the other I drove on ſhore in a ſmall bay, where ſhe was inevitably loſt. On Wedneſday the 17th, at 1 P. M. I obſerved a brig coming along ſhore, which ſoon after hauled her wind to ſpeak a ſchooner, which had been avoiding us all day. At three they bore up altogether, under all ſail, with a ſtrong breeze: I ſtood off, until certain of fetching them, and then made ſail in ſhore. At a quarter paſt four the brig hoiſted French colours, and fired a gun, ſtill keeping within half a mile of the ſhore, under preſs of ſail. At twenty minutes paſt four, ſhe fired a broadſide at us, and attempted to croſs our hawſe, which I was fortunate enough to prevent; for I ordered the helm to be put hard a-port to board her, though going eight knots at the time, and fired a broadſide at her, which, from being nearly aboard each other, brought down his ſtudding-ſails, top-ſails, &c.: he then luffed up, and ran on ſhore on the rocks in a ſmall bay, and ſtruck his colours. To avoid a ſimilar fate, I was compelled to heave-in ſtays; and, when we wore round, our ſtern was nearly in the breakers. In this poſition we fired our oppoſite broadſide, to effect her deſtruction. In about half an hour ſhe hoiſted her enſign again, and I made ſeveral ſhort tacks near her, firing upon her in paſſing. Towards ſun-ſet her main maſt went over the ſide, and ſhe fell on her beam-ends. At this moment, Mr. John Thompſon, the maſter, aſked my permiſſion to go with a few picked men, and endeavour to burn her; an enterprize it would have been unjuſtifiable to admit of undertaking, from her having landed boats full of armed men, and lined the ſhores: but the gallantry of the maſter could not fail of exciting my admiration, and will, I am ſure, meet your approbation. I watched the brig

brig all night, and in the morning her maſts were all overboard, and ſhe lay a perfect wreck, full of water. I have ſince learned her name is La Mutine national brig, carrying eighteen long eighteen pounders, and was full of men, from Port-au-Paix, bound to St. Jago. The ſchooner that was in company made her eſcape, notwithſtanding the endeavour of Lieutenant Wright, in charge of one of the prizes, who uſed all poſſible means to diſable her.

" AUSTIN BISSEL."

" *Admiral Duckworth.*

This letter was accompanied by the following, which will be found to exhibit freſh marks of the gallantry and ability of Captain Biſſel.

" *Racoon, Port Royal Harbour, Oct.* 29.

" SIR,

" I beg leave to inform you, that in the afternoon of the 13th October, when ſtanding-in for the coaſt of Cuba, I obſerved ſeveral veſſels to windward coming cloſe along the ſhore, all of whom hauled-in towards Cumberland Harbour before ſun-ſet. I anchored in a ſmall bay, in expectation of ſeeing them coming paſt us in the night: day light of the 14th diſcovered to us nine or ten ſail, a few miles to the windward of us, nearly becalmed. I got under weigh, with a fine land-wind, and chaſed them; at half paſt ſix a brig, ſchooner, and cutter (full of men) hoiſted French colours, and fired guns to windward. The brig attempted to get in ſhore of us, while the other two, with the aſſiſtance of their ſweeps and boats, endeavoured to join her. The land breeze however carried me within gun-ſhot of the brig, and, after firing a broadſide or two at her, ſhe ſtruck. I had only time to ſend an officer and a ſmall party of men to ſecure her, before my attention was called to the ſchooner and cutter, who had by this time got nearly within gun-ſhot, and were firing at us. Calms and baffling airs prevented me from getting nearer to them till ten o'clock; when the ſea breeze ſet-in at eleven, they bore up together, evidently with a determination to board us; the cutter ſteering for our bows, and the ſchooner hauling out to paſs aſtern, I ſhortened ſail, to receive them, keeping the brig under ſufficient command, to counteract their deſign. When within piſtol-ſhot, I fired a broadſide at the cutter, which was as ſpeedily returned with long guns and muſquetry; then wore round, and fired the other into the ſchooner, and ſo on alternately, keeping up a running fight, and preventing either of them from raking us. This kind of engaging laſted more than an hour, both ſchooner and cutter keeping up an inceſſant fire of muſquetry; nor was it until the cutter was literally beaten to a wreck, and had many men killed, that ſhe ſtruck her colours: the ſchooner, ſeeing her companion fall, made off under all ſail. Lieutenant Lawrence took poſſeſſion of the cutter, and I then made ſail after the ſchooner with a freſh breeze. At 1 P. M. I again got within gun-ſhot of her, and, after firing a few ſhot, ſhe ſurrendered without further reſiſtance. After gaining poſſeſſion of the ſchooner, I chaſed another brig (which proved to be an American); then ſtood in ſhore to rejoin the brig I had taken in the morning, but had the mortification to find that, while I was engaging the ſchooner and cutter, they had overpowered the officer, and had run her on ſhore on the rocks, where they had all landed with their arms: I have however got all my men back ſafe. The brig was called La Petite Fille, commanded by M. Piquet, and had on board one hundred and eighty troops, including about fifty officers of all ranks: the ſchooner, La Jeune Aigle, of ſix ſmall guns, commanded by M. Serin, and had on board eighty troops: the cutter, L'Amelie, commanded by M. du Puy, carrying four long guns, and many ſwivels, with upwards of ſeventy troops. Their loſs is about forty killed and wounded. The damage the Racoon has received is immaterial, being principally in her ſails.

" AUSTIN BISSEL."

" *Admiral Duckworth.*

The articles of capitulation between General Rochambeau and Deſſalines, for the ſurrender of Cape François, appeared in this Gazette; with letters, containing the particulars of a negotiation between General Rochambeau and Captain Loring, of his majeſty's ſhip Bellerophon. The ſum of which was, that the French general in chief, anxious that himſelf, his officers and men (conſiſting of between four and five hundred) ſhould be placed under the protection of the Engliſh flag, propoſed to ſurrender all the veſſels and ſhipping in the harbour to his majeſty's arms, on theſe conditions—" That himſelf and his guards ſhould be conveyed to France, without being conſidered priſoners of war; and that the Surveillant and Cerf (French ſhips of war) ſhould be allowed to carry him and his ſuite to France." As theſe terms were not acceded to, Captain Loring informed the general, " that his inſtructions confined him to the French officers and troops in health being ſent to Jamaica, and the ſick to go to France or America; the tranſports to convey them being firſt valued, and ſecurity given by the commander in chief, for the due payment of the valuation by the French republic." We ſhall give the reſult of this negotiation in the words of Sir J. T. Duckworth, in his letter to the Admiralty, dated Port Royal, December 18.

" Having ſtated that General Rochambeau had made propoſals for capitulating, which, though inadmiſſible, I thought muſt ſoon lead to others more reaſonable, the event has juſtified my opinion; but

I am ſorry to ſay, that officer, whoſe actions are too extraordinary to account for, had on the 19th ultimo, previous to his propoſals to Captain Loring, actually entered into a capitulation with the black General Deſſalines, to deliver up the Cape to him, with all the ordnance, ammunition, and ſtores, on the 30th*; I conclude, flattering himſelf that the tremendous weather, which our ſquadron was then, and had been experiencing for three weeks, would offer an opening for an eſcape, but the perſeverance and watchfulneſs thereof precluded him from even attempting it. On the 30th the colours of the blacks were diſplayed at the forts, which induced Captain Loring to diſpatch Captain Bligh, to know General Deſſalines's ſentiments reſpecting General Rochambeau and his troops; when, on entering the harbour, he met Commodore Barré, (one of General Rochambeau's officers) who preſſed him in ſtrong terms to go on board the Surveillante, and enter into ſome capitulation, which would put them under our protection, and prevent the blacks from ſtriking them with red-hot ſhot, as they had threatened, and were preparing to do, which Captain Bligh complied with; when they haſtily brought him a few articles they had drawn up, which he (after objecting to ſome particular parts that they agreed ſhould be altered to carry his interpretation, on their arrival at Jamaica) ſigned, and haſtened to acquaint General Deſſalines, that all the ſhips and veſſels in the port had ſurrendered to his majeſty's arms; and with great difficulty he obtained the promiſe to deſiſt from firing, till a wind offered for carrying them out; Captain Loring then took poſſeſſion of the prizes. It may be worthy of remark, that the day before they ſailed out Captain Loring addreſſed a letter to General Deſſalines, in which he ſays, "I have full confidence you will not reſcind the agreement with General Rochambeau. I ſhall be much obliged to you if you will ſend me ſome experienced pilots, to conduct a part of my ſquadron into the harbour, to take poſſeſſion of the ſhipping."

The Anſwer.

"SIR,

"You may be aſſured that my favourable diſpoſition towards you, and hoſtility towards General Rochambeau, are unalterable. It is matter of great regret to me, I cannot ſend you the pilots which you require. I preſume you will have no occaſion for them; I ſhall force the French ſhips to quit the road, and you will do with them as you may judge proper.

"DESSALINES."

* The articles of this capitulation appeared at full length in the London Gazette, Feb. 7, 1804.

General Deſſalines took poſſeſſion of Cape Francois on the 18th of November 1803; and on the 29th of the ſame month publiſhed a proclamation, in the name of the black people, and men of colour of Saint Domingo; which, for moderation of ſentiment and elegance of language, would do credit to the moſt poliſhed pen. We ſhall preſent the reader with a few extracts from it.

"The independence of Saint Domingo is proclaimed. Reſtored to our primitive dignity, we have proclaimed our rights; we ſwear never to yield them to any power on earth; the frightful veil of prejudice is torn to pieces, and is ſo for ever. Woe be to whomſoever ſhould dare again to put together its bloody tatters.

"O landholders of St. Domingo, wandering in foreign countries, by proclaiming our independence we do not intend to forbid you indiſcriminately from returning to your property: far be from us this unjuſt idea. We are not ignorant that there are ſome among you that have renounced their old errors, abjured the injuſtice of their exorbitant pretenſions, and acknowledged the lawfulneſs of the cauſe, for which we have been ſpilling our blood theſe twelve years. Towards thoſe men who do us juſtice, we will act as brothers; let them rely for ever on our eſteem and friendſhip; let them return among us. The God who protects us, the God of freemen, bids us to ſtretch out to them our conquering arms. But as for thoſe who, intoxicated with a fooliſh pride, and intereſted ſlaves of a guilty pretenſion, are blinded ſo much as to think that they are the eſſence of human nature; and they affect to believe that they are deſtined by heaven to be our maſters and our tyrants, let them never come near the land of St. Domingo; if they come hither, they will only meet with chains and deportation; let them ſtay then, where they are, and, tormented by their well deſerved miſery, and the frowns of the juſt men that they have too long mocked at, let them ſtill continue to move the pity and concern of—nobody."

Speaking of the dire effects of civil war, he ſays, "They who are in the leaſt acquainted with hiſtory, know that a people when aſſailed by civil diſſenſions, though they may be the moſt poliſhed on earth, give themſelves up to all kinds of exceſs; and the authority of the chiefs, always but poorly conſolidated, in time of a revolution, cannot puniſh all thoſe that are guilty."

The name of Bonaparte is not once mentioned, or alluded to throughout the whole of the proclamation.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Vigilance of our Cruiſers in the Channel.—Affecting Letter from the Preſident and Government of Zealand.—Important State Paper on the State of France.—Indiſpoſition of the King.—Lamentable Fate of the Ship Caledonia.

TO return to the affairs of Europe, the ſituation of our own country is entitled to the firſt conſideration. Our miniſters continued to receive the warmeſt aſſurances from Spain of her intention to obſerve the moſt rigid neutrality, and to remain on a friendly footing with the Engliſh; our friendſhip with Ruſſia, and Sweden, was daily ſtrengthened by mutual acts of kindneſs and civility. The preparations for the invaſion were carried on with great activity in all the ports of Boulogne, Dunkirk, &c. but the proud and daring attitude of this country, ſet all the threats of the inſolent foe at defiance. Such was the vigilance and enterprizing ſpirit of our cruizers in the Channel, that throughout the whole of the month of which we are now treating, the French dare not venture to ſail along their own coaſt, except in a very few inſtances. Captain Selby, of his majeſty's ſhip Cerberus, in a letter to the lords of the Admiralty, relates his ſucceſs in capturing the national gun veſſel Le Chameau, and driving another on the rocks off Cape La Hogue. The *Chameau* was three hundred tons burthen, quite new, carried four long ſix-pounders, and two ſwivels, having on board at the time of capture fifty-eight men, twenty-one of whom were ſoldiers, fully accoutered. Lieutenant Williams alſo captured on the 16th of February 1804, La Jeune Iſabella tranſport, fitted for carrying horſes, and bound to Boulogne. The circumſtances of this capture did great honour to the courage of the commander and his ſmall crew, in attacking a veſſel of ſuperior force under the batteries, within three quarters of a mile of the ſhore of Dunkirk.

The firſt conſul took every ſtep that cunning could deviſe, or that force could execute, to prohibit the introduction of our manufactures into any part of the Continent, where the thunder of his power could reach. The following affecting letter will ſufficiently explain the circumſtances which gave birth to it.

The Preſident and Members of the departmental Government of Zealand, to General Monnet, exerciſing the command of Fluſhing, and the Iſland of Walcheren.

"SIR,

"Before we received your letter of the 17th ult. we had already information of the meaſures which you had taken, by order of your government, to ſeize upon the Engliſh merchandiſe found in the commercial houſes and ſhops within this city; now we have intelligence that the ſame has been done at Fluſhing and Veere. It is impoſſible to withhold our ſurprize at the ſtep againſt the inhabitants of this country, which you find yourſelf authorized to take. We have no room to ſurmize that the Batavian government had the ſmalleſt intimation of a meaſure, which is as extraordinary as ſingular, or that it has been adopted and carried into execution with its previous knowledge; or that it ſhould have co-operated in it. All the lamentable circumſtances which ſtrike in ſucceſſion our country, dear to us, and the inhabitants on this iſland, whoſe intereſts are intruſted to us, afflict us in the moſt ſenſible manner. However it may be as to what has paſſed, as long as we are ignorant of the motives and the cauſe which has led to what has paſſed, we find ourſelves compelled, from duty and love to our fellow citizens, to conſider every thing which has been done, or that may be undertaken, againſt their property and poſſeſſions, as an act of arbitrary authority, which we ſolemnly diſavow. We beſeech you, Sir, by the liberty of Batavia, acknowledged for more than two centuries, and acquired in battle by our anceſtors at the expence of their valour and their blood, that you will not convert that liberty to a ſhadow by perſevering farther in the exaction of a meaſure which has been carried to a great length already, and againſt which we proteſt with all our might. If, in the mean time, againſt all expectation, you refuſe to give ear to this juſt, and well-founded proteſt, we ſolemnly and energetically implore you, that the goods and property of our fellow citizens already ſeized and placed in ſecurity, may not be tranſported elſewhere; at leaſt, that the ſacred right of property be ſo long reſpected, till both the governments ſhall have treated and determined as to the deſtiny of ſo many inhabitants, whoſe welfare and exiſtence depend on the preſervation of their property and poſſeſſions.

"We have the honour to be, &c.

"J. W. SCHORER, Preſident."

Middleburg, Feb. 8, 1804.

The ſlighteſt peruſal of this *Proteſt*, as it is called, will impreſs at one inſtant the ſituation of the Dutch, under the tyranny of France; what would the Batavians ſay, if they dared to uttter their mind? When in chains—they deprecate an act, which they call *arbitrary*, but which in its real ſenſe is public robbery.

The political ſituation of France; nay, even her phyſical powers, muſt at all periods be intereſting to an Engliſh reader, but more eſpecially in time of war. A paper, ſigned by the firſt conſul, and his ſecretary Maret, appeared in the courſe of this month,

month, (February) in the Moniteur, entitled, "An Expoſition of the State of the Republic on the 16th of January 1804." As it is very important in every point of view, we ſhall take ſome extracts from it; ſenſible at the ſame time, that they will be read with caution, as flowing from a ſource ſtrongly impregnated, if we may uſe the expreſſion, with exaggeration and reſentment.

"An entire tranquility (ſays the writer) prevailed in the interior of France, when, at the commencement of the laſt year, we entertained hopes of permanent peace; and every thing has remained tranquil, though a jealous power has rekindled the torch of war; but this event has effected a more compleat union of intereſts and opinions, while the public ſpirit has burſt forth with redoubled energy."

After this conſolatory preamble, a flattering ſummary is given of the recent tour of the firſt conſul. In the new departments as well as in the old, his ears were every where ſaluted with *ſentiments of indignation truly French*; and he diſcovered in the hatred of the people to that government *which is the enemy of their proſperity*, a ſtill greater proof of their attachment to their country, and *their reſignation to their fate*, than appeared by the general ſhouts of joy and teſtimonies of perſonal affection. In all the departments the *miniſters of religion* have uſed their influence to encourage this ſpontaneous emotion; and depots of arms, hidden by the fugitive rebels, have been delivered up to the magiſtrates on the firſt ſignal of danger.

The Britiſh government is next accuſed of endeavouring to land on the French coaſts thoſe royaliſts *(monjires)* whom they have encouraged during the peace, in order to bring about a counter-revolution; but it is aſſerted, "that they will no longer find in it thoſe impious hands, which were the inſtruments of their former crimes; terror has diſſolved them, or juſtice has purged our territory of them." This is followed by a pompous detail of all that was done to eſtabliſh the conſtitution, in the manners and diſpoſition of the people, the elevated rank of the ſenate, the dignity of the legiſlative body, the *calmneſs* and *wiſdom* of the electoral colleges, the legion of honour, &c. The ſtate of public education forms the next ſubject of declamation and elogy. The Lycæ and ſecondary ſchools, we are told, are erecting on every ſide; the ſchools are then adverted to: "At Fontainbleau," (continues the writer) "the ſpecial military ſchool numbers many hundred of ſoldiers, who are rendered pliant to diſcipline, and inured to fatigue, and who acquire with the habits of the profeſſion the knowledge of the art." From theſe the article paſſes to a review of different parts of the territory of the republic, the ſtate of its fortifications, the conſtruction of new bridges on various rivers of the republic, the formation and repair of roads, the draining of marſhes, &c.

The great improvements executed at the different harbours are next ſpecified; at Antwerp, Boulogne, and Navarre: "In order," ſays the Expoſition, "to render that line a coaſt of iron, the greateſt undertakings are going forward; as well as at Rochelle, Cette, Marſeilles, Nice, &c. The finances are ſaid to be in the moſt proſperous ſtate; the receipts of the laſt year have exceeded the eſtimates, and the direct contributions are obtained with more eaſe than heretofore; the credit of the country is ſupported in ſpite of the ſhocks of war, and the rumours of the intereſted; and the public treaſury defrays the expences of the colonies, either by the direct tranſmiſſion of money, or by operations on the continent of America. The article then reverts to the wiſhes of the French people, and their government, for a permanent peace, as it was to its future proſperity that the republic was to be indebted for all its glory.—With this view, then, arts were encouraged, their ſhips traverſed the ocean, no armaments were in their ports, nothing of a threatening nature appeared on their frontiers." "This then," obſerves the conſul, "was the moment which the Britiſh government choſe to alarm its nation, to cover the channel with ſhips, to inſult our commerce by injurious inſpections, and our coaſts and ports, as well as thoſe of our allies, by the preſence of its menacing forces." He then proceeds—"Malta, the cauſe of this war, was in the power of the Engliſh; it remained with France to effect its independence; it was France who waited in ſilence for the juſtice of England; and it was England who began the war, even without a declaration." The ſurrender of Tobago and St. Lucia to the Engliſh, is then lamented. As the remaining part of this ſtate paper turns on common place topics, we ſhall only give the two following: "Hanover is in our power; twenty-five thouſand of the beſt troops of the enemy have laid down their arms, and become priſoners of war. Our cavalry has been remounted at the expence of that of the enemy; and a poſſeſſion, which was dear to the king of England, is in our hands; a pledge of that juſtice which he will be compelled to render to us."—"Louiſiana is henceforth united to the American ſtates; in that quarter we ſhall preſerve friends, whoſe remembrance of a common origin will always attach them to our intereſt; while favourable commercial relations will unite their proſperity with ours. The United States are indebted to France for their independence; they will henceforth owe to us their ſtrength and grandeur.—Spain remains neutral; Helvetia is re-eſtabliſhed in her conſtitution, which

has ſuffered no change but what has been rendered neceſſary by lapſe of time, and change of opinions."

The indiſpoſition of our beloved ſovereign has always filled the hearts of his ſubjects with the moſt affecting ſolicitude. His majeſty's health for ſome time had been but indifferent. The diſorder was ſuppoſed to be a rheumatic gout, which manifeſted itſelf in his feet. He had, however, ſo far recovered as to ride out occaſionally. His illneſs at length encreaſed to ſuch a degree, that on Tueſday the 14th of February 1804, the following bulletin was communicated to the Prince of Wales, and other branches of the royal family.

"His majeſty is much indiſpoſed to-day." The bare rumour of this communication caſt a gloom over every countenance. The public anxiety was ſo great on this melancholy occaſion, that a bulletin was publiſhed every day, ſigned by two of the phyſicians, in which the ſtate of his indiſpoſition was announced. On the proſpect of his majeſty's recovery, the following prayer was read in all the churches and chapels within the bills of mortality on Sunday the 26th of February.

"O Almighty God, we render unto thee our unfeigned thanks and praiſe, that Thou has vouchſafed to be merciful and gracious to this kingdom, in granting to thy ſervant, our ſovereign, the hope and proſpect of a ſpeedy recovery from his dangerous ſickneſs. Confirm and eſtabliſh, we beſeech Thee, O Lord, the work which Thou has begun. Make the light of thy countenance to ſhine upon him, and renew in him his perfect ſtrength. Grant that he may long continue a nurſing father to thy church, and Thy miniſter for good to all his ſubjects; and that, in the preſent criſis, he may be Thy bleſſed inſtrument of reſtoring peace to the diſtracted world. And when Thou haſt lengthened his days on earth, in the enjoyment both of domeſtic happineſs, and of public peace and proſperity, crown him, O Lord, with everlaſting glory in the life to come, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord and Saviour. Amen."

On the 28th of the ſame month Mr. Addington declared in the houſe of commons, "That there is not at this time a neceſſary ſuſpenſion of the exerciſe of the royal authority:" the inexpreſſible joy that this communication diffuſed through all ranks, was ſtill heightened, by the announcement of the phyſicians that "his majeſty was in a progreſſive ſtate of amendment;" which ended in a complete reſtoration of health. Thus it pleaſed heaven to reſtore the moſt amiable of princes to the wiſhes of the moſt affectionate people. This month (February) was not productive of many domeſtic events worth recording.—Fires by ſea are in general of the moſt diſaſtrous nature. The fate of the ſhip Caledonia is undoubtedly one of the moſt lamentable of this kind. The Caledonia had left Balaſoca Roads on the 18th of May, bound to Bombay, with ſeveral paſſengers on board. On the 29th of the ſame month a ſmoke was obſerved coming up the fore hatchway, and a cry of fire was heard. The fire buckets were immediately filled with water, and every precaution taken; but on removing the fore-hatch, the flames and ſmoke broke out ſo rapidly, as is ſuppoſed to have ſuffocated ſome of the people; and the flames raged with ſuch extreme violence, as to preclude the poſſibility of ſtopping their progreſs. The ſhip was kept directly before the wind, with a view of preventing the fire from communicating abaft: the boats were hoiſted out, and people placed in them, to prevent the crew from deſerting the ſhip, or permitting too many to get on board the boats, ſo as to endanger their ſafety. It was ſoon diſcovered that the fire had communicated generally in the hold, the main and after hatches having been burſt open by the violence of the flames. It now became neceſſary to attend to the preſervation of the lives of as many of the crew as their means would admit of. Captain Thomas (captain of the ſhip) Mrs. Thomas, Colonel Paterſon, &c. to the amount in all of ninety-three people, embarked in the long boat. In the pinnace, ten ſeacunnies and laſcars quitted the ſhip, ſeven of whom were unfortunately loſt on the rock when landing. In the jolly-boat there embarked from the ſhip the gunner and fourteen laſcars, four of whom were daſhed to-pieces on the ſurf on Malabar Point, in attempting to land. The total number of ſouls on board were one hundred and fifty-ſeven, out of which only ſeventy-one were ſaved. The preſervation of Colonel Paterſon's life was truly miraculous, having jumped from the window of the quarter gallery, at the time the long boat was dropping aſtern. Immediately after the boats quitted the ſhip, the mainmaſt went over the ſide, and ſoon afterwards the ſhip blew up abaft, having about fourteen barrels of gunpowder aboard. In a few minutes after which ſhe diſappeared. The fire is ſuppoſed to have originated from ſome oil having leaked down upon the gunnies in the hold, and cauſing a ſpontaneous ignition.

Amongſt the many acts of benevolence and humanity, which have endeared his majeſty to his people, the timely relief which he afforded out of his privy purſe to Cardinal York *, is one that ought to be recorded. "It is a tranſaction," ſays Sir

* Cardinal York is the grandſon of James II. younger brother of Charles Edward, and the laſt ſurvivor of the unfortunate houſe of Stuart. His eminence early dedicated himſelf to a life congenial with the habits of his mind. Placid, humane,

Sir J. C. Hippisley, "that forms an epoch in the history of the house of Brunswick, as well as in the annals of our country." The letters from Cardinal Borgia, Cardinal York, and Pius VII. on this subject, to Sir J. C. Hippisley, will be read with great interest, as the unaffected effusions of grateful and illustrious minds "fallen from their high estate." A *fac simile* of these letters were deposited in the British Museum in the month of February 1804, by the worthy baronet to whom they were addressed; and, in order that the reader may be gratified with the perusal of so valuable a deposit, we shall give them at full length; as any attempt at abridgment would destroy the sentiments they breathe, especially those that regard this country.

Translation of Letters from his Eminence the Cardinal Borgia to Sir J. C. Hippisley, Bart. on the Subject of the Relief graciously afforded by his Majesty to the Cardinal of York†.*

"*Padua, Sept.* 14, 1799.

"The friendship you honoured me with at Rome encourages me to lay before you a case worthy of your most mature reflection; which is, that among the other cardinals who have taken refuge in Padua, here is also the Cardinal Duke; and it is greatly afflicting to me to see so great a personage, the last descendant of his royal house, reduced to such distressed circumstances, having been barbarously stripped by the French of all his property; and if they deprived him not of life also, it was through the mercy of the Almighty, who protected him in his flight, both by sea and land; the miseries of which, nevertheless, greatly injured his health, at the advanced age of seventy-five, and produced a very grievous sore in one of his legs.

"Those who are well informed of this most worthy cardinal's domestic affairs have assured me, that since his flight, having left behind him his rich and magnificent moveables, which were all sacked and plundered, both at Rome and Frascati, he has been supported by the silver plate he had taken with him, and which he began to dispose of at Messina; and I understand that, in order to supply his wants a few months in Venice, he has sold all that remained.

"Of the jewels he possessed, very few remain, as the most valuable had been sacrificed in the well-known contributions to the French, our destructive plunderers: and with respect to his income, after having suffered the loss of forty-eight thousand Roman crowns annually by the French revolution, the remainder was lost also by the fall of Rome, namely, the yearly sum of ten thousand crowns assigned him by the Apostolical Chamber, and also his particular funds in the Roman bank. The only income he has left is that of his benefices in Spain, which amounts to fourteen thousand crowns; but which, as it is only payable at present in paper, is greatly reduced by the disadvantage of exchange; and even that has remained unpaid for more than a year, owing, perhaps, to the interrupted communication with that kingdom.

"But here it is necessary that I should add, that the cardinal is heavily burthened with the annual sum of four thousand crowns, for the dowry of the Countess of Albany, his sister-in-law; three thousand to the mother‡ of his deceased niece; and fifteen hundred for divers annuities of his father and his brother; nor has he credit to supply the means of acquitting these obligations.

"This picture, nevertheless, which I present to your friendship, may well excite the compassion of every one who will reflect on the high birth, the elevated dignity, and the advanced age of the personage whose situation I now sketch, in the plain language of truth, without resorting to the aid of eloquence! I will only intreat you to communicate it to those distinguished persons who have influence in your government, persuaded as I am, that the English magnanimity will not suffer an illustrious personage of the same nation to perish in misery! But here I pause—not wishing to offend your national delicacy, which delights to act from its own generous disposition, rather than from the impulse and urgency of others.

"We have here not only the cardinal duke, but other cardinals, viz. the two Dorias, Caprara, and Livizzani; and, perhaps, very soon they will be all here, as it is probable the *Conclave* will be held in this place, as it has pleased God to deliver from all his labours the so eminently unfortunate Pius VI. who cherished for you the most tender affection, and who was pleased, when he was in the Carthusian convent at Florence, to invest me with the charge of

mane, and temperate, he sought consolation in the bosom of religion, as the only asylum, apparently to secure him from the storms that followed his family. The malign influence of the stars, which had marked the vicissitudes of his house, was not exhausted. At the age of seventy-five he was driven from Frascati, his episcopal residence, by the French, plundered of all his property, and urged to seek his safety in his flight.

* Cardinal Borgia was the principal organ of the government and correspondence of the See of Rome during the imprisonment of the late pope Pius VI. his holiness having delegated powers to that effect. Cardinal Borgia is justly celebrated for his polite literature, and fine collection of Natural History, &c. He is F. A. S. of London.

† The following lines, written by W. T. Fitzgerald, Esq. were introduced in one of the anniversary poems, recited at the annual celebration of the Literary Fund, 1800.

"Illustrious isle! fair Freedom's last retreat!
The throne of Honour! pure Religion's seat!
Still shall the persecuted stranger find,
Thy happy shores the refuge of mankind!
And the last prince of Darnley's house shall own,
His debt of gratitude to Brunswick's throne.

‡ The Countess Alberstorf.

the

the Pro-prefecture of the congregation of Propaganda Fide. My paper fails me, but I ſhall never fail being

" Your true friend and ſervant,
" STEPHEN, CARDINAL BORGIA."

The ſubſequent Letters were written in the Conclave, in the Iſle of St. Geogio, the Regulations of which exact, that all Letters ſhall be inſpected by the Cardinals Inſpectors before they are permitted to be forwarded.

" *Venice, Jan.* 4, 1800.

" Appriſed by your much eſteemed letter of the 15th of November, I received a ſecond from you of the 22d, and after that, the laſt, dated the 26th of the ſame month, with the joyful intelligence of the ſpeedy and extraordinary ſuccour your generous miniſters have been pleaſed, through me, to tranſmit to the eminent perſonage, who, truly ſenſible of the delicacy and liberality of your nation, has expreſsly, and repeatedly, directed me to return to you, and by your means to your noble minded co-operators, his moſt expreſſive and cordial thanks. I have been obliged to make over to Signor Corrado Martens the order of Meſſrs. Ranſom and Morland for the five hundred pounds*; as the neceſſities of the perſonage required it.

" I am not capable of explaining the ſatisfaction the illuſtrious perſonage has expreſſed to me for the certainty of the annuity you inform me will be ſettled on him, in order to relieve him effectually from the diſtreſſes into which he has been plunged by his laſt misfortunes; for which reaſon he feels all the weight of the obligation he has to you, as the efficacious and friendly promoter of it, and to your great miniſters† for this munificent annuity.

" I am here ſhut up in the *Conclave* for the election of a new pope, with thirty-four cardinals, who, being appriſed of the generoſity of your nation in favour of their illuſtrious colleague, are unanimous in applauding that moſt noble act, and extolling all the co-operators in it.

" I am greatly obliged to the worthy Mr. Stuart for his remembrance of me, and for the gracious offer he makes me of his Hiſtory of the Royal Houſe of Stuart. That book will be a fine ornament to my library, which, with my muſeum, I have almoſt entirely ſaved from the general depredation. I ſhall keep it in remembrance; but, however, I beg of you to preſent my moſt affectionate thanks to him, as I do to the firſt and efficacious Promoter of ſo many gracious acts; not only in my name, but in that of the diſtinguiſhed perſonage whom you have ſo much obliged. I am, with the trueſt and moſt cordial eſteem,

" Your ſincere friend and ſervant,
" S. CARDINAL BORGIA."

" *Venice, Feb.* 26, 1800.

" I have received from Signor Corrado Martens, at the ſame time, four of your moſt eſteemed letters, that is to ſay, two of the 3d and 16th of December 1799, a duplicate of the latter, and the fourth of the 23d of laſt January. The day after the arrival of theſe letters, which gave the higheſt ſatisfaction to my illuſtrious colleague, an Engliſh gentleman‡ entered the *Conclave*, who was the bearer of a very polite letter from Lord Minto, aſſuring him of the royal munificence to the extent of two thouſand pounds ſterling, which is to be repeated, to his order, ſix months after, in the ſame proportion.

" I am unable to relate to you the praiſes given, by all their eminences aſſembled here, to the royal benevolence, and to the Engliſh nation; and in this applauſe the names of thoſe who aſſiſted in promoting it re-echoed, and eſpecially that of my friend, Sir John Hippiſley, the principal mover of ſo good an action.

" Theſe ſentiments of gratitude, more particularly to you and Mr. Stuart§, may be known by the letter which my illuſtrious colleague addreſſes to you: what my own feelings are, I refrain from expreſſing; I reſerve them in my breaſt, and ſhall manifeſt them whenever a fortunate opportunity may occur to ſerve you.

" My other colleagues, whom you have complimented through me, deſire me to return you their moſt expreſſive regards, and particularly Cardinal Antonelli, who told me he had received your letters.

" I am, with the moſt true and cordial eſteem,
" Your ſincere friend and ſervant,
" S. CARDINAL BORGIA."

Original Letters from the Cardinal of York to Sir John Cox Hippiſley, Bart.; written in the Conclave.

" Your letters fully convince me of the cordial intereſt you take in all that regards my perſon, and am happy to acknowledge that principally I owe to your friendly efforts, and to them of your friends, the ſuccour generouſly granted, to relieve the extreme neceſſities into which I have been driven by the preſent diſmal circumſtances. I cannot ſuffi-

ciently

* This ſum was firſt ſent to be applied to the exigency of the moment, at the diſcretion of Cardinal Borgia, and was afterwards repaid by the Cardinal of York, from the ſum derived from his majeſty's beneficence.

† The cardinal had not then received the letters, intimating, that the relief, ſince afforded to the Cardinal of York, is graciouſly derived from his majeſty's privy purſe.

‡ Mr. Oakley, the eldeſt ſon of Sir Charles Oakley, Bart. who was confidentially entruſted with this delicate commiſſion by Lord Minto, his majeſty's envoy, &c. at Vienna.

§ The late Andrew Stuart, Eſq. M.P.

ciently expreſs, how ſenſible I am to your good heart, and write theſe few lines in the firſt place to conteſt to you theſe my moſt ſincere and grateful ſentiments, and then to inform you that by means of Mr. Oakly, an Engliſh gentleman arrived here laſt week, I have received a letter from Lord Minto from Vienna, adviſing me that he had orders from his court to remit to me at preſent the ſum of 2000*l.* ſterling; and that in the month of July next, I may again draw, if I deſire it, for another equal ſum. The letter is written in ſo extremely genteel and obliging a manner, and with expreſſions of ſingular regard and conſideration for me, that, I aſſure you, excited in me moſt particular and lively ſentiments, not only of ſatisfaction for the delicacy with which the affair has been managed, but alſo of gratitude for the generoſity with which it has been provided for my neceſſity. I have anſwered Lord Minto's letter, and gave it, Saturday laſt, to Mr. Oakly, who was to ſend it by that evening's poſt to Vienna; and have written in a manner that I hope will be to his lordſhip's ſatisfaction. I own to you that the ſuccour granted to me could not be more timely; for without it, it would have been impoſſible for me to ſubſiſt, on account of the abſolutely irreparable loſs of all my income, the very funds being alſo deſtroyed; ſo that I ſhould otherwiſe have been reduced, for the ſhort remainder of my life, to languiſh in miſery and indigence. I would not loſe a moment's time to apprize you of all this, and am very certain that your experimented good heart will find proper means to make known in an energetical and proper manner theſe ſentiments of my grateful acknowledgement. The ſignal obligations I am under to Mr. Andrew Stuart for all that he has, with ſo much cordiality, in this occaſion, done to aſſiſt me, renders it for me indiſpenſable to deſire that you may return him my moſt ſincere thanks, aſſuring him that his health, and welfare, intereſts me extremely; and that I have, with great pleaſure, received from General Acton the genealogical hiſtory of our family, which he was ſo kind as to ſend me, and hope that he will, from that gentleman, have already received my thanks, for ſo valuable a proof of his attention for me. In the laſt place, if you think proper, and an occaſion ſhould offer itſelf, I beg you make known to the other gentlemen alſo, who have co-operated, my moſt grateful acknowledgments: with which, my dear Sir John, with all my heart I embrace you.

"Your beſt of friends,

"HENRY CARDINAL."

Venice, Feb. 26, 1800.

To Sir J. C. Hippiſley, Bart. London.

"*Venice, May 7, 1800.*

"DEAR SIR JOHN,

"I have not words to explain the deep impreſſion your very obliging favour of March 31 made on me. Your and Mr. Andrew Stuart's moſt friendly and warm exertions in my behalf; the humane and benevolent conduct of your miniſters; your gracious ſovereign's* noble and ſpontaneous generoſity, the continuance of which, you certify me, depends on my need of it, were all ideas which crowded together on my mind, and filled me with moſt lively ſenſations of tenderneſs and heartfelt gratitude. What return can I make to ſo many, and ſo ſignal proofs of diſintereſted benevolence? Dear Sir John, I confeſs I am at a loſs how to expreſs my feelings: I am ſure, however, and very happy that your good heart will make you fully conceive the ſentiments of mine, and induce you to make known, in an adequate and convenient manner, to all ſuch as you ſhall think proper, for me, my moſt ſincere acknowledgments.

"With pleaſure I have preſented your compliments to the cardinals and other perſons you mention: who all return you their ſincere thanks: the canon, in particular, now Monſignore, being alſo a domeſtic prelate of his holineſs, begs you be perſuaded of his conſtant reſpect and attachment to you.

"My wiſhes would be completely ſatisfied, ſhould I have the pleaſure, as I moſt earneſtly deſire, to ſee you again at Fraſcati, and be able to aſſure you, by word of mouth, of my moſt ſincere eſteem, and affectionate indelible gratitude.

"Your beſt of friends,

"HENRY CARDINAL."

Sir John Cox Hippiſley, Groſvenor Street, London, Angleterre.

"The following extract of a letter from the reigning pope (who was elected in the Conclave from which the cardinal of York's firſt letter is dated, demonſtrates the ſtriking difference of the times when popes were thundering their anathemas againſt this country from the Vatican.—In fact, nothing can have been more conciliating than the conduct of every pope from Benedict XIV. to the preſent.—The laſt pope, Pius VI. addreſſed the ſtrongeſt letters, or briefs, to the clergy of Ireland, denouncing the ſevereſt cenſures of the church againſt all thoſe who could be ſo forgetful of their duty to their *lawful ſovereign*, as to be ſeduced to the late rebellion. To thoſe who reflect that his majeſty's dominions contain not fewer than five millions of Roman Catholic ſubjects, the ſentiments of the new ſovereign pontiff (however circumſcribed his temporal power may be), with reſpect to the Britiſh government, will not be a ſubject of indifferent conſideration.

Tranſlation of an Extract of a Letter from his Holineſs Pius VII. to Sir J. C. Hippiſley, Bart.

"And as the above-mentioned glorious ſovereign pontiff (whoſe authority is of the greateſt weight with us, his creature, and to whom we are bound by

* This marked expreſſion of the cardinal of York is well worth the reader's conſideration.

by the ſtrongeſt and ſweeteſt ties of veneration, affection, and gratitude,) has given ſo many and ſuch manifeſt proofs of the high eſteem he entertained for the generous Engliſh nation, and of its magnanimous and juſt government, and was ever ſo ſolicitous to cultivate harmony and friendſhip, and alſo to demonſtrate to that nation, on all occaſions, his moſt lively attachment: we alſo purſuing the ſame ſteps, will equally make it our ſtudy to preſerve with jealous care the ſame reciprocal good intelligence and union; and we will not ſuffer (as far as lies in our power) that England ſhould find ſeated in the pontifical chair of Rome, another pontiff differing from him who ſo invariably acknowledged the kindneſs and friendſhip that England entertained for him. With reſpect to yourſelf, we ſhall ever take pleaſure in proving to you our invariable ſentiments on all occaſions that may preſent themſelves; and we remain, with the moſt diſtinguiſhed conſideration,

"PIUS P. P. VII."

Venice, at St. George's, May 10, 1800.

The following Letter (intereſting in a commercial and literary point of view) was addreſſed by Mr. Alderman Boydell on the ſtate of his affairs to Sir J. W. Anderſon, and read by the honourable baronet in the Houſe of Commons, when he moved for leave to bring in a bill to diſpoſe of the paintings, &c. by lottery.

"*Cheapſide, Feb.* 4, 1804.

"DEAR SIR,

"The kindneſs with which you have undertaken to repreſent my caſe, calls upon me to lay open to you, with the utmoſt candour, the circumſtances attending it, which I will now endeavour to do as briefly as poſſible. It is above ſixty years ſince I began to ſtudy the art of engraving, in the courſe of which time, beſides employing that long period of life in my profeſſion, with an induſtry and aſſiduity that would be improper in me to deſcribe, I have laid out with my brethren, in promoting the commerce of the Fine Arts in this country, above 350,000*l.* When I firſt began buſineſs, the whole commerce of prints in this country conſiſted in importing foreign prints, principally from France, to ſupply the cabinets of the curious in this kingdom. Impreſſed with the idea that the genius of our own countrymen, if properly encouraged, was equal to that of foreigners, I ſet about eſtabliſhing a *School of Engraving in England*; with what ſucceſs the public are well acquainted. It is, perhaps, at preſent ſufficient to ſay, that the whole courſe of that commerce is changed; very few prints being now imported into this country, while the foreign market is principally ſupplied with prints from England. In effecting this favourite plan, I have not only ſpent a long life, but have employed near forty years of the labour of my nephew, Joſiah Boydell, who has been bred to the buſineſs, and whoſe aſſiſtance during that period has been greatly inſtrumental in promoting a School of Engraving in this country. By the bleſſing of Providence, theſe exertions have been very ſucceſsful; not only in that reſpect, but in a commercial point of view; for, the large ſums I regularly received from the Continent, previous to the French revolution, for impreſſions taken from the numerous plates engraved in England, encouraged me to attempt alſo an *Engliſh School of Hiſtorical Painting*. I had obſerved with indignation, that the want of ſuch a ſchool had been long made a favourite topic of opprobrium againſt this country among foreign writers on national taſte. No ſubject, therefore, could be more appropriate for ſuch a national attempt, than England's inſpired poet, and great painter of nature, Shakſpeare; and I flatter myſelf, the moſt prejudiced foreigner muſt allow that the Shakſpeare Gallery will convince the world, that Engliſhmen want nothing but the foſtering hand of encouragement to bring forth their genius in this line of art. I might go further; and defy any of the Italian, Flemiſh, or French ſchools, to ſhow, in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, ſuch an exertion as the Shakſpeare Gallery; and if they could have made ſuch an exertion, the pictures would have been marked with all that monotonous ſameneſs which diſtinguiſhes thoſe different ſchools. Whereas in the Shakſpeare Gallery every artiſt, partaking of the freedom of his country, and endowed with that originality of thinking ſo peculiar to its natives, has choſen his own road to what he conceived to be excellence, unſhackled by the ſlaviſh imitation and uniformity that pervade all the foreign ſchools. This gallery I once flattered myſelf with being able to have left to that generous public, who have for ſo long a period encouraged my undertakings; but unfortunately for thoſe connected with the Fine Arts, a Vandalick revolution has ariſen, which, in convulſing all Europe, has entirely extinguiſhed, except in this happy iſland, all thoſe who had the taſte or the power to promote thoſe arts; while the tyrant that at preſent governs France, tells that believing and beſotted nation, that in the midſt of all his robbery and rapine, he is a great patron and promoter of the Fine Arts; juſt as if thoſe arts that humanize and poliſh mankind could be promoted by ſuch means and by ſuch a man. You will excuſe, my dear Sir, I am ſure, ſome warmth in an old man on this ſubject, when I inform you, that this unhappy revolution has cut up by the roots that revenue from the Continent which enabled me to undertake ſuch conſiderable works in this country. At the ſame time as I am laying my caſe fairly before you, it ſhould not be diſguiſed, that my natural enthuſiaſm for promoting the Fine Arts, (perhaps buoyed up by ſucceſs), made me improvident. For had I lain

by but ten pounds out of every hundred pounds my plates produced, I ſhould not have had occaſion to trouble my friends, or appeal to the public: but on the contrary, I flew with impatience to employ ſome new artiſt with the whole gains of my former undertakings. I ſee too late my error; for I have thereby decreaſed my ready money, and increaſed my ſtock of copper plates to ſuch a ſize, that all the printſellers in Europe could not purchaſe it, eſpecially at theſe times ſo unfavourable to the arts. Having thus candidly owned my error, I have but one word to ſay in extenuation. My receipts from abroad had been ſo large, and continued ſo regular, that I at all times found them fully adequate to ſupport my undertakings at home—I could not calculate on the preſent criſis, which has totally annihilated them—I certainly calculated on ſome defalcation of theſe receipts, by a French and Spaniſh war, or both; but with France or Spain I carried on but little commerce—Flanders, Holland, and Germany, who, no doubt, ſupplied the reſt of Europe, were the great marts; but alas! they are now no more. The convulſion that has diſjointed and ruined the whole Continent, I did not foreſee—I know no man that did. On that head, therefore, though it has nearly ruined me and mine, I can take but little blame to myſelf. In this ſtate of things, I throw myſelf with confidence upon that public, who has always been but too partial to my poor endeavours, for the diſpoſal of that which, in happier days, I flattered myſelf to have preſented to them. I know of no means by which that can be effected juſt now but by a lottery; and if the legiſlature will have the goodneſs to grant a permiſſion for that purpoſe, they will at leaſt have the aſſurance of the even tenour of a long life, that it will be fairly and honourably conducted. The objects of it are my pictures, galleries, drawings, &c. &c. which, unconnected with my copper plates and trade, are much more than ſufficient to pay, if properly diſpoſed of, all I owe in the world. I hope you, my dear Sir, and every honeſt man, at any age, will feel for my anxiety to diſcharge my debts, but at my advanced age of eighty-five, I feel it becomes doubly deſirable.

"I am, dear Sir, with great regard,
"Your obedient and obliged ſervant,
"JOHN BOYDELL."

In the courſe of this month (February) a very important correſpondence between the lord chancellor of Ireland, and Lord Fingall, found its way into the public circles; and as it is at all times intereſting to know the ſentiments of enlightened individuals high in authority, on a queſtion of the firſt concern to the ſtate, we ſhall ſubjoin the following extracts, which will afford, it is hoped, all that can be conſidered as material.

Lord Redeſdale, after incloſing a warrant for the appointment of Lord Fingall as a juſtice of the peace, thus continues: "It will be your duty, my lord, as a juſtice of the peace, to watch the preſervation of the peace with the moſt anxious attention; to reſpect no man whoſe conduct ſhall tend to diſturb it; to exhort all men by patience and forbearance, as well as by exertions, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to preſerve it. And, however anxiouſly they may wiſh for a change in the eſtabliſhment provided by the law of the land for the maintenance of religion; however conſcientiouſly they may think that the end of religion would be better anſwered, by putting thoſe of the Romiſh perſuaſion in the place of thoſe of the Proteſtant faith; they cannot, conſiſtently with the duties of their allegiance, purſue that purpoſe, by abetting, or even declining to reſiſt and ſuppreſs, the rebellious conſpiracy formed for that purpoſe. I have no doubt that the firm and diſtinguiſhed loyalty, which has marked your lordſhip's character in every other ſituation in life, will guide your ſteps in the diſcharge of your duties as a magiſtrate. May God, to whom alone all our errors and imperfections are known, protect and guard you, and lead you to that end which will moſt accord with the beneficent purpoſe for which the office of magiſtracy was intended; and for which alone, I am perſuaded, you prevail on yourſelf to undertake ſo arduous a charge under circumſtances of ſo much difficulty!"

Lord Fingall, in anſwer, ſays, "My lord, the Catholic religion is the ſame every where. I very reluctantly enter on the ſubject. Religious diſputes I have always conſidered the greateſt misfortune any country could experience. I muſt, however, beg leave to ſtate to your lordſhip what I have always found to be the conduct and faith of the Catholic. I need not ſpeak of his attachment to, and reſpect for, an oath; were he leſs delicate, why ſhould he labour under any excluſion now, or have ſuffered many years of penal reſtriction? I muſt ſay, I never heard a Catholic wiſh for the overthrow of the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment, and ſetting up in its place one of his own religion. This was not, as is well aſcertained, the object of the promoters of the rebellion in 1798; nor do I believe it was that of the ruffians and murderers who diſgraced this country on a late occaſion. The Catholic is ready at this moment to ſacrifice his life, his property, every thing dear to him, in ſupport of the preſent conſtitution; in defence of that beloved ſovereign to whom your lordſhip does not ſeem to think we look up with that veneration, gratitude, and attachment, which I aſſure you we do. The Catholic wiſhes for no other family on the throne, no other conſtitution; but certainly wiſhes to be admitted, whenever it ſhall be deemed expedient, to a full ſhare in the benefits and bleſſings of that happy conſtitution under which we live; a participation which, I truſt, we have, and ſhall

ſhall continue to prove ourſelves not undeſerving of. Catholic loyalty and allegiance, I need not tell your lordſhip, would oblige every one of that perſuaſion to reſiſt and repel even the head of the ſee of Rome, were it poſſible to ſuppoſe that the Uſurper who now diſturbs the peace of the world could ſend him here with his invading armies. I have, my lord, taken the liberty of ſtating to your lordſhip what I conſider Catholic principles and Catholic conduct. Standing in the ſituation I do, I feel it my duty to vindicate the Catholics from any unfavourable opinion entertained of them. That your lordſhip ſhould know, and properly appreciate their ſentiments and conduct, is my only aim; and would, I am ſure, be highly gratifying to them."

Reply of Lord Redeſdale. "Many parts of your lordſhip's letter have given me much pain. I have no doubt that your lordſhip has every feeling of Chriſtian charity towards thoſe who differ from you in religious opinion; but I have daily experience that the ſame charity does not prevail amongſt a great many who profeſs to be of the ſame religious perſuaſion with your lordſhip. I am fully perſuaded that the want of true Chriſtian charity one towards the other has been the real cauſe of all the unfortunate events which have of late diſgraced the country; and I think it the duty of every man, however he may differ in points of faith from others, to endeavour to impreſs the great doctrine of Chriſtian charity on the minds of all, as the only means of reſtoring peace to the diſtracted country. I am afraid, or rather I am perſuaded, that the difference ariſes from the different temper given to their minds by their religious inſtructors: that the Quaker is taught to live in charity with all men; whilſt thoſe who follow the ſee of Rome are unfortunately taught a very confined charity, being told they are excluſively members of the church of Chriſt; and thoſe whoſe minds have not been enlarged by education or habit, feel it difficult to conceive how thoſe whom they are taught to conſider as not members of the church, can be deemed Chriſtians; and accordingly your lordſhip will find, upon enquiry, that the appellation of Heathen is applied by thoſe to every Proteſtant. Until, therefore, the prieſts of the Romiſh perſuaſion ſhall think it their duty to preach, honeſtly and conſcientiouſly, the great doctrine of univerſal charity in Chriſt; until they ſhall, in all their inſtructions to thoſe under their care, repreſent, honeſtly and conſcientiouſly, all who ſincerely believe in Chriſt, the Redeemer of mankind, to be brethren in Chriſt, however miſtaken they ſuppoſe any of them to be in certain points of faith; until they ſhall teach their flocks, deſiring liberty to think for themſelves, they ought alſo to permit others to think for themſelves, and not to murder them becauſe they differ in religious opinions; peace can never be eſtabliſhed in the land."

To this Lord Fingall rejoins: "I merely ſtated to your lordſhip what my own feelings were, and what I have always found to be the opinion of the Catholics. I do not apprehend that, in expreſſing any farther wiſh of the Catholic body, which it is impoſſible ſhould not be entertained, I hinted at any diſcontents: on the contrary, I did aſſure, and do now aſſure your Lordſhip, we are ready to make every ſacrifice, encounter every danger, for the defence of the king and conſtitution, and for the preſervation of the peace. Thoſe who are moſt affected by any remaining reſtrictions, it is well known, have never excited clamour or tumult, but have always been foremoſt in oppoſing them."

The lord chancellor, in Letter V. ſays, "I conclude from your lordſhip's letters to me, that there is no perſon amongſt the adherents of the See of Rome, in Ireland, whoſe mind, however cultivated, however liberal in other other reſpects, can be thought to conſider any perſons as Chriſtians, who refuſe obedience to that ſee. I conclude alſo, that the prieſts of that perſuaſion ſtill teach their flocks, that all who refuſe obedience are guilty of a wicked rebellion againſt divine authority, which muſt produce either eternal damnation in the next world, and render them objects of horror and diſlike in this. As long as this doctrine (which, with all humility I ſay it, appears to me to be repugnant to every idea of Chriſtian charity taught by the ſcriptures) ſhall be preached to their congregations, and until thoſe congregations ſhall be taught that Proteſtants of every deſcription, although in their opinion in error on certain points, are to be conſidered as members of the church of Chriſt, and their brethren in the faith of Chriſt, it ſeems to me, that there can be no hope that exhortations to loyalty and obedience to a Proteſtant government will have any effect. Men of education and property may feel loyalty and obedience to ſuch government to be proper, or at leaſt expedient; but preaching to men of the lower orders, and eſpecially to thoſe without property, loyalty and obedience under ſuch circumſtances, cannot be ſincere, without ſuppoſing their minds of a refinement of which they are utterly incapable; and ſeems, therefore, to me to be either mockery or folly. Perhaps I am too preſumptuous in forming this opinion, but it ſeems to me confirmed by recent events; and I cannot otherwiſe account for the fact ſo generally aſſerted by the prieſts of the Romiſh perſuaſion, that, during the late rebellion, their exhortations to loyalty and obedience had no effect. I find it alſo confirmed by the circumſtances, that thoſe prieſts were, I preſume, utterly ignorant that thoſe under their inſtructions had ever conceived in their minds the horrid purpoſes which they manifeſted on the 23d of July, and which perſons came from all parts of Ireland with deſign to effect."

To this Lord Fingall replies, in Letter VI. "Honoured

noured as I muſt feel by your lordſhip's correſpondence, and the expreſſions of perſonal regard towards me contained in your letters, I am the more anxious to impreſs your lordſhip with that favourable opinion of the perſons in this country who profeſs the ſame religious faith I do myſelf, which it has been my endeavour to prove to your lordſhip they are deſerving of. Nothing but my wiſh to procure for them an object ſo deſirable, and my high reſpect for your lordſhip, would have induced me to touch at all on a diſcuſſion of religious ſubjects; and not having been, I fear, fortunate enough yet to ſatisfy your lordſhip's mind as to the objections you make to our religion, I ſhould be glad, with your lordſhip's permiſſion, to ſtate them to ſome of your ſuperior clergy, who would, I am pretty certain, enable me to convince your lordſhip, that our religious doctrine preaches charity and brotherly love to all mankind, without diſtinction of religion; true and ſincere allegiance to our good king, inviolable attachment to our conſtitution and our country; from an honeſt and conſcientious conviction, that ſuch is the duty of a good ſubject, and a good Catholic, be the religion of the monarch what it may. For my own part, my lord, I cannot attribute the unfortunate ſituation of this country to any thing connected with matters of religious faith; Jacobiniſm, and French principles and polities, the want of morality, and the depraved ſtate of the human mind, are, I conceive, the ſources of our misfortunes: religion may have been made a tool by wicked and deſigning people; this has often happened in every country, and is eaſily effected when religious differences exiſt."

Letter VII. has the following rejoinder from Lord R. "I find myſelf as little qualified as your lordſhip repreſents yourſelf to be, to diſcuſs with the perſons to whom you refer me on the points you mention. I can only ſay, that the impreſſion made on the minds of thoſe of the lower orders certainly does not correſpond with the doctrines which your lordſhip repreſents to be the doctrines of the religion you profeſs. I have no doubt that your lordſhip heartily and conſcientiouſly embraces and acts upon thoſe doctrines: the whole tenour of your life ſhews that you have done ſo; but the whole tenour of the conduct of the lower orders of the people of the Romiſh perſuaſion ſhews that ſuch doctrines are not *effectually* taught to them; and, if I am to judge from the writings as well as the conduct of ſome of the higher orders of the laity as well as of the clergy, I cannot believe that they are thoroughly impreſſed with the feelings which appear to guide your lordſhip's liberal and beneficent mind."

Here follow ſome charges againſt ſome of the Catholic prieſthood, taken up on evidence which does not appear to be in any conſiderable degree conclu-

ſive. The details, unleſs to the parties concerned, are by no means intereſting.

CHAP. IV.

Parliamentary Proceedings reſumed.—Volunteers.—Meſſrs. Boydell's Petition.—Southwark Election Committee.—Cotton Trade.—Iriſh Bank Reſtriction Bill.—State of the circulating Medium of Ireland.—Iriſh Militia.—Property Tax.—His Majeſty's Indiſpoſition.—State of our Trade in the Month of February 1804.

THE Earl of Suffolk, on the 7th of February, moved in the Houſe of Lords, that a committee of naval and military officers, members of that houſe, do adviſe with government reſpecting the volunteers, and to recommend ſuch meaſures as they may think expedient, for rendering them more ſerviceable and efficient. Lord Hawkeſbury oppoſed the motion on the grounds, that all queſtions of this nature were ſuppoſed to originate with his majeſty's miniſters; and it was but fair in the firſt place, to allow them an opportunity of declaring their ſentiments on the ſubject. The noble mover obſerved, that it was the duty of government to conciliate their affections. He had not propoſed a general council of military officers, but one compoſed of members of that houſe, who might attend without inconvenience. It had been ſaid that great military characters had been conſulted; he could however ſay, that many of the firſt military talents in the country with whom he was acquainted, had not been called on for their opinion on the ſubject. The queſtion was negatived without a diviſion.

In the Houſe of Commons, Sir J. W. Anderſon preſented a petition from the Meſſrs. Boydells, which he prefaced with ſome appoſite obſervations, in which he paid many well earned compliments to the patriotiſm and taſte of thoſe gentlemen, to whoſe exertions the country was indebted for thoſe graphic productions which had called forth the genius of our countrymen, and had obtained ſuch an extenſive circulation on the Continent. Unfortunately, however, the French revolution, that curſe upon the human race, had in a great meaſure put a ſtop to the ſale of thoſe productions at home and abroad. Mr. John Boydell was a member of the court of aldermen, and ſerved the offices of ſheriff and lord mayor of the city of London. He was now at the advanced age of eighty-five, and wiſhed to repoſe on his pillow with the conſcious ſatisfaction of having diſcharged all the demands of his creditors. The prayer of the petition was, that leave be given to bring in a bill to enable Meſſrs. Boydells to diſpoſe

of their magnificent gallery, and collection of pictures and prints, by way of lottery. The petition was received without one diſſenting voice, and ordered to be referred to a committee, to report their opinion thereon.

The following members were choſen to try the merits of the Southwark petition:—

W. Burroughs, C. Chaplin,
James Buller, J. Frail,
G. P. Moore, J. Farquhar,
Sir W. Paxton, P. North,
J. Porter, Hon G. Lowry Cole,
J. Palmer, J. Baker.
R. H. Lee,
D. P. Coke, T. B. Bernard, } Nominees.

Mr. Addington moved for a committee to conſider of the moſt effectual mode of arranging the differences between the cotton manufacturers and the perſons employed under them. In order to induce the houſe to accede to this motion, he ſtated the ſteps which parliament had hitherto taken to put an end to theſe differences, but all theſe meaſures proved abortive. The ſubject was well worthy the conſideration of gentlemen. The cotton manufacture had become an important branch of our trade, and employed a number of hands. Mr. Roſe obſerved, that the cotton manufacturers objected to any interference between themſelves and their journeymen, except that of the magiſtrate; he ſaw no reaſon why a law might not be paſſed applicable to that object. The law in his opinion that applied to the ſilk trade, might be extended to that of the cotton, with much leſs difficulty; as in the former there were above one thouſand articles to become the object of the wages of workmen, whilſt in the cotton trade there were not above one hundred. The motion was agreed to.

On the motion of Mr. Corry, that the houſe do reſolve itſelf into a committee on the Iriſh Bank Reſtriction Bill; Lord Archibald Hamilton ſaid, he was convinced that the meaſure of reſtriction generally was a great national evil; it ſtruck him not only as a great but a growing calamity, of which he ſaw no proſpect of the end. It was firſt introduced in time of war, it was renewed in peace; and now that we were plunged into war again, it was propoſed to be continued. The reſult of theſe renewals was, that the paper currency of Ireland had encreaſed to a moſt alarming extent, and the evils attendant on this encreaſe had been magnified in a proportionate degree. At the time the bank of Ireland Reſtriction Bill had paſſed the Iriſh houſe of commons, the amount of bank notes iſſued was ſix hundred thouſand; and at the moment he was ſpeaking, he found that their amount was two millions ſix hundred thouſand; ſo that in conſequence of the meaſure of reſtriction, there was an encreaſe to the amount of two millions. The proportion of gold to be balanced againſt this paper, might be about one million. Gold coin roſe exactly in proportion as paper currency was depreciated in value. The effect of this depreciation of money was felt very ſtrongly on the rate of exchange between this country and Ireland. For a number of years, the rate of exchange between Dublin and London had fluctuated from eight or nine to ſixteen per cent. to the diſadvantage of Ireland: but now the loſs was far more conſiderable, it was as high as ſeventeen, eighteen, or even nineteen per cent. in ſome inſtances not leſs than twenty. Thus an Iriſh gentleman who came to attend his duty in parliament, found, at the end of his journey, where he had alloted five hundred pounds for his expences, four hundred only were the real amount of that ſum. He conjured the houſe to think ſeriouſly on this point, and to uſe every exertion to procure a remedy adequate to the evil. Mr. Corry coincided with many of the noble lords remarks. The ſtate of the paper currency of Ireland was undoubtedly to be regretted. The directors of the bank of Ireland had been cenſured, becauſe they had extended the iſſues of their paper with ſuch improvident liberality. Suppoſing it to be true, that there was too great a profuſion of paper currency in Ireland, this was not the fault of the bank directors. They had no controul over the iſſuing of notes by private banks of the metropolis, or private banks in different parts of the country. The principle on which the reſtriction was to be continued was the ſimpleſt imaginable. Its continuance was abſolutely eſſential, as long as the reſtriction continued in this country. To compel the bank of Ireland to pay in caſh when the reſtriction continued here, would be equally impolitic and unjuſt. The bill for reſtricting the iſſues of caſh by the bank of Ireland, was, in fact, a bill auxiliary to, and coexiſtent with the bill for ſimilar purpoſes here. Lord Henry Petty * delivered his maiden ſpeech on this occaſion. He conceived that it was a circumſtance that could not fail to excite ſurprize, and certainly loudly demanded enquiry; that the iſſues of paper by the bank of Ireland had been five times greater ſince the Reſtriction Bill had been paſſed, than they were previous to the adoption of that meaſure; whilſt the iſſues of the bank of England had encreaſed in proportion to the capital in the ratio of beyond what they were when the act was paſſed. It might be true, that the directors of the bank of Ireland might not hold themſelves ſubject to reſponſibility for this extraordinary encreaſe of their paper; but ſurely that houſe was reſponſible, after committing to that body a power as extenſive as ever was delegated to any public body,—the power of manufacturing paper for national circulation. The depreciation of paper in Ireland was conſtantly encreaſing,

* Youngeſt ſon to the late, and brother to the preſent marquis of Lanſdowne.

creaſing, and muſt, as long as it exiſted, be productive of the moſt alarming conſequences. The balance of trade muſt remain unfavourable for that country, as long as this depreciation continued. The whole trade and property of Ireland was threatened with danger, if a change of ſyſtem did not take place. He was clearly of opinion that ſome ſtrong meaſure ought to be immediately adopted, to prevent the rapid growth of this evil; and that which ſtruck him as beſt calculated under all the circumſtances was, to compel the directors to curtail their iſſues of paper money, and to force the private bankers to adopt a ſimilar practice. Mr. Foſter argued in favour of the bill. There were circumſtances in the ſituation of Ireland, which were perhaps not generally known to the houſe. In the northern counties all buſineſs was carried on by means of gold. There was not in Ireland one real ſhilling, and even the braſs was not of the firſt quality. Thoſe who bought linen were obliged to obtain gold to enable them to compleat their purchaſes; and for this purpoſe to give a premium of two ſhillings and fourpence on each guinea. Thus it was clear in the firſt inſtance, that the linen manufactory was ſubject to a drawback of no leſs than ten per cent. Much might be expected from a ſerious enquiry. If theſe evils aroſe from artificial cauſes, or could be traced to natural ſources, an effort might be made to introduce a ſuitable remedy. At all events they muſt be met by a general ſyſtem, formed by all the wiſdom, temperance and foreſight which the houſe could employ.

Mr. Thornton lamented, that at that moment the paper of the bank of Ireland was at an actual depreciation of ten *per cent.* The directors were veſted with no power to controul the paper iſſues of private bankers. It was the poſſeſſion of the monopoly by the bank of England, which enabled the directors to controul the paper currency of the metropolis and its neighbourhood. The notes of the bank of England were changeable for notes of every other bank, and hence a check was placed on the circulation of the country bank notes in all parts of the country. The conſtitution of the Iriſh bank not being formed on this principle, the private bankers had no motive of mutual accommodation, there was nothing to induce them to keep their iſſues of paper within mutual bounds. One remedy for that evil would be, to make Iriſh and Engliſh bank notes exchangeable for each other. There would be a great deal of difficulty in forming this arrangement, but it might be accompliſhed, by a mutual underſtanding among all parties to give the regulations every poſſible facility.

Lord Caſtlereagh contended, that it was not wiſe or politic to ſpeak in ſtrong language of the depreciation of the paper of the bank of Ireland. The exiſtence of that body depended alone on its credit; and it was not fair, without evidence, to accuſe thoſe directors of criminal conduct whom he had reaſon to know were individuals of the higheſt integrity and honour. As to the effects of the mode in which trade was carried on in the north of Ireland, he would inſiſt that the competition in the foreign market was not much affected by it. The purchaſer of linens, in making his bargains, and aſcertaining his prices, calculated on the expence with which the purchaſe of the gold was attended, and made a correſpondent arrangement of his conditions of ſale. Mr. Foſter argued, that it muſt have a conſiderable effect on competition in the foreign market. If the Germans, Ruſſians, &c. could obtain guineas without that loſs, and the neceſſity of making an additional charge in proportion to indemnify themſelves, the conſequence muſt be, that they would be able to underſell the people of Ireland in the price of their ſtaple manufacture, and their trade muſt of courſe decline. Mr. Johnſtone remarked, that the expence of carrying gold from London to Dublin could not be above 1 *per cent.* and the ſum ariſing ſince could be only attributed to the low ſtate of the paper in that country. Mr. Alexander was perſuaded that the chief cauſe of the paper currency of that country having ſunk below its nominal value, was the great emiſſion of paper from the country banks. The bill paſſed the committee, and was reported.

On the motion for the third reading of the bill, Lord Archibald Hamilton ſaid he underſtood, notwithſtanding the rate of exchange had been for ſome time paſt increaſing againſt Ireland, yet that the lords of the Iriſh treaſury received their ſalaries at par. Mr. Corry anſwered, that certain officers from Ireland, at that time employed in this country in the diſcharge of their public duty, were paid their ſalaries at par. Mr. Curwen conceived that the evil might be remedied, either by a union of the two banks, or a bill might be paſſed to limit the circulation of paper in Ireland. Sir J. Newport was of opinion, that the ſerious inconveniencies that aroſe from the balance of the exchange againſt Ireland, which he principally attributed to the ſituation of the trade of that country with this; the large amount of the abſentee rents; the ſeveral loans for Ireland, which had been negotiated in England; the intereſt of which, to the amount of one million and a half, was annually drawn from the latter; the abſentee rents fell little ſhort of three millions. The bill was read a third time.

Mr. Foſter having taken a ſhort retroſpect of the Iriſh militia acts, wiſhed that they were modelled in ſuch a manner, that bounties and the clauſe, to provide for the families of militia men in certain caſes, might be clearly underſtood. Mr. Corry thought it would be beſt to leave that matter as it ſtood, until the Iriſh members were able to attend the houſe.

Lord

Lord Temple wiſhed to know if miniſters intended any modification in the arrangement and collection of the property tax, as far as the ſame reſpected the officers of the militia? The ſecretary at war ſaid he ſhould not interfere with the commiſſioners; if they overſtepped their duty, they would be reſponſible to the law for their conduct.

Sir Robert Lawley having called the attention of the houſe to the much lamented indiſpoſition of the ſovereign, was anxious to know if miniſters intended to lay any explicit communication before the houſe on a ſubject which he conſidered to be one of the higheſt importance, and the deepeſt intereſt to the country. The chancellor of the exchequer anſwered in ſubſtance as follows: "I rejoice to have the happineſs of being enabled to ſtate, that in the opinion of his majeſty's confidential ſervants, after the moſt anxious deliberation, and after availing themſelves of the advice and opinions of thoſe moſt qualified to decide on ſuch a ſubject, ſuch a communication as that which the honourable baronet has required, is not rendered neceſſary. His majeſty's confidential ſervants are, at the ſame time, convinced that ſuch a communication could not poſſibly anſwer any good purpoſe, and if ſubmitted to the houſe, it could not be the foundation of any ſubſequent proceeding. In their opinion, therefore, Sir, it is held to be contrary to their duty to their king, as well as their duty to their country, to afford the explanation required. They conceive that to make ſuch a communication, would be not only inexpedient, but highly indecent, under the preſent circumſtances of his majeſty's indiſpoſition."

Mr. Fox declared, that he ſhould feel himſelf deficient in duty to the houſe, deficient in duty to his majeſty, deficient in reſpect to the principles of the conſtitution, if he could bring himſelf to acquieſce in the anſwer which Mr. Addington had juſt given. Hitherto the houſe and the public had known nothing of the lamented indiſpoſition of his majeſty, except through the medium of the daily reports which had been publiſhed by official authority. Mr. Addington had told the houſe, that it was the opinion of his majeſty's confidential ſervants that no communication was neceſſary. I have to ſay, ſaid Mr. Fox, that I know of no ſuch perſons as the king's confidential ſervants, they are, he added, a body utterly unknown in any conſtitutional view of the ſubject. He knew of a body of individuals more particularly employed in the executive government, but they could only be recognized in that capacity alone. In a general point of view, they could claim no ſuperior diſtinction, they were nothing more than priv7 counſellors. There was one, and only one point of diſtinction, and that was the circumſtance of their being more frequently called upon for their advice by the ſovereign, when any buſineſs of emergency occurred, and a council was to be held, and that was the only diſtinction between them and the other members of his majeſty's privy council. And would it not be neceſſary to ſhew that this diſtinction was inſeparable from the regular daily exerciſe of all the royal functions. From the moment that the ſovereign, from illneſs, or from any other cauſe, was rendered incapable of diſcharging the functions of royalty, thoſe perſons deſcribed as confidential ſervants of the crown, were nothing more than ordinary privy counſellors. The ſource of their diſtinction was for the time deſtroyed, and it was ridiculous to talk of their continuing the exerciſe of powers expreſsly delegated from the chief magiſtrate in perſon. If any communication had been made that evening, from thoſe ſtyling themſelves the confidential ſervants of his majeſty, he was ſure, that ſuch a communication would have been received with all the reſpect due to any meſſage from ſo honourable a body of individuals; and ſubſequent proceedings founded on any ſuch communication, would have been matter for very grave and important enquiry. If they had made any communication to the houſe, then it would have been for parliament to determine, whether a longer pauſe might not be allowed without reſorting to any extraordinary meaſures. On the other hand, if the communication were not of ſo ſatisfactory a nature, the houſe, in the exerciſe of its conſtitutional privileges, would have been called upon to deliberate as to the ſteps it ought to purſue, and to decide whether thoſe ſteps ſhould be ſuch as were applicable to a contingent event, or directed to an immediate evil. Theſe were his general views as to the imperious neceſſity of a communication on ſo very intereſting a ſubject. It was not his wiſh to anticipate what deciſion the houſe might come to after a communication was made, but he ſhould at all times proteſt againſt the doctrine, that certain individuals, ſtiling themſelves his majeſty's confidential ſervants, ſhould aſſume the right of determining when a communication to parliament ſhould be brought forward. For any individuals, whatſoever ſituation they might hold under government, whether as chancellor of the exchequer, or as ſecretaries of ſtate, to take upon them the right of judging when an undoubted privilege of parliament was to be exerciſed, was an aſſumption of power which no former miniſters ever did attempt in any period of our hiſtory. As a ſupporter and admirer of the conſtitution, he was deſirous of ſeeing all its branches properly balanced. Perhaps he might hear a great deal of the reſponſibility of miniſters, but in no caſe would he conſent to inveſt any ſet of men with extraordinary powers, from any promiſes of reſponſibility; but more particularly in caſes, where the moſt important intereſts of the ſtate were at ſtake: it would be but a poor conſolation to think that thoſe who brought it to deſtruction, were reſponſible for their errors

errors and their crimes. Whatever might be the conduct of miniſters, the houſe ought not be wanting in their duty. They ought to ſhew that they were impreſſed with ſuitable views of the whole circumſtances of the empire, and that nothing on their part ſhould be wanting to contribute to the general honour, independence, and ſafety of the ſtate. Mr. Addington replied, that when he ſpoke of himſelf and his colleagues as the confidential ſervants of the crown, he made uſe of an expreſſion long uſed, and well underſtood in that houſe. In uſing it, it was far from his wiſh to hold out, in the moſt diſtant view, that any confidential ſervant of his majeſty was at all freed from the moſt grave reſponſibility; nor did he mean to diſpute, that the ultimate determination would reſt with the houſe with regard to the ſteps requiſite to meet any extraordinary emergency ariſing from the ſuſpenſion of the royal functions. Mr. Addington then proteſted, that his majeſty's miniſters did not wiſh to conceal any degree of information, which, conſiſtent with their duty, could poſſibly be diſcloſed. They were anxious that nothing which ought to be known, ſhould be withheld; whilſt they were deſirous of being regulated by that delicacy which, on a ſubject of that nature, was on all hands allowed to be ſo important; and if they abſtained from any communication, it was from a ſincere conviction, that it would be inexpedient, and that, inſtead of being ſubſervient to any uſeful purpoſe, it might only furniſh grounds for diſcuſſions at all times to be deprecated, but more eſpecially to be avoided under the circumſtances of the day. Mr. Fox, ſaid Mr. Addington, will not contend that the interference of parliament is indiſpenſably neceſſary, except in caſes of extraordinary emergency; and he would be allowed to ſay, that the ſituation of his majeſty at the time was not one which fell under that general deſcription. Mr. Addington declared that it was not the wiſh of miniſters to delay any communication longer than neceſſity appeared to require it. They were anxious that premature information ſhould not be preſſed for, and they threw themſelves on the candour of parliament ſubject to the graveſt reſponſibility. Mr. Pitt was of opinion that on a matter of ſuch vaſt moment, it was hardly to be ſuppoſed that a body of men would, on ſlight grounds, truſt to any promiſe of reſponſibility. He was willing to flatter himſelf that the nation might indulge in the hope of the ſpeedy recovery of his majeſty; but at the ſame time he was bound in duty to add, that ſuſpenſe on a point ſo deeply intereſting could not but be painful in the higheſt degree. Miniſters knew that a danger of a moſt formidable kind threatened the empire; they might be convinced that the delay of a few days would not be attended with any encreaſed danger to the country, and on that ground they might feel it their duty in the mean time to withhold any communication as unneceſſary. If they choſe to act on ſuch grounds, they certainly proceeded ſolely on that of abſolute reſponſibility; and if they puſhed it too far, the greater would be their criminality. Whatever opinion he might entertain of the mode in which they had performed other duties, he would not unwarrantably accuſe them of taking on themſelves a reſponſibility full of peril, without the moſt perfect conviction of its neceſſity. Mr. Windham obſerved, that parliament was called upon to truſt to the ſtatement of miniſters. They were to be led blindfold when they were about to decide upon a ſubject of the higheſt intereſt to every loyal man in the empire. The language of miniſters meant, if it meant any thing, went the length of telling the houſe, "you are not to pretend to judge when any early communication is to be brought forward; you are to go on, till we tell you when to halt. Continue your ſupport, and we will be reſponſible. Do not be clamorous in your calls for enquiry; wait till we let you know that the right time is come, and then all will go on quite ſmoothly." Mr. Windham reprobated this doctrine as dangerous and unconſtitutional, as it amounted to a declaration that miniſters might, for whatever time they pleaſed, keep the country in want of an executive government. The chancellor of the exchequer denied that he had ever broached ſuch doctrines as Mr. Windham imputed to him. Mr. Canning hoped that miniſters would now feel that the eyes of the country would be more anxiouſly turned towards them in conſequence of the explanations that had taken place that night. Mr. Grey ſaid, that if miniſters thought the royal authority in the then ſtate of his majeſty's health, competent to ſome things, and incompetent to others, they in fact took every thing upon themſelves. On this ground it was that he withed for explanation, for without explanation the aſſurance that had been given was not ſatisfactory. The chancellor of the exchequer then ſtated, "that there was not at this time any neceſſary ſuſpenſion of the royal functions for any acts which may be neceſſary to be done." Mr. T. Grenville ſaid, that it appeared to him from the whole of theſe explanations, as they were called, that there was a conſtant deſign to divert the attention of the houſe from the conduct of miniſters on the ſubject; and the attempt to divert it was made only becauſe it would not bear diſcuſſion.

Sir R. Lawley, who had moved the queſtion of adjournment, withdrew it.

On the reſumption of the debate on the Volunteer Regulation Bill, all the members that ſpoke to the queſtion bore teſtimony to the zeal and patriotiſm of that body. Mr. T. Grenville contended, that as to the right of the election of officers, the view was, whether the right exiſted; another, if it did exiſt,

it was prudent to continue it. "I think," said he, "the misfortune of the volunteer system has been, that ministers did not, in the first instance, make up their minds as to the nature of the force they intended to create, so that they are in a manner tied up from those improvements which we might otherwise be desirous to make. At first they seemed to look to a volunteer force upon the principle of that which subsisted during the war. The next they thought of the *Levy en Masse*; but no sooner had the Defence Bill passed, than it was determined to suspend its operation, and revert again to a voluntary force, which has been altered, extended, new modelled, subjected to all sorts of changes, in numbers, appointments, discipline, regulations, till at last a system has been created which it seems to be agreed generally, is not quite what it should be, but which one hardly knows how to alter; and which in its present stage, is, I conceive, as far from that which was in the original contemplation of those who brought forward the measure, as it is from that which, were we to begin again, might possibly be devised to secure, somewhat more permanently, and more œconomically, the objects for which it was created." He did not know that much more could be done by any bill, than to clear up the doubts that had arisen, re-enact clearly and distinctly those points which had given birth to a difference of opinion. As it was essential there should be no difference in the degree of precision with which the law should be laid down, it was essential there should be no possible misunderstanding; and to add tenderly, such regulations as circumstances might, and certainly would, require. Ministers should recollect that they had encouraged persons to come forward with great expence of time and money; and to say to them, after they had taken pains to perfect themselves in a service to which they attached a pride, you must either accept what we propose, or retire from that situation to one of compulsion and comparative dishonour. This was to take an unfair advantage of the circumstances of the country. He did not join in the cry when it was the fashion to extol the volunteers beyond all bounds, so he was equally out of fashion to attempt to depreciate them below their just value. The first object, in his opinion, ought to be to put the exemptions on a clear and obvious footing; and the second, to remove all doubts respecting the continuation of their services. The secretary at war agreed to this. As to the pretended right of the election of officers, it had been granted to no modern corps: in the first formation of these corps, the recommendations were very generally accepted, and he certainly approved of the acquiescence of government in that respect; but that by no means implied a connivance at the subsequent nominations. Much had been insinuated as to the gross deficiency of the quantity of arms; a short statement in figures would be better understood than prolix arguments. In 1755, prior to the seven years war, the number of fire arms was only 36,098. In 1775, before the French war, only 39,488. In 1803, 389,353. Then as to the delivery of these to the 27th of February, the day on which he was speaking, 365,426 had been sent from the arsenals; also 18,000 brace of pistols, and 100,000 pikes. These facts, when considered comparatively, would shew how totally unfounded the blame attributed to his majesty's ministers in that important department of their duty. With a just sense of the situation in which the country was placed, of the danger which had so long been suspended over it, and of the crisis, which, according to all information, was so rapidly approaching, gentlemen should devote themselves to the consideration of the best means of amending and advancing to perfection the only force of equal magnitude within their reach to repel the foe; for whatever the imperfections of that system might be, he felt that none other could then be looked to as a substitute. The danger was too near and imminent to admit of a change. Mr. Windham could not bring himself to think that terror was the mode of procuring a continuance of a voluntary offer of service, and on that principle he approved of the option given to volunteers to withdraw their services, as being the best means of encouraging their continuance. The conditions, however, of that option was so clogged, was so unpalatable, he was convinced the measure would not succeed, but that many would avail themselves of that option and withdraw. His great objection to the volunteer system was, the effect which it had in obstructing the recruiting of the regular army, which was only supplied through the medium of the army of reserve. Was it proper then to continue the volunteer system under such disadvantages. The present moment alone ought not to be regarded; through the fear of lessening the volunteer establishment, to endanger the safety of the country in succeeding years? It had been said that a great many volunteers had entered as recruits. Of that he could entertain no doubt, nor was it possible to be otherwise, where the whole population of the country were volunteers: with equal truth had it been asserted, that the Roman Catholics were the only disaffected persons in Ireland, because the rebellion broke out in a part of the country where none but Roman Catholics resided. He was not desirous of having a standing army, nor did he think the country would be more secure, should it ever acquire the character of an armed nation, however paradoxical such an opinion might appear. France and Geneva were armed nations, and that circumstance was one of the first causes of the overthrow of their liberties. Lord Castlereagh said, the great superiority of disciplined

plined levies, though newly raiſed, might be learned from the victories obtained by thoſe under the command of Dumourier at Jemappe, and other places. He was well convinced of the loyalty, integrity, and patriotiſm of the volunteers; their connexion with the crown, and the laws of their country, ſhould tend to quiet the mind on the ſcore of their principles and conduct. Mr. Whitbread thought all the expences of the volunteers ought to be paid out of the public purſe, which would do away the much talked of evils of the committees. As to the threats of invaſion, were it the demigod of the Thuilleries, or the devil incarnate of the print ſhops of Piccadilly and St. James's-ſtreet, or even the illuſtrious Henry IV. himſelf, that came to invade us, the ſpirit, the energy, and patriotiſm of Britons would alike be rouſed to repel the aggreſſion, and to drive him from their ſhores with defeat and diſgrace. Mr. Fox obſerved, with reſpect to the bill itſelf he could not help taking notice of the ſtrange aſſertion of miniſters, that it was their intention from the beginning that volunteers ſhould have liberty to reſign; they thought any other ſyſtem pernicious. Yet they had taken the attorney general's opinion, which declared, that volunteers could not reſign: this opinion was circulated with great profuſion, and recommended to magiſtrates as a rule of their deciſion. All the time, however, miniſters had intended to give the power of reſignation, they thought the contrary principle pernicious in the higheſt degree, and they never ſaid they would have propoſed to give that liberty, if the law had refuſed it.

As to the defence of the country, he thought it better to ſtick to the bill before the houſe, whatever its defects might be; particularly as it was the conviction of all, except miniſters themſelves, that the country was not in that ſtate of defence which, from the immenſe means confided to miniſters, it ought to have been, upon the volunteer ſyſtem therefore they were obliged to depend. The chancellor of the exchequer ſaid he was ready to diſcuſs this charge at any future day. The bill was read a ſecond time. In the houſe of lords on the 29th of February, Lord King moved, "That an account be laid before the houſe of all penſions and ſalaries chargeable on the revenues of Ireland, and paid at *par* in this country." This motion was agreed to.

Having now cloſed the events of the month of February, we ſhall add a few words on the ſtate of our trade in that month. Our readers will ſee by the parliamentary debates the ſtate of the circulating medium of Ireland, and the encreaſe of the exchange againſt Ireland. Nineteen boxes of ſpecie were received in the courſe of this month at Glaſgow, from Charles Town, in South Carolina, by the ſhip Sarah. In conſequence of the revolution in St. Domingo, a large quantity of cotton was ſhipped for it. The French ſeized on the frontiers of Holland, Engliſh goods to the value of 80,000*l.* which had been brought from Emden. Trade and induſtry began to revive in the iſland of Tobago.

At Truro, are well known and regular copper markets. The quantity of copper expoſed to ſale on the 9th of February, was two thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-one tons.

CHAP. V.

Eaſt and Weſt India Affairs.—Letters from Lord Nelſon.—Circular Letter relative to the Volunteers.—Defenſe of Ireland.—Arreſt of Generals Moreau, Pichegru, and Georges.—Report of the Grand Judge on their alledged Conſpiracy, in which the Character of this Country is maliciouſly implicated.—Execution of the Duke d'Enghein.—Recovery of the King.—Duel between Lord Camelford and Mr. Beſt.—Extracts from his Lordſhip's Will.—Character of this unfortunate Nobleman.

IN ſtating the moſt intereſting events of the preceding month, we had to regret that the flames of war had been rekindled in India, and that little hopes of the reſtoration of peace was to be expected in that quarter as long as the ambitious ſpirit of Scindia remained unſubdued. We had however to anticipate every hope of ſucceſs from the courage and diſcipline of our troops. In the courſe of the month (March) of which we have now entered, intelligence was received of the capture of the important fortreſs of Pawngat. Further particulars were alſo brought of the attack on the fort of Ahmadnagar, in which Captains Humberſton, Grant, and Lieutenant Grant, of the ſeventy-eighth, loſt their lives. The whole loſs on our ſide was fourteen killed, and thirty-three wounded. By the reduction of this important place Scindia has loſt a revenue of twelve lacks of rupees.

In the Weſt Indies, the aſſembly of Jamaica refuſed to make any proviſions for an additional number of troops for the defence of the iſland, conceiving that it was the buſineſs of government to protect them, and at the ſame time declaring their inability. In conſequence of this the governor in his ſpeech at the cloſe of the ſeſſions, made the following obſervations, which it ſeems gave great offence. "I am much concerned that you have not given me an opportunity of thanking you for the ſupplies required, at this eventful period, in aid of the mother country, for your own defence; but I truſt that, upon more mature conſideration, you will feel the propriety of ſupporting government in the moſt effectual manner, at your next meeting, and

and thereby reſtore to yourſelf its fulleſt confidence in your loyalty and patriotiſm." A writer in the St. Jago de la Vaga Gazette, made the following remarks on this part of the ſpeech. "It is with extreme concern we remark in his honour's ſpeech ſo ſevere a reflection on the patriotiſm and loyalty of the aſſembly of Jamaica, never before called in queſtion; and coming from ſo high an authority, we think ought not to paſs without the notice of their conſtituents, ſignified by parochial reſolutions, expreſſing the general opinion of the country, by which the conduct of their repreſentatives will either be approved or condemned." The matter however died away. On the 5th of January 1804, the Æolus, of thirty-two guns, Captain Evans, arrived at Port Royal, from a cruiſe, having with her a Spaniſh ſhip of war of eighteen guns, which ſhe fell in with off Hiſpaniola. On firing a ſhot acroſs the latter, to bring her to, the Spaniard poured in a broadſide, which killed two men. This was inſtantly returned from the Æolus by a fire, which ſoon ſilenced the Spaniard, killing the firſt captain, firſt lieutenant, and thirty-ſix men, and wounding a number more, beſides carrying away her fore and mizen maſts, and reducing the ſhip almoſt to a wreck: in this ſtate ſhe ſtruck. As the French had evacuated Saint Domingo, the government of that extenſive colony was aſſumed by three negro chiefs, namely, Deſſalines, Criſtophe, and Clervaux. Notwithſtanding the invitation which they held out by proclamation, to certain claſſes of the emigrants to return, very few availed themſelves of it. The French commiſſaries at St. Jago de la Cuba, finding that Saint Domingo was entirely in the hands of the blacks, declared that iſland in a ſtate of ſiege. They fitted out a few privateers, which our cruiſers ſoon picked up. Seven thouſand French priſoners from Saint Domingo, arrived in Jamaica. General Rochambeau, and his ſtaff, were ſent to England. The Gazette of the 3d of March contained three letters from Admiral Lord Nelſon. The firſt ſtated the capture of La Marguerette French privateer, mounting two ſix, and two four pounders, manned with forty men. She was taken by Lieutenant Lawrence, under a ſmart fire of grape-ſhot and muſquetry. The ſecond contained a relation of the capture of Le Reynard French national ſchooner, mounting twelve four pounders, with ſix ſwivels, and manned with eighty men. Alſo Le Titus tranſport, having on board ninety ſix ſoldiers from Corſica, bound to Toulon, by the ſquadron under the command of his lordſhip. The third, dated on board his majeſty's ſhip Victory, at ſea, the 10th of January 1804, detailed the capture of the L'Eſperance French privateer, and the deſtruction of Le Sorcier, by Captain Gore, of the Meduſa, whoſe gallantry on that occaſion is highly praiſed by Lord Nelſon.

On the 12th of March, Captain Robert Milne, of the Mars hired cutter, captured L'Enterprize and Royalae ſloops, laden with proviſions, for the enemy's ſquadron in Breſt. Bonaparte and his ſtaff viſited Boulogne for the third time, in order, as it was thought, to direct the immediate embarkation of the troops on that coaſt, and to fix in his own pompous language, "the ſeal to our ruin." After inſpecting the gun boats and fortifications, he returned to Paris, where he was very coolly received. If a judgment, however, may be drawn from the vigilance of miniſters, it is certain that they expected the long threat of invaſion would be put immediately into execution. In the north of England, at Newcaſtle, and other places, orders and regulations were iſſued under the act of the forty-third of the king, "to enable him to provide more effectually for the defence and ſecurity of the realm, &c." Theſe orders were diſtributed to every houſekeeper in Newcaſtle, as ſpecifying the places of rendezvous, in the event of an invaſion in that quarter, for ſuch inhabitants as might be deſirous of being removed, but who were unable to remove themſelves. Each perſon was to provide himſelf with three days proviſion, and utenſils for cooking; beſides which, beds and blankets, as no other deſcription of property would be allowed to be put in the carriages appropriated for the removal of the inhabitants. Newberry, Ryton, Wylam, and their vicinities, were, in the firſt inſtance, appointed the places of general depot for Newcaſtle; and all perſons travelling on foot, were particularly requeſted to take the bye roads, in order to keep the grand weſt road free from any interruption to his majeſty's forces. The following letter was alſo tranſmitted to the lords lieutenants of counties by the ſecretary at war.

"*Whitehall, March* 5, 1804.

"MY LORD,

"It appearing that the inſtruction and diſcipline of ſuch of the corps of yeomanry and volunteers of the maritime counties as have been placed on permanent pay and duty by his majeſty's orders on the exiſting appearance of invaſion, have been eſſentially promoted by that meaſure; and there being reaſon to believe, that many of the remaining volunteer corps in different parts of Great Britain are ready and willing to aſſemble under the authority of his majeſty for this purpoſe, I have therefore received his majeſty's command to requeſt a confidential communication of your opinion, whether any and which of the yeomanry corps, have already armed and equipped, are likely, upon his majeſty's invitation, to aſſemble on permanent pay and duty, for a period not exceeding a month, nor leſs than ten days.

"I beg leave to remind your lordſhip, that his majeſty is empowered, by 42d George III. c. 66. § 10. to *invite* any yeomanry or volunteer corps volu n taril

HORATIO, VISCOUNT NELSON

luntarily to aſſemble and march on the appearance of invaſion; and that all ſuch corps as ſhall voluntarily aſſemble, as expreſſed in that clauſe, are entitled to pay and quarters, and ſubjected to military diſcipline, during the time they ſhall continue ſo aſſembled.

"I have reaſon to believe his royal highneſs the commander in chief has written to the commanding general in the diſtrict on the ſubject, and flatter myſelf that you will have the goodneſs to communicate with the general commanding the diſtrict confidentially on the occaſion.

"I hope to be favoured with your lordſhip's ſentiments, and at your earlieſt convenience, accompanied with a liſt of ſuch corps as are moſt ready and prepared to ſtep forward in the preſent juncture.

"Your lordſhip will be pleaſed at all times to obſerve, that previous to the actual aſſembling of any corps, or detachment of a volunteer corps on permanent pay and duty, the propoſal for their aſſembling is to be made, in the firſt inſtance, by the commandant of the corps, through the inſpecting field officer, to the lord lieutenant of the county, tranſmitting a duplicate at the ſame time to the general commanding the diſtrict. Theſe propoſals are in each caſe to be accompanied by an exact return of the effective numbers and rank of the volunteers who are to be aſſembled, by a ſtatement of the time and place propoſed for their aſſembling, and of the period for which it is intended they ſhould remain on duty.

"If, upon communication between his majeſty's lieutenant and the commandant general, the propoſal ſhall be approved of, it is to be tranſmitted by the lord lieutenant, with as little delay as poſſible, to the ſecretary of ſtate for the home department, in order that his majeſty's ſpecial directions may be given thereupon, and ſignified by ſuch ſecretary of ſtate to the lord lieutenant, before any corps or detachment ſhall be actually placed on duty, and that the requiſite authority may be given for the iſſue of their pay and allowances.

"During the period of any volunteers being aſſembled, they are to be under the command of the general officer commanding the diſtrict; or if in garriſon, under the command of the governor or commandant thereof for the time being; and they are in all reſpects diligently to conform to the rules, regulations, and ordinances of his majeſty's military ſervice; and the commanding officer of the corps or detachment, is to follow ſuch directions as ſhall be communicated to him, through his majeſty's ſecretary at war, with reſpect to the payment, ſubſiſtence, and œconomy of the men ſo aſſembled.

"It is intended to advance to each non-commiſſioned officer, drummer, and private, ſo called out, in proportion to the length of the time for which they may agree to aſſemble, a ſum not exceeding one guinea, for the purpoſe of aſſiſting in providing neceſſaries; and the captains of companies may draw for the ſame upon the receiver-general of the county, in the ſame manner as captains of militia regiments are accuſtomed to do; and may alſo lay out the ſame in the manner which they ſhall think moſt advantageous for the men, for whom it is; other things, particularly deſirable, that great coats ſhould be provided, where they are wanting. And ſuch captains and commanding officers ſhall, on or before the 24th of the next month enſuing that on which they ſhall have received ſuch money as aforeſaid, account to ſuch volunteers how the ſaid ſum had been applied and diſpoſed of; and ſhall, at the time of ſettling ſuch account, pay the remainder (if any) to the ſaid volunteers.

"It is thought deſirable to avoid, as much as poſſible, the calling out on permanent pay and duty any men having families, likely to become chargeable; and it is to be obſerved, that the wives and families of the men ſo called out, are not entitled to any allowance, unleſs ſuch men ſhall actually leave their families, and then only when ſuch families are unable to ſupport themſelves.

"The volunteer officer is to cauſe the articles of war to be read to his corps as ſoon after its firſt aſſembling as may be practicable, and repeat the ſame from time to time in the manner practiſed in the regular and militia forces.

"With a view of facilitating to your lordſhip the means of communicating to the commandants of corps the regulations by which they are to be governed in carrying this meaſure into effect, I have cauſed the ſame to be extracted from this letter, in the form of inſtructions, of which an adequate number of copies for immediate uſe are herewith tranſmitted.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"C. YORKE."

The reſult of this letter was highly gratifying to government, and did great honour to the public ſpirit of the volunteers.

Every thing in Ireland wore the appearance of the return of tranquillity to that diſtracted kingdom. The moſt active preparations were carrying on to place that country not only in a ſtate of defence, but even in a menacing poſition. The fortifications erected at the Pigeon Houſe, at the entrance of the harbour, near Dublin, were of a moſt formidable nature: on that part of it, fronting the road from the city, a ſtrong baſtion and counterſcarp were erected, with a foſſe and chevaux-de-frize in front: on this battery four pieces of heavy ordnance were mounted. Strong curtain walls, compoſed of ſtone, were erected on the ſouth, north, and weſt ſides, with a great number of heavy can-

non, with loop holes, through which the ſoldiers could act with perfect ſecurity. There were alſo a great number of wooden frames, pointed with iron ſpikes, calculated to impede the landing of the foe, in ſuch parts as are open to the ſea. In the dock at Ringſend, forty gun boats were put into a ſtate of readineſs to act in defence of the harbour, which number was to be encreaſed. Theſe boats were of the ſize of thoſe uſed in the herring fiſhery, in the channel. Each had a braſs eighteen pounder in the bow, and from four to ſix thirty-ſix pound carronades abaft; and at the ſides of the veſſel, they were ſtout, and if uſed in an offenſive war, would very well carry one hundred men each, with their appointments and proviſions, and ſuſtain a longer voyage than that to the coaſt of our enemy.

There were few events of any importance in France, during the war of which we are now treating, that could be indifferent to the Engliſh reader; and in that liſt we may place the following. The Paris papers, in the middle of March, brought an account of the arreſt of General Moreau, charged with being in a conſpiracy with General Pichegru, Georges, the Vendean chieftain, and others, to aſſaſſinate Bonaparte, and all this at the inſtance of the Britiſh government: Generals Moreau, Pichegru, and Georges, were arreſted. Moreau was transferred from the Abbey to the Temple, where nobody was allowed admittance to him. He was examined before the grand judge, in the preſence of the firſt conſul, and denied all the charges brought againſt him. The broker, Le Blanc, was the perſon who betrayed Pichegru, who occupied a fifth floor in his houſe, for which he paid fifteen thouſand livres a month. Le Blanc went to General Murat, the governor of Paris, and offered to inform him of Pichegru's place of concealment, and to deliver him up for one hundred thouſand livres, (about 4,000*l.* ſterling.) This ſum was promiſed him. The manner of arreſting him was then planned. Le Blanc introduced the gens d'armes into his houſe at night, when Pichegru was aſleep, and gave a key to his room, as they were informed that Pichegru had with him two piſtols and a dagger: they opened the door with as little noiſe as poſſible, and ruſhed on his bed. Though ſurprized and alarmed, Pichegru conducted himſelf with the greateſt preſence of mind, and in ſuch a manner that even his enemies were forced to ſpeak high of his courage, and even to pity his misfortunes. He jumped out of his bed, naked and without arms; knocked down four gens d'arms, and they were unable to hold him, though ſix in number. He almoſt choaked two, in puſhing them againſt the chimney; a third he ſtruck with ſuch force upon the breaſt, that he ſpit blood; and the fourth he griped with ſuch ſtrength by the arm, that he cried out in agony, "If you do not let me looſe, I will ſhoot you through the head." With a loſs of a part of the fleſh he got looſe, and Pichegru exclaimed, "Fire, raſcal, and you will receive a ſword of honour!" At laſt, he was obliged, from fatigue, to capitulate and ſurrender himſelf, upon condition of not being tied or chained. He was, however, wounded in the head, and on the ſhoulders, and had loſt a great deal of blood. In dreſſing himſelf, he declared, "that if he had not been deprived of his arms, he ſhould not have fallen into their hands." He was then carried before the counſellor of ſtate and police director, Real, and underwent a long examination. Bonaparte had ordered the gens d'armes to take him alive, and they were all picked men.

Upon Real aſking him who he was? Pichegru anſwered, "I am known enough?" "Where do you come from?" "From England." "In what manner?" "In a ſhip, not in an air balloon." "Where did you land?" "At Dieppe." "Who brought you here?" "Nobody; I came by myſelf." "Were you not accompanied by your accomplices?" "I am no criminal, and therefore have no accomplices." "Do you know Moreau?" "Yes." "Have you ſeen him?" "After what has happened between us, I could only ſee him with arms in my hands." "Have you ſeen Georges?" "Yes, the royaliſt; but not the ſuppoſed aſſaſſin Georges." "But Georges has more than once plotted the death of the firſt conſul?" "So ſays Bonaparte; Georges ſays the contrary. I believe the latter more humane and honeſt than the former, and his words are therefore more to be depended upon." "With what view did you come to Paris?" "To call Moreau to account for his conduct in 1797." After theſe, and ſome other queſtions, he was ſent to the Temple. This was ſoon followed by the report of the grand judge, which we will give at ſome length, as it implicates the character of this country in a moſt foul and malicious manner.

"CITIZEN FIRST CONSUL,

"New plots have been hatched by England; this was the caſe even amidſt the peace which ſhe ſwore to maintain; and when ſhe violated the treaty of Amiens, ſhe counted leſs on her ſtrength, than on the ſucceſs of her machinations. But government was vigilant; the ſteps of the agent of the enemy were followed by the eye of juſtice; the people of London were no doubt expecting to hear the exploſion of that mine, which had been dug under our feet. At any rate, the moſt ominous reports were ſpread, and they were indulging the moſt criminal hopes; on a ſudden, the agents of the conſpiracy were arreſted, proofs have accumulated, and they are ſo ſtrong, and ſo evident, that they carry with them conviction to every mind. Georges and his band of aſſaſſins had remained in the pay of England;

England; their agents were ſtill traverſing La Vendee, Moriban, the Cotes du Nord, and were endeavouring, but in vain, to find partizans, of whom they were deprived by the moderation of government, and of the laws. Pichegru, unmaſked by the events which preceded the 5th of September 1797, and unveiled in particular by that correſpondence which General Moreau had addreſſed to the directory, had carried with him to England his hatred againſt his country. In the year eight, he and Villot were in the train of the armies of our enemies, in order to unite with the brigands of the ſouth. In the year nine, he conſpired with the committee of Bareuth; and ſince the peace of Amiens, he has ſtill been the hope and counſellor of the enemies of France. The Britiſh perfidy aſſociated Georges with Pichegru; the infamous Georges with that Pichegru, whom France had eſteemed, whom ſhe wiſhed for a long time to conſider as incapable of treachery. In the year eleven, a ceremonial reconciliation united Pichegru and Moreau, two men between whom however we ought to place an eternal hatred. The police ſeized at Calais one of their agents, at the moment he was returning a ſecond time from England. This man had in his poſſeſſion documents which confirmed the reality of a reconciliation at that time inexplicable, had not the bands which united them been formed by criminality. On the arreſt of this agent, General Moreau appeared for a moment to be agitated. He took ſome private ſteps to aſcertain, whether government was informed of it; but it was paſſed over in ſilence, and he himſelf, when he recovered his tranquility, concealed from government an event, which could but awaken its vigilance. He obſerved ſilence even when Pichegru was publicly admitted into the councils of the Britiſh miniſtry, when he united in a notorious manner with the enemies of France. Government was diſpoſed to conſider his ſilence as ariſing from the dread of confeſſion, which would have humbled him, as it conſidered his retirement from public affairs, his ſuſpicious convictions, and his imprudent language, as the effect of peeviſhneſs and diſcontent. General Moreau, who could not fail of being ſuſpected, ſince he maintained a ſecret correſpondence with the enemies of his country; and who, in conſequence of this ſuſpicion, which was too well founded, would at any other period have been arreſted, was ſuffered to enjoy his honours in tranquillity, an immenſe fortune, and the kindneſs of the republic. Events, however, rapidly ſucceeded each other; La Jollais, the friend and confidant of Pichegru, went privately from Paris to London, returned to Paris, carried to Pichegru the ideas of General Moreau, carried back to Moreau the ideas and deſigns of General Pichegru, and his aſſociates: the brigands of Georges were preparing even in Paris, every thing that was neceſſary for the execution of their common deſigns. The grand judge then ſtates at conſiderable length, the plans of concealment, private meetings, debarkations on the coaſt of France, &c. He then proceeds to detail the ſteps which government purſued to trace out all the private haunts of General Pichegru, and the lurking places of his aſſociates. He then renews the attack on England in theſe words: 'England wiſhed to overthrow our government, and by this overthrow to effect the ruin of France; to deliver it up to ages of civil war and confuſion. But to overturn a government, maintained by the affection of thirty millions of citizens, and ſurrounded by a brave, powerful, and faithful army, was a taſk not only ſuperior to the ſtrength of England, but of all Europe. England, therefore, had no hopes of accompliſhing her deſign, but by the aſſaſſination of the firſt conſul, and by covering this aſſaſſination under the ſhadow of a man who was ſtill protected by the remembrances of his ſervices."

A ſeries of letters and papers were annexed to this libellous report, the object of which was to ſhew that Mr. Drake, the Britiſh miniſter at Munich, was employed in the project of deſtroying the French government, blowing up the powder mills, and diſorganizing the French armies. Among others exhibited againſt him in this report, he was accuſed of having ſent an agent to Paris, to execute this project; and theſe inſtructions, ſaid to be furniſhed to him, as well as his correſpondence after his arrival at Paris, are given at full length. In one of the letters Mr. Drake deſires him to print an addreſs to the army, not to ſuffer Moreau to fall a victim to the jealouſy of the conſul. This maſs of fabrications was printed and diſtributed gratis over all France, and copies of it immediately ſent to the reſpective courts by extraordinary couriers. The *Moniteur* of the 28th of March contains the anſwers of the different miniſters, to whom it was ſent. The anſwer of the Auſtrian ambaſſador is conveyed in moderate language, while that of Ruſſia, though in a dignified manner, ſedulouſly avoided an opinion on the ſubject. The Pruſſian miniſter affected to be much concerned at the developement of ſuch charges. The Bavarian miniſter conſidered the conduct of Mr. Drake as altogether criminal, and threatened it with the ſevereſt reſentment. The pope's legate piouſly deprecated any attempt againſt the life of Bonaparte, as the warm friend and ſteady ſupporter of the Catholic religion, and the guardian and protector of the mother church; but the American miniſter entered into a long detail of the horror with which civilized nations would view the attempts of atrocious agents. He then took upon himſelf to offer, on the part of his government, their ſolicitations upon the providential eſcape of the firſt conſul from the plots of aſſaſſins. The anſwers

ſwers of the inferior miniſters were all couched in a ſtrain of degrading adulation. The Swediſh miniſter returned no anſwer. Theſe charges were followed by another not leſs falſe, which appeared in the *Moniteur* of the 20th, in which Mr. Frere, our miniſter at Madrid, was accuſed of having advanced in a converſation with the prince of Peace, that in the ſituation in which England was then placed, aſſaſſination and murder were juſtifiable. The Prince of Peace, according to the account, haſtily replied, "But, Sir, if France adopted the ſame principle, nations, inſtead of fighting with fleets and armies, would attack each other by means of aſſaſſins."

On the 17th of February Joubert, the preſident of the Tribunate, opened that aſſembly with the following ſpeech:

"Citizens, counſellors of ſtate, and orators of the government. When a great empire, after long ſtruggles, is at laſt placed on its baſis, what can the efforts of enemies, or the delirium of paſſion, accompliſh againſt it? If our firſt thought is always for the people, muſt it not alſo embrace the chief they have choſen, and whom our affection, as well as our reaſon, would daily call to the ſupreme rank, had not France already inveſted him with a power equal to her confidence? But what an epoch is this for hiſtory! What a leſſon for nations! The French made no call on account of a perjured government, but to their courage. The enemy's government, however, organized aſſaſſination; and to compleat the evil, we find involved in their plots a name which has long been accompanied with illuſtrious recollections.

"Citizens, ſoldiers, and functionaries, we ſhall anſwer to our own time, to future ages, and to hiſtory, which never has had ſo important events to relate, and which, notwithſtanding, awaits new prodigies. We all anſwer for the life of Bonaparte, whoſe exiſtence ſecures to France her glory and proſperity. In this ſitting the brother of General Moreau (who was a member of the tribunate) attempted ſeveral times to ſpeak, but in vain, for ſome time. Having at length obtained a hearing, he gave way to his fraternal affections in theſe words:

"Citizen preſident, you have heard the orators of the government, you have this morning read the order publiſhed by the governor of Paris; both theſe publications are in part directed againſt General Moreau. I cannot ſee without the greateſt ſorrow that ſo much pains have, for a long time been taken, to calumniate a man who has rendered important ſervices to the republic, and who has not at this moment the liberty of defending himſelf. I declare to the whole nation that my brother is innocent of the atrocities aſcribed to him. Let him have the opportunity of juſtifying himſelf, and he will clear himſelf from thoſe imputations. I requeſt in his name, in my own, in the name of his afflicted family, that his trial may be conducted with the greateſt ſolemnity. I requeſt that he may be tried before one of the ordinary tribunals; it will be eaſy for him to prove his innocence. I affirm that all that has been ſaid is an infamous calumny." As ſoon as Moreau had done ſpeaking he left the tribunal.

The conſervative ſenate, on the 18th of February, waited on Bonaparte with the following addreſs, in which the Britiſh government is not forgotten:—

"CITIZEN FIRST CONSUL,

"The ſenate has been unuſually accuſtomed to wait upon you for the ſole purpoſe of preſenting their thanks for the glory to which you have raiſed the republic, and for the wiſdom and vigilance of your adminiſtration. This day they are brought hither by the profound indignation which is excited by the plot firſt diſcovered, *and which the agents of England have inſtigated.* It is afflicting for humanity to ſee the chiefs of a nation degrade themſelves ſo far as to take the directions of aſſaſſination. They muſt, indeed, be weak, when they condemn themſelves to ſuch infamy. The ſenate perceives, with ſorrow, among the number of the accuſed, one of the moſt illuſtrious defenders of the country. The ſerious nature of the charge, and the exiſting circumſtances, imperiouſly require the meaſures which have been adopted with reſpect to him. You have done what the ſafety of private nations demands, by ſending the accuſed before the tribunals. The wiſh of the ſenate, citizen firſt conſul, is, that you ſhould yield leſs to that courage, which deſpiſes all kinds of danger, and that you ſhould not give up all your attention to public affairs, but that you ſhould reſerve a part for your perſonal ſafety, which is alſo that of the country."

The firſt conſul replied,

"Since I attained the ſupreme magiſtracy, a great many plots have been formed againſt my life. Educated in camps, I have never regarded as important dangers which gave me no fear; but I cannot avoid experiencing a deep and painful feeling when I conſider the ſituation in which this great nation would have been placed, if this laſt plot had ſucceeded; for it is principally againſt the glory, the liberty, and the deſtiny of the French people, that the conſpiracy was formed. I have long ſince renounced the hope of enjoying the pleaſures of private life; all my days are employed in fulfilling the duties which my fate, and the will of the French people, have impoſed upon me. Heaven will watch over France, and defeat the plots of the wicked."

As the chief conſul and his aſſociates laboured to fix the foul ſtigma of the encouragement of aſſaſſination on the character of this country, the law of retaliation will juſtify the inſertion of the following in

in a Hiſtory of England. The Duke d'Enghein having been apprehended, a ſpecial commiſſion was formed by General Murat, on the 21ſt of March, for the purpoſe of bringing him to trial. The commiſſion was opened at the caſtle of Vincennes, and contained ſix charges, viz. 1ſt, Of having carried arms againſt the French republic. 2d, Of having offered his ſervices to the Engliſh government. 3d, Of receiving, and with accredited agents of that government, having procured means of obtaining intelligence in France, and conſpiring againſt the ſecurity of the ſtate. 4th, That he was at the head of a body of French, and other emigrants paid by England, formed on the frontiers of France, in the diſtricts of Fribourg and Borden. 5th, Of having attempted to foment intrigues at Straſburgh, with a view of creating a riſing in the adjacent departments, for the purpoſe of operating a diverſion in the departments favourable to England; and, 6th, That he was concerned in the conſpiracy for the aſſaſſination of the firſt conſul. The priſoner was then introduced, and interrogated as to his name, birth, age, &c. and was allowed to ſpeak in his defence. The members were next aſked if they had any thing to ſay on the ſubject; when they all anſwered in the negative, and the accuſed was conducted back to priſon. The court then deliberated for ſome time with cloſed doors, and the reſult was, that they unanimouſly found the priſoner guilty of all the charges. Sentence of death was inſtantly paſſed on him. The ſentence was immediately carried into execution; he was ſhot in the Bois de Vincennes, about two o'clock in the morning of the 22d of March. The private accounts of the execution all agreed, that the duke refuſed to be bound, and died with a degree of fortitude worthy of the deſcendant of the ancient kings of France. It appeared that in twenty-four hours after his murder, petitions were preſented by the Duc de Liancourt, and ſeveral others of his friends, through the medium of Madame Bonaparte; and in the ſenate, on the 22d Langunais, propoſed to *adviſe* the firſt conſul to grant him a pardon; obſerving, in ſtrong language, on the danger of accuſtoming him to blood in *civil cauſes*. It was alſo aſſerted, that Bonaparte deſired General Mortier to be preſident of the military commiſſion which condemned the duke, but he declined it. General Hulen was then appointed (the ſon of a waſherwoman, and formerly a ſervant in the workhouſe of the court of Verſailles) after ſentence was paſſed, the duke aſked if he could ſee Bonaparte? "Yes," ſaid Hulen, "If you have any diſcoveries to make." "Diſcoveries!" anſwered the duke with indignation, "carry me to the place of execution." From the time of his arreſt he had never been allowed to dreſs, ſhave, or change his linen, and in his dungeon he had nothing but ſtraw. The generals who attended his execution were Murat, Hulen, and Louis Bonaparte, eſcorted by forty mamelukes, and four aids-de-camp. Each mameluke held a flambeau; and two hundred gens d'armes, and three hundred of the Italian troops, ſurrounded the caſtle. Of the nine grenadiers who fired at him, ſeven hit him. Immediately after the execution he was buried in the caſtle. He was thirty-two years of age. He was taken in the following manner: A party of emigrants had been for ſome time aſſembling in the neighbourhood of Ettewheim, and Offenburg, territories of the elector of Baden; of which notice having been ſent to the firſt conſul, he diſpatched M. de Caulincourt, his aid-de-camp, who arrived on the 14th ult.; and, ordering the gate leading into Germany to be opened, marched through it with ſeveral general officers, towards the right bank of the Rhine. The next morning they croſſed the river with a ſtrong detachment of troops; and, arriving at Offenburg, ordered the commandant to point out the emigrants in the town, of whom fifteen were immediately arreſted, beſides the Duke d'Enghein. Every exertion was made by the French to convince the inhabitants, whoſe territory they had violated, that the perſons they had apprehended were in the pay of England; and that one of their objects was to gain poſſeſſion of their citadel, and turn the artillery againſt the people. No reſiſtance was made to this irruption by the Elector of Baden. As ſoon as the news of his arreſt reached Paris, orders were received by the telegraph, that he ſhould be immediately conveyed thither; which was countermanded. As ſoon as he was arreſted, he was chained hand and foot.

In our preceding number we gave an account of the barbarous aſſaſſination of our troops by the Candians. The following official paper, which appeared in the courſe of this month (March) will ſhed additional light on that melancholy affair.

"*Fort M'Dowal, June* 27, 1803.

"The following voluntary declaration was this day given by corporal G. Barnſley, of the colonel's company, in his majeſty's tenth regiment, in the preſence of the underſigned:

C. H. MADU, captain 19th regiment.
C. PEARCE, ditto ditto.
G. GELLESPIE, aſſ. ſurg. Malay corps.

"That on the 23d inſt. a little before day light, the Candians commenced an attack on the hill guard, in the rear of the palaces, on which was a two pounder, and took it. That ſoon afterwards, a ſtrong party of the enemy, headed by a Malay, made a charge at the eaſtern barrier, to endeavour to take a gun which was poſted there; who were oppoſed by Lieutenant Blakeney, at the head of a few men of the nineteenth regiment, and who himſelf fell in the conteſt. That an inceſſant fire was

kept up on both ſides till about two o'clock in the day, when the enemy was breaking in at the back of the palace. Major Davy having ſent out a flag of truce, offering to ſurrender the town on being permitted to march out with his arms. This they conſented to, and in conſequence Major Davy, after having ſpiked the guns, marched out about five o'clock, and proceeded to Wallapolaga, where he was obliged to halt at night, from being unable to paſs the river. The next morning, the Candians ſent out four Moodiliers, to propoſe that if Major Davy would give up Bowdoo Samney, their king, who had retreated with them, they would aſſiſt him with rafts and boats to croſs the river: whereupon Major Davy inſtantly gave him up a priſoner. After which another meſſage came, *viz.* that there was plenty of bamboos, and other materials at hand, and that they might make rafts themſelves. All that day was employed in endeavouring to make rafts, but they could not get a rope acroſs the river, from the depth and rapidity of the ſtream; but the next morning, at ten o'clock, Captain Humphries, of the artillery, reported that he had ſucceeded in getting a warp acroſs; at which time the Malays and gun Laſcars began to deſert in ſmall parties, with their arms, over to the enemy; upon which Major Davy ordered the remainder to ground their arms, and follow him, with all the officers, back to the garriſon. As ſoon as they had proceeded about two hundred yards on their way thither, the Candians ſtopped them, took the officers on one ſide, and kept them priſoners for half an hour; when, the declarant ſays, he heard a ſhot in the direction of the place where the officers were priſoners, which he ſuppoſed to be the execution of Major Davy. That immediately afterwards they took out the European ſoldiers, two and two, leading them a few yards along the road, knocked them down with the but-end of their pieces, and beat out their brains. That this declarant was led out in turn, with his comrade, and received a blow under the right ear, and a wound with a ſword on the back of the neck, which the enemy conceiving to be ſufficient, proceeded to the murder of the remainder. He lay as dead for ſome time, and in that ſituation, when all the men had been killed, diſtinctly heard a firing at the place where the officers were confined, which he ſuppoſed to be putting them to death. That while this was doing, he took an opportunity of crawling by degrees into the jungle, where he lay all day, and proceeded to Fort M'Dowal by night, to give the neceſſary information."

Fort M'Dowal is a poſt in the Trincomaleé road, ſixteen miles from Candy, and was commanded by Captain Madge, of the nineteenth regiment, with thirty Europeans, and fifty Malays, under Lieutenant Driſberg. Moſt of the Europeans were, however, ſick, and very few fit for duty. This poſt, together with all the others in the Candian country, was attacked on the ſame day, and had held out till the arrival of the above intelligence; upon hearing which, Captain Madge retreated in the night, with only ten Europeans and a few Malays, being under the neceſſity of abandoning the ſick; and arrived at Trincomaleé, with the dreadful intelligence, on the 3d of July.

When the attack was made on Candy, there was ſcarce a man fit for duty, owing to the great ſickneſs then prevailing; and Major Davy was obliged to leave his ſick, and wounded officers, Lieutenant Plenderleath, of the nineteenth, in Candy, where they were ſoon afterwards murdered as they lay helpleſs in their cots.

By this maſſacre the Candians gained upwards of one thouſand ſtand of arms, ſix braſs ſix pounders, ſix howitzers, eight braſs three pounders, and a fine half inch mortar; and near five hundred Malays, who deſerted with their arms, and a grenadier and rifle company.

The affectionate ſolicitude which the public had felt for ſome time on account of the indiſpoſition of the ſovereign, was in a conſiderable degree removed by the ſucceſſive reports of the phyſicians, who attended him. On Friday, the 2d of March, the following bulletin was publiſhed: "His majeſty is going on favourably." In the courſe of a few weeks his majeſty was ſo well recovered, as to be able to hold conſultations with his miniſters, to the great joy of all ranks.

In adverting to that portion of our hiſtory, which may be called the domeſtic part, we have to record an event of an affecting nature—the duel between Lord CAMELFORD and Mr. BEST. On Saturday evening, the 10th of March, Mr. Beſt met a lady (Mrs. Simmonds) to whom Lord Camelford was partial. Mrs. Simmonds wiſhed Captain Beſt to accompany her home; and, on his refuſal, ſaid he would have cauſe to repent of it, for "ſhe would ſet Lord Camelford on his back."

At the Prince of Wales's coffee houſe, where they generally dined, Lord Camelford went up to Mr. Beſt, and ſaid, loud enough to be heard by all the company, "I find, Sir, that you have ſpoke of me in the moſt unwarrantable terms." Mr. Beſt replied, "that he was utterly unconſcious of having deſerved ſuch a charge." Lord Camelford replied, "that he was not ignorant of what he had reported to Mrs. Simmonds, and pronounced him to be a ſcoundel, a liar, and a ruffian." Mr. Beſt ſaid, "theſe were epithets which admitted but of one courſe," and a meeting was immediately ſettled for the next morning. The place was not fixed. Lord Camelford deſired the honourable Mr. Devereux, ſon to Lord Hertford, to arrange matters with Mr. Nichol, who was named by Mr. Beſt as his ſecond, as to the time and place. In the courſe of the evening, Mr.

The Massacre of the Women, at Candi, prevented by Order of the Adigaar.

Published as the Act directs May 1st 1793 by J. Stockdale, Piccadilly.

Mr. Beſt conveyed to Lord Camelford the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that the information he had received was unfounded; and that believing he had acted under a falſe impreſſion, he would be ſatisfied if his lordſhip would retract the expreſſions he had uſed. This Lord Camelford refuſed to do. They met in the morning at a coffee houſe in Oxford-ſtreet, agreeable to the appointment which had been made; and here again Mr. Beſt made an effort to prevail on his lordſhip to retract the epithets which he had uſed. He went up to him, and ſaid, "Camelford, we have been friends, and I know the unſuſpecting generoſity of your nature; upon my honour you have been impoſed upon by a ſtrumpet; do not perſiſt in expreſſions under which one of us muſt fall." Lord Camelford anſwered, "Beſt, this is child's play, the thing muſt go on." In going to the ground, which was a field behind Holland Houſe, his lordſhip, it is confidently ſaid, repeated to his ſecond, that he was the aggreſſor, but that he could not bring himſelf to retract what he had once ſaid: that he knew well, Mr. Beſt and he were two of the beſt ſhots in England; one of them muſt fall; but whatever might be the iſſue of the affair, he begged of him to bear teſtimony that he acquitted Mr. Beſt of all blame. No remonſtrance, however, could prevail on him to retract his words. They fired together, and Lord Camelford fell, to all appearance dead. In an inſtant, however, he recovered the ſhock, ſo far as to exclaim, "I am killed, but I acquit Beſt, I alone was to blame." He begged them to conſult their ſafety, and accordingly Mr. Beſt and Mr. Nichol departed. Mr. Devereux remained with him till a man came up, and conveyed him to the houſe of Mr. Ottey, in the neighbourhood. Surgeons were immediately ſent for: it appeared that the ball had entered his right breaſt, and paſſed through his lungs, lodged in the back bone, and injured the ſpine. His lordſhip lingered till Saturday evening, the 17th of March, and died. On the Monday morning following the Coroner's Inqueſt ſat on the body; and, after a full inveſtigation, returned a verdict of Wilful Murder againſt ſome perſon or perſons unknown. His lordſhip bequeathed the principal part of his fortune to his ſiſter, Lady Grenville. He left ſeveral ſums to be devoted to benevolent purpoſes. Soon after his lordſhip's death, the Rev. William Cockburn, in the laudable diſcharge of friendſhip, publiſhed his will, with ſome remarks upon his character.

The following extracts are taken from his will: "There are many other matters which, at another time, I might be inclined to mention, but I will ſay nothing more at preſent, than that in the preſent conteſt, I am fully and entirely the aggreſſor, as well in ſpirit as in the letter of the word; ſhould I therefore loſe my life in a conteſt of my own ſeeking, I moſt ſolemnly forbid any of my friends or relations, let them be of whatſoever deſcription they may, from inſtituting any vexatious proceedings againſt my antagoniſt; and ſhould, notwithſtanding the above declaration on my part, the laws of the land be put in force againſt him, I deſire that this part of my will may be made known to the king, in order that his royal heart may be moved to extend his mercy towards him."

The day previous to his death, his lordſhip wrote, with his own hand, a codicil to his will; in which, in the moſt particular manner, he deſcribed the place where he wiſhed his remains might be depoſited, and aſſigns his reaſons for this requeſt in theſe words: "I wiſh my body," ſays he, "to be removed, as ſoon as may be convenient, to a country far diſtant, to a ſpot not near the haunts of men, but where the ſurrounding ſcenery may ſmile upon my remains." This ſpot is ſituated on the picturesque borders of the lake of St. Lampierre, in the canton of Berne, in Switzerland: it is ſhaded with three ſpreading ſycamores. The centre tree, he deſired might be taken up, and, on his body being there depoſited, immediately replaced*. "Let no monument," (he ſays) "be placed over my grave." At the foot of this tree, his lordſhip adds, he formerly paſſed many hours in ſolitude, contemplating the mutability of human affairs. As a compenſation to the proprietors of the ſpot he deſcribed, he left the ſum of 1000*l*. In another part of his will, he deſires his relations will not wear mourning apparel for him.

"Before the fatal meeting, I have been told," (ſaid the Rev. Mr. Cockburne) "that ſeveral overtures were made to Lord Camelford to produce a reconciliation, but they were rejected with ſome obduracy. The fact was, that his lordſhip had an idea that his antagoniſt was the beſt ſhot in England, and he was therefore extremely fearful leſt his reputation ſhould ſuffer, if he made any conceſſion, however ſlight, to ſuch a perſon."

The following character of his lordſhip comes from the ſame pen.

"Though too violent to thoſe whom he imagined to have wronged him, yet to his acquaintance he was mild, affable, and courteous; a ſtern adverſary, but the kindeſt and moſt generous of friends. Slow and cautious in determining upon any ſtep, and while deliberating, moſt attentive to the advice of others, and eaſily brought over to their opinion; when, however, his reſolutions were taken, it was almoſt impoſſible to turn him once from his purpoſe. That warmth of diſpoſition which prompted ſo unhappily to great improprieties, prompted him

* His body was, agreeably to his lordſhip's dying requeſt, removed about nine months after his death, and depoſited in the very ſpot he deſired.

alſo

alſo to the moſt lively efforts of active benevolence. From the many perſons in this metropolis, from the various receptacles of human miſery, he received unnumbered petitions, and no petition came in vain. He was often the dupe of the crafty and deſigning ſupplicant; but he was more often the reliever of real ſorrow, and the ſoother of unmerited woe. Conſtantly would he make uſe of that influence, which rank and fortune gave him with the government, to interfere in behalf of thoſe malefactors, whoſe crimes had ſubjected them to puniſhment, but in whoſe caſes appeared circumſtances of alleviation. In the worſt moments of his pain, he cried out, that he ſincerely hoped the agonies he then endured would expiate the ſins he had committed. When more at eaſe, he deſired that I would pray by him, and that he might join by ſaying, Amen. This mode of prayer I ſeveral times repeated during the few days it pleaſed God to ſpare him, whenever the laudanum or the pain, had not ſo far confuſed him as to render his aſſent equivocal."

CHAP. VI.

Parliamentary Proceedings reſumed.—An intereſting Statement in the Houſe of Commons of the Trade and Finance of Ireland, in March 1804, *by Mr. Foſter.—Iriſh Bank Reſtriction Bill—State of the public Coinage.—Volunteer Regulations.*

THE houſe having reſolved itſelf into a committee on the Volunteer Regulation Bill, Mr. Francis contended that it would be neceſſary before the committee entered on the proviſions of the bill, to take a view of the ſtate, in order to ſee if theſe proviſions were of ſuch a nature as to meet the danger that threatened it. Gentlemen talked of their danger in very proper terms, that it was imminent, that the criſis was awful, that it was terrible, and tremendous. Gentlemen uſed theſe phraſes, till they were ſo hackneyed that they made no impreſſion. They were not deficient in ſtrong expreſſions about the caſe, but they were extremely cautious about what they ſaid of the cauſes and authors, as if all their duties were comprized in the perſonal prudence of not giving offence. "Take care how you offend this or that great perſon, be guarded in your terms, be delicate in your alluſions;" and all this they ſaid at the approach of the greateſt hazard, and with the proſpect of the greateſt calamities to the nation. Colonel Craufurd declared that he did not intend to ſpeak with the ſmalleſt degree of deſpondency with reſpect to the then ſituation of the nation.

Lord King having alluded to the ſtate of the ſovereign's health, expreſſed a hope that the ſecretary of ſtate would be able to afford that conſolatory information which was given a few days ago in the other houſe of parliament by a perſon high in his majeſty's councils. Lord Hawkeſbury replied, that he had no heſitation to declare what gave him heartfelt conſolation, and what he was ſure muſt afford all their lordſhips, and the country at large, the higheſt ſatisfaction, namely, "that there exiſted at preſent no neceſſary ſuſpenſion whatever of his majeſty's royal functions or authorities." Lords King and Grenville expreſſed the pleaſure which this declaration afforded. The Earl of Carliſle wiſhed to know, if the declaration which had yielded ſo much ſatisfaction was founded on the opinion of the fifth phyſician, ſtated to be in attendance on his majeſty, but who did not ſign the bulletin. Lord Hawkeſbury did not think himſelf called upon to make any further declaration than that which he had already made. Earl Fitzwilliam urged the propriety of a full and explicit diſcloſure. The lord chancellor repeated the declaration made by Lord Hawkeſbury. Earl Caernarvon ſaid, it was of the laſt importance to take care that no miniſter ſhould preſume, even for a moment, to exerciſe the functions of royalty. Every ſtep taken at ſuch a period was an uſurpation. He had heard a great deal about reſponſibility. He knew of no ſuch term. The national ſecurity was what they were now called on to guard, nor were they warranted to truſt ſo ſacred a pledge to the reſponſibility of any individual, or any ſet of men, however reſpectable they might be. A pariſh miniſter, or any ſubordinate character, by taking on himſelf the weight of ſtate affairs, would unqueſtionably encreaſe his own reſponſibility, but would the public ſecurity be encreaſed in equal degree? Lord Grenville ſtated the ſteps which parliament had taken on a former indiſpoſition, on the ſubject, in order to ſhew that they were conſtitutional, and the recorded right and duty of the legiſlature. The lord chancellor ſaid, that in reference to the repeated calls of noble lords that evening, he had no heſitation to declare, that, from all the information which he could collect from any quarter, he knew of no neceſſary ſuſpenſion of his majeſty's royal functions. Here the converſation ended. Mr. Foſter having referred to what he had ſaid on a former day relative to the paper iſſues and exchange of Ireland, obſerved, that the rate of exchange againſt that country had been riſing for ſome years paſt, and had encreaſed ſo rapidly within the laſt five or ſix months, that it was then at 17 or 18 *per cent.* which, as the exchange at *par* was eight one-third, occaſioned a loſs to Ireland of 10 *per cent.* This circumſtance of itſelf, he conceived, would be of ſufficient importance to induce the houſe to take the ſubject into its moſt ſerious conſideration. But when to this it was added, that as

Ireland was become a conſolidated part of the united kingdom, and that its intercourſe with the reſt of the empire was taxed ten *per cent.* by this exorbitant exchange; that its inhabitants could not come to the ſeat of their ſovereign, to their metropolis, or to attend their duty in parliament, or to ſeek redreſs in the courts of juſtice, the dernier appeal being moved hither by the Union; when it ſhould be conſidered alſo that neither Scotland, nor the north of England, much more diſtant from London than Dublin, and many parts of the north of Ireland were, had its intercourſe with the metropolis, were ſubject to any incumbrance, much leſs to ſuch a weighty one, the matter muſt appear highly deſerving of parliamentary inveſtigation. The balance of trade had always been ſuppoſed to regulate the courſe of exchange: it was the faſhion, however, of modern theoriſts to deny it; he would only remark that an unfavourable balance muſt be paid either by the export of produce, or by remittance; and from a conſideration of the actual ſtate of the trade of Ireland, he was the more inclined to give full credit to thoſe theoriſts. The trade of Ireland had experienced a great and unfavourable change in 1800, and in that very year the great riſe began in the exchange. For twenty years previous, the balance eſtimated by the official returns of imports and exports, had been generally a million annually, ſeldom under 500,000*l.* in favour of Ireland: in 1800, it was two millions againſt Ireland; in 1801, 1,700,000*l.*; in 1802, 600,000*l.* and in 1803, one million; ſo that during the laſt four years the balance was againſt her above one million yearly on an average: but to ſteer clear of all cavil about balances of trade, he would diſmiſs them from his conſideration, and look at the ſtate of remittances not connected with trade; and in viewing them it would appear that Ireland muſt ſend out one million three hundred thouſand in the year to pay the charge and intereſt of the public debt ſhe had contracted during the laſt ſix years in England. That ſhe would alſo be obliged to remit to abſentees a large amount, not as ſome ſuppoſed, three millions; he would not go ſo far, but he believed two millions was not beyond the ſum. He would aſk what remittances from England were to counterbalance this demand of three millions and a half; nothing of conſequence, but the public loan of two millions borrowed in England. Here then, putting all conſiderations of balance of trade out of the queſtion, there appeared a certain clear drain of nearly one million three hundred thouſand pounds in remittances alone, unconnected with trade; and for anſwering which, no encreaſed export of produce exiſted. There was a further view in which he would conſider the ſubject. All writers agreed that the true criterion for judging of the relative ſituation of two countries in reſpect to exchange, would be found in the eſtimation of the price of bullion in each, as the exchange would be found even to vary with its relative value. In Ireland, 2*s.* 4*d.* Iriſh currency was given for each guinea, which amounted to a premium of ten *per cent.* Why ſuch a riſe had taken place in the value of gold, was a ſubject worthy of inveſtigation. And though ſeveral cauſes might be aſſigned for it, they would all be found to have originated from the one great ſource, the reſtriction of the iſſue of caſh from the bank. Depreciation of paper was therefore only a ſynonimous term, for the price of gold being raiſed, and in that inſtance it was a more correct expreſſion, inaſmuch as the guinea in Ireland, had not become more than a guinea Britiſh, but the Iriſh note for a guinea was not of value to procure it. Conſidering paper then in that light, two other cauſes had been ſuggeſted for its depreciation; 1ſt, an over-iſſue of it; 2dly, the inſecurity of the country from its diſturbed ſtate; for as to the ſecurity of the bank, no doubt had ever been entertained upon that ſubject. No bank in Europe was eſtabliſhed on firmer grounds; nor, he believed, conducted with greater ability and integrity. But he would inſiſt that theſe cauſes, and every other which had been ſuggeſted, all ſprung out of the grand and original cauſe of all, the reſtriction on the iſſue of gold; a meaſure which was the more to be lamented in Ireland, from the peculiar manner in which it affected that country. At the time it was impoſed, Scotland and England had two common circulating mediums, gold and bank of England paper; Ireland and England had but one common to them, gold; and the reſtriction placed Ireland under ſingular difficulty, it took from her the only circulating medium which ſhe had in common with this country. The reſtriction in Great Britain, when it took her ſpecie, it left the paper, which anſwered every purpoſe as well; but when the ſpecie was locked up by the reſtriction in Ireland, there remained no other circulating medium that would anſwer for the commercial intercourſe of the two kingdoms. He looked forward with ſorrow to the future gloomy proſpect which the money affairs of Ireland held forth; Great Britain, at the end of the war, would be enabled to take off her taxes; but it would be abſolutely neceſſary to impoſe new ones on Ireland, to feed the exhauſting drain. He then moved, that a committee be appointed to enquire into the ſtate of Ireland, as to its circulating paper and ſpecie; its current coin, and the exchange between it and Great Britain. Mr. Brogden was convinced that the bad ſituation of Ireland, was the cauſe of the balance of exchange being ſo much againſt that country; and until that ſituation was ameliorated, he did not think any legiſlative meaſure could produce any good effect. Mr. George Ponſonby ſaid, with regard to the diſtreſs that prevailed

vailed in Ireland on account of the ſtate of circulation, he was ſure no man who had not been in that country could form a juſt conception of it from any deſcription, however accurate. There was not to be found in the country parts of Ireland, except in the north, any deſcription of coin whatſoever, except ſome very bad copper; ſilver or gold there was none. Mr. Corry obſerved, that if the enquiry ſhould be productive of any beneficial conſequences, it would give him the moſt ſincere ſatisfaction; and if it ſhould even fail of the deſired end, it might have the effect, that it would prove to the public the truth of the opinion which had been delivered by the beſt informed men upon the ſubject, viz. that for the evil of the exchange there was no remedy in the power of parliament. It would ſet the public mind at reſt upon the ſubject, and the houſe would have diſcharged its duty with attention, and with due regard to Ireland. Every body would be ſatisfied with the degree of alleviation, if not of remedy which it might produce, as they would be convinced, after full enquiry, that it was not poſſible to do any thing upon it. He then ſtated the meaſures which miniſters had adopted to meet the evil complained of, in order to ſhew that they had devoted the utmoſt attention to it. He obſerved that Mr. Foſter, in ſtating the balance of trade to be againſt Ireland, had argued entirely upon what was called the official value; but it was perfectly well known, that the official value was very conſiderably beneath the real value. It was certainly true, that if gentlemen were guided by the official value of the exports, the balance of trade would appear to be againſt Ireland; whereas if they looked to the real value of the article exported, which certainly was the only true way of knowing whether the balance was for or againſt a country, the balance would appear to be in favour of Ireland. To illuſtrate this point, he would mention one or two inſtances. It was perfectly well known, that the ſecond great article of export from Ireland was proviſions. The barrel of beef exported from Ireland, was valued in the official books at ſixteen ſhillings *per* hundred weight; whereas in fact, the real value, namely, the real price at which it was exported, was twenty-five, thirty, and even forty ſhillings *per* hundred weight. In eſtimating the amount of the exports of a country, it was neceſſary to look to the real value, becauſe that was the amount of the money that came into the country as the price of the article. With regard to pork, which was perfectly well known to be another great article of export from Ireland, the official value was nineteen ſhillings *per* hundred weight; whereas the real ſum at which it was exported was thirty, thirty-three, and even ſometimes up to thirty-five ſhillings *per* hundred weight. The ſame of butter. It was true that the real value of the imports was greater than the official value, but not in ſo great a degree as in the exports. Therefore Ireland was by no means in that deſperate ſituation, which had been repreſented by ſome gentlemen. Mr. Foſter, in reply, obſerved, that he had taken his comparative view of the trade, on the official value of both imports and exports equally, ſo that he applied the ſame valuation to each, which, whether juſt or not, in amount anſwered the purpoſe of compariſon fully. He then ſtated, in one inſtance, the uncorrectneſs which might attend the varying from it. Cattle, which were exported in 1803 from Ireland to Great Britain, to the number of forty-two thouſand, were valued by the Iriſh officer at twelve pounds; and when they got acroſs the channel, the Britiſh officer ſet them down at ſix pounds, was it ſuppoſed they loſt half their value on their paſſage by ſea-ſickneſs? Lord King flatly contended, that a great part of the injury done to the circulation of Ireland, was to be aſcribed to the influence which the army agents had over the houſes of inferior bankers. They paid the troops and the yeomanry through that medium, and by ſo doing forced a vaſt influx of paper upon the country; and by a long chain of connexion with thoſe different reſervoirs, each party made profit to himſelf, by which the nation was materially injured. The exiſtence of an extraordinary depreciation of the value of paper was admitted; the only difference of opinion was as to the facts, which might have been the cauſe of ſuch a ſtate; he was therefore decidedly in favour of an enquiry. Lord Caſtlereagh was of opinion, that gentlemen were diſpoſed to attach more evil to the circulation of paper, than it really would admit; and that the iſſues, however exceſſive, could not, without other cauſes, account for the riſe of the exchange. The great diſparity between gold and ſilver was certainly allowed; but the difficulty was to preſerve the gold in circulation, where every perſon was ſo eager to hoard it. The ſtate of the two countries was extremely different. In England, no perſon would loſe a bargain by inſiſting on payment in gold; but in Ireland, in many parts of it at leaſt, there was no buying without gold. He would willingly ſecond any meaſure that could promiſe a rational hope of producing greater confidence in the paper circulation of that country.

Mr. Dick was decidedly of opinion that the ſituation of Ireland was ſuch, that nothing but the reſtoration of tranquillity, and the gallantry of this country to that in money tranſactions, could effectually remedy the evils complained of. Sir John Newport doubted whether it was in the power of the legiſlature to apply any effectual remedy, until the original cauſes of the evil was removed. The moſt important of which could not be effected by legiſlation; of thoſe he regarded the abſentee rents as none

none of the leaſt important. Another cauſe of the depreſſion he aſcribed to the ſtate in which Ireland then ſtood, in regard to the threatened invaſion; and the neceſſary defence againſt the projects of a foreign enemy, as well as its own internal commotions. In ſuch a ſtate, while the men were employed in its defence, they often thought it prudent to place their wives and children in a place of ſecurity, and to convey what moveable wealth they could command in the ſame manner, or apply it in ſome other country to the ſupport of their family. But when the people of Ireland ſhould come to have the ſame confidence in their money tranſactions, and in the ſtability of their circulating medium, as Scotland and the north of England poſſeſſed, the circumſtances ſo unfavourable at the time to the exchange of that country, would diminiſh. He hoped the committee, if appointed, would not diſſolve, till they had placed the bank of of Ireland in ſuch a ſituation as to enable them to have ſome controul over the private banks, and to check, in ſome meaſure, the iſſue of paper by every private perſon who choſe to ſtart up and call himſelf a banker, without any other qualification or ſecurity but the power of adding to the paper currency of the country. Lord Archibald Hamilton deplored the evil, and expreſſed a hope that he would be able to congratulate the houſe and the country on the reſtoration of that confidence in the money tranſactions of Ireland, which was ſo neceſſary to its intereſts.

Mr. Alexander wiſhed that there was a uniform circulation in both countries, whether of gold, or of paper. He contended there was no ground for any charge upon the bank of Ireland, the directors of which acted from the beſt motives. Mr. Fox denied that the legiſlature could not interfere with advantage in regard to the rate of exchange between other countries and this. About thirty years ago the legiſlature had interfered in regard to the ſtate of exchange between this country and Hamburg; at that period the coin of this country was ſo debaſed, that it was received at inferior value at Hamburgh. The legiſlature thought proper to interfere, and to give the coin of this country a nominal value equal to that of Hamburgh; which, ſo far from being attended with any diſadvantage, had the deſired effect. In reſpect to the currency of Ireland, it was not the guinea that was raiſed, but the paper that was depreciated. The object therefore ought to be, to adopt ſome effectual meaſure to ſupport the paper currency of Ireland, and for that purpoſe to find out the cauſe of the depreciation.

The motion was agreed to, and a committee appointed.

The houſe having reſolved itſelf into a committee of the whole houſe on the Volunteer Regulation Bill, Mr. Secretary Yorke deſcribed the clauſes which his majeſty's miniſters intended to propoſe, in order to bring the bill to a greater degree of perfection. The firſt amendment which he meant to offer was, that the proviſions of the act ſhould only extend to Great Britain. The next clauſe was to remove the doubts reſpecting the election of officers, which, in his opinion, did not appear neceſſary, becauſe he had never heard any perſon doubt the power of the king to commiſſion, or to empower the lord lieutenant to commiſſion; nor his majeſty's power to reject thoſe who might be recommended even by the lord-lieutenant. All the difference was, where there were expreſs regulations upon the ſubject. He knew of no corps but one, the London and Weſtminſter light horſe, as being thus circumſtanced. Nobody, he underſtood, could, by the conſtitution of that corps, be admitted a member of it, without the king's approbation; and if they had a power to recommend officers, they could be rejected. But when on actual ſervice they had no ſuch power, for then all roſe by ſeniority, from the loweſt to the higheſt officer, who in that caſe was ſucceeded in the vacancy by the ſenior private: ſo peculiar was their conſtitution, and as he found them ſo he wiſhed to leave them. It would doubtleſs be highly impolitic and highly abſurd to introduce perſons into the ſituation of officers who were not reſpectable, nor agreeable to the corps; nor indeed was the lord lieutenant bound to ſend in every name. He could ſee no harm reſpecting committees, their object was merely for pecuniary matters, and whenever they had attempted to go beyond that limit they were reſtrained. The next point was the mode of enforcing regularity. He was adverſe to all clauſes for fines and impriſonment, as being againſt the very principle of volunteering. He thought the power at the time poſſeſſed by the officers, was ſufficient for that purpoſe. The beſt mode of promoting their regularity was to invite them to permanent duty. Clauſes of that nature might have a tendency to diminiſh the number of the volunteers, but it would be againſt the principle of the Defence Act itſelf; for it was ſaid to the people, "If you come out, the operations of this act, as compulſory upon you, ſhall be ſuſpended." But if, when they had come out, compulſion ſhould be made, might they not begin to think that good faith was not kept with them. Another clauſe would be to deſcribe more accurately the way in which diſmiſſed volunteers, or volunteers withdrawing themſelves, were to be ſubject to the ballot. All exemptions were to be on the ſame footing, namely, that no man was to be exempted, unleſs he ſerved twenty-four days. A liſt was to be made out of thoſe diſmiſſed and withdrawn. Another clauſe would go to ſecure to adjutants and quarter-maſters the benefit of half pay, as in the militia: this was to be followed by one to provide a remedy

a remedy againſt thoſe who ſhould ſell or make away with their arms; not that he had any complaint on that ſubject, or any particular reaſon to expect any. A place was alſo to be appointed by the officers to depoſit the arms, in the ſame manner as in the Defence Act. The expence of this was to be paid by the receiver general of the land tax, and was not to exceed ſuch a ſum, as the board of ordnance ſhould deem ſufficient. He ſhould alſo propoſe a clauſe to remove doubts reſpecting the power of the commanding officer to diſmiſs thoſe guilty of improper conduct; though, for his own part, he had no doubt but the power was then in exiſtence. And in caſe any diſpute ſhould ariſe in conſequence of a commanding officer refuſing a diſcharge, after due notice of the intention to reſign, an appeal would be granted to the lord lieutenant, who would have power to decide in a ſummary way. The right of withdrawing exiſted only when the volunteers were in a diſembodied ſtate, previous to invaſion, and not on permanent duty. He hoped that Mr. Pitt would ſtate any clauſes he had to propoſe, and that any other gentleman who had any to offer, would ſubmit the ſubſtance of them, that the houſe might be prepared for the diſcuſſion when the bill ſhould be printed. Mr. Pitt ſaid he ſhould firſt notice that point, which with him was the moſt important object in his mind, in the ſituation in which the country then ſtood; namely, to render the volunteers as much accompliſhed as poſſible in diſcipline. Miniſters had given the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that they would enforce this meaſure. But he doubted whether it would not be neceſſary to inſert a clauſe in the bill for that purpoſe, in order to have the thing done as effectually and diſtinctly as poſſible. He was aware there was a clauſe in the bill of the preceding year for that purpoſe, which gave power to his majeſty to aſſemble the volunteers on the appearance of invaſion, or a general appearance of actual invaſion, as it was generally deſcribed, for the enemy might be hovering about, apparently for the purpoſe of invaſion, for many months, nay, for years; and when that expreſſion of the appearance of invaſion was of doubtful conſtruction, and peculiarly ſo as that conſtruction governed the queſtion whether ſo large and efficient a body of men as the volunteers ſhould or ſhould not be put in a ſituation in which they could beſt acquire perfect diſcipline. It was the practice to call out the militia in time of war, and that power was not ſpecifically provided for, but was under the general authority which the crown had derived from the ſame ſentence he had already quoted, that of actual invaſion or imminent danger thereof; that was the authority by which the militia were embodied, and put on permanent duty, as they always were in time of war; and he wiſhed ſome principle of this kind to be applied to the volunteers, at leaſt that they might be invited, as many of them had done laſt year, to take permanent duty for a while in certain places. Whether the invaſion was to take place in ſix weeks or in ſix months, the country ſhould be prepared, and therefore he was of opinion, that the volunteers ſhould be aſſembled, and ſhould march and be put on pay and permanent duty, where they ſhould agree to do ſo, for the purpoſe of improvement in their military exerciſe; and he would inſert in the bill words for the purpoſe of giving the crown the power of ſo calling out that force in any point it might be thought adviſeable, and then the volunteers would be under preciſely the ſame regulations as the militia in that reſpect, although it might not be neceſſary to continue them in that ſtate ſo long.

As to the means of inſtructing volunteers by field officers and adjutants from the regular ſervice, he did not intend to propoſe any clauſe to that effect, he merely threw it out for the conſideration of miniſters; and if he did not ſee more diſpoſition than had been ſhewn by miniſters to make ſome proviſion for that purpoſe, he ſhould feel it his duty to bring forward a meaſure of that nature for the conſideration of parliament. As it ſhould be deſirable that the volunteers ſhould have the beſt inſtruction they poſſibly could have, and therefore whether it was better to be taught by thoſe who had a perfect knowledge of the things learned, or by thoſe who knew it imperfectly, or by thoſe who did not know it at all, was a thing which he could not argue, becauſe his mind knew not how to argue that upon which it was unable to conceive the application of an argument; ſince nothing could be matter of rational argument, in which it was inconceivable how a doubt could be entertained upon it; and as to the matter of œconomy upon a point ſo eſſential as that of knowledge to the volunteers, in order to make them efficient in ſervice, and moſt eſſential to the ſafety of their country; and when he conſidered that this œconomy involved a queſtion only of a few ſhillings per man, to enable ſuch an immenſe body as the volunteers to be of imminent ſervice to their country; and to withhold the inſtruction which could only make them thus uſeful, for the ſake of ſaving a few ſhillings, was a ſpecies of œconomy which did not enter into his underſtanding.

He knew it was very popular at preſent to ſay, that the eſſence of the volunteer ſyſtem was to leave every thing to voluntary exertion; that there was no neceſſity to enact any thing; that the zeal of the volunteers would do every thing; that there was nothing to fear from the want of diſcipline. Much of this ſort of doctrine might be at that moment popular, but it was a ſpecies of popularity which a man who loved his country, and who gravely conſidered its true intereſt, would not ſeek. He knew the volunteers were a body of men open to good ſenſe,

ſenſe, and he was of opinion they might eaſily be perſuaded in the bulk to aſſent to ſome meaſures of compulſion. The amendments were then formally agreed to, and the bill ordered to be printed.

Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the committee upon the Iriſh duties. Mr. Corry touched on each article, in order to ſhew that the bill was calculated to promote the convenience of the merchants, and to facilitate the collection of the revenue. Mr. Foſter hoped that the duty upon the export of linen, which was ſo much complained of in Ireland, was abandoned. Mr. Corry replied, that he ſhould be very happy to have it in his power to ſay that it had been found practicable to take off that duty; but Mr. Foſter himſelf muſt be ſenſible that it could not be taken off conſiſtently with the principles adopted by the houſe in the laſt two ſeſſions of parliament. Mr. Alexander was of opinion that the north of Ireland ſhould not be exempted from any of thoſe duties which were neceſſary to ſupport the government, more than any other part of the empire. Lord Caſtlereagh did not wiſh that it ſhould go abroad that the linen trade was taxed more than it could really bear. The report was agreed to.

On the order in the houſe of lords on the 5th of March, to reſolve into a committee on the Duke of York's eſtate bill. The lord chancellor obſerved that relative to a bill of ſuch a peculiar nature, his majeſty's concurrence in the proceedings was more eſpecially neceſſary. He therefore roſe for the purpoſe of informing the houſe, that he had the honour the preceding day of an interview with his majeſty, and which had been repeated that day; that he had informed his majeſty of the contents of the bill, and that his majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to ſay, with reſpect to the ſame, that, as far as his majeſty's intereſt was concerned, their lordſhip's might proceed with the bill. The bill paſſed the committee.

On the ſecond reading of the bank of Ireland Reſtriction Bill, Lord King pointed out the progreſſive encreaſe of the iſſues of paper in Ireland; when the amount iſſued was comparatively low, the rate of exchange was in favour of Ireland; as the iſſue encreaſed, ſo did the unfavourable ſtate of the exchange. Lord Grenville remarked, that it was as clear as mathematical demonſtration could render it, that the depreciated ſtate of the currency of Ireland was owing to the exceſſive iſſue of paper. Lord Hawkeſbury obſerved, that the great argument upon which the whole ſuperſtructure was founded, was, that the exceſſive iſſue of paper, and the accumulation of provincial banks, proceeded principally from the reſtriction of the national bank. That the latter part of this propoſition was not well founded, he could prove from documents which ſet forth, that in the year 1793, the number of provincial banks was at leaſt four hundred; and that in a given period after the reſtriction was laid on, they were in number from three hundred and fifty to three hundred and ſixty. He contended, that the paper circulation did not drive the coin out of the country. A diminution of the caſh of the country, to whatever degree it might occaſionally take place, was attributable to very different cauſes; it might ariſe from the balance of trade and of payments, which, as they were in favour or againſt a country, tended either to extract caſh, or to cauſe an influx of it. The demands for coin at the mint were, during his majeſty's reign, and more eſpecially the latter part of it, incomparably greater than at any former periods: during the preſent reign, the coinages exceeded 64,000,000*l.*; in his late majeſty's reign, 11,000,000*l.*; and in that of king William's reign, 10,000,000*l.*; for the laſt twenty years 32,000,000*l.* were coined. So much for the amount of ſpecie raiſed and circulated within the country, at different periods. In 1793, the quantity of paper in circulation was conſiderably greater than at the time he was ſpeaking. Certain evils were then felt and complained of, and legiſlative interference then took place; but that was eventually productive of more harm than good.

The Earl of Caernarvon inſiſted, that as long as the payments at the Bank continued to be made in paper, and not in ſpecie, the conſequence inevitably would be that the ſpecie would go out of the country; and though it might return in the ſhape of bullion, it would not return in the ſhape of circulating medium. Lord Auckland contended, that more money had flowed into Ireland in the courſe of the five preceding years from this country, than had been drawn from it, in conſequence of the loans which ſhe had made in this country; and the balance of trade, if carefully examined, would not, he was ſure, be found to be againſt Ireland.

The lord chancellor ſaid he knew very well in the natural courſe of things, the Bank had a right to give caſh for all the paper they had iſſued, as ſoon as payment ſhould be demanded of them; but parliament having, in its wiſdom he would ſay, interfered with their concerns, ſaid, "You ſhall not give payment in ſpecie, you ſhall only pay one bank note with another;" and it then became legal for them to withhold payment for any notes, as far as they might think proper ſo to do. This might be fairly ſaid to be an inducement to that company to enlarge their paper circulation. The reſult, however, ſhewed, that after having for ſuch a length of time had a reſtriction upon their caſh payments, and under all the circumſtances of the times, they had only extended their floating paper from about twelve millions (what it might be averaged at for ſome time before the reſtriction took place) to about eighteen millions, the then eſtimated amount. The

ſame train of reaſoning, however, could not be applied to country bankers, as was applicable to the bank of England, or the bank of Ireland. They were not authorized by law to refuſe caſh for any of their paper. They might get rid of an arreſt in the firſt inſtance, by pleading in a court of law that they had made a tender in payment of national bank notes; but their bodies would be afterwards liable to incarceration, if they did not procure caſh to the amount of the bank notes in queſtion. The bill was ordered to be committed. The houſe then reſolved itſelf into the ſaid committee; in which their lordſhips went nearly over the ſame ground of argument as on the ſecond reading. The bill was ordered to be reported.

On the report of the Volunteer Regulation Bill, Mr. Fox remarked, that if there was any limitation in the power of the commanding officer to diſmiſs a member of his corps, he ought to be bound to aſſign his reaſon for it. It might be ſaid that a member improperly diſmiſſed might bring his action againſt the officer who had ſo abuſed his power; but even a declaration could not be framed, unleſs a cauſe of diſmiſſal was ſtated. Mr. Pitt thought, that if the houſe were of opinion that the power ſhould be limited, there could be no doubt but that the commander ought to be obliged to aſſign his reaſon for diſmiſſing a member; becauſe otherwiſe, the limitation would be abſurd. The clauſe was then amended, by inſerting the words (after aſcertaining the power of the commander to diſmiſs a member) "for miſconduct, diſobedience of orders, non-attendance, inſufficiency, or any other ſufficient cauſe." Mr. Raine then inſiſted, that the commander of a corps diſmiſſing any member, ſhould be obliged to aſſign his reaſons for ſo doing, which was negatived. The ſubſequent clauſes were agreed to without any debate.

Sir John Wrotteſley called the attention of the houſe to the inſurrection in Ireland: he referred to the diſcuſſions which had taken place on this ſubject, and the material difference of opinion amongſt his majeſty's miniſters, as to where the blame was imputable. Upon any motion of enquiry relative to Ireland, it was formerly objected, that the parliament of that country were competent to the management of their own affairs. The Union removed that objection. It could not be doubted that great ſacrifices were made by the members of Ireland, and he hoped no member of the Britiſh parliament approved of that meaſure, without firſt reflecting on that important duty he took upon himſelf, and without a determination to feel an equal regard for the intereſts of that country on all occaſions. Theſe intereſts were formerly the excluſive care of the Iriſh legiſlature; their diſcuſſions were free from the weighty and important conſiderations of foreign policy, and their whole attention was directed to improve the internal ſtate of their country, and to keep a jealous and watchful eye over the government, in whoſe hands their lives and properties were placed. The honourable baronet then moved for a committee of the whole houſe to enquire into the conduct of the government of Ireland, relative to the inſurrection of the 23d of July. He then ſtated at ſome length the beneficial effects that would ariſe from ſuch an enquiry.

Lord Caſtlereagh defended the conduct of his majeſty's miniſters, and entered into a recital of the whole, in order to ſhew that no blame could attach to them. Mr. Canning ſpoke in favour of the motion. He obſerved, that a pamphlet had been juſt publiſhed, which was very much read. The publication alluded to ſtated, "That the rebels had on this occaſion thirty-ſix thouſand four hundred ball cartridges, ſcaling ladders, pikes, rebel uniforms and colours. Eight thouſand copies of a proclamation of the proviſional government, &c. and that with regard to pikes, the mob having been ſupplied from the depôt, there then remained the trifling number of between ſix and ſeven thouſand pikes, &c." When the houſe would ſee on what authority this pamplet reſted, they would be inclined to take up the matter with all the ſerioufneſs imaginable, he would then ſtate who was the author of it: it was not a ſpeculative opinion, or a vague aſſertion of an individual, who had no ſource of information on the ſubject on which he treated; it was neither more nor leſs than the ſpeech of his majeſty's attorney general in Ireland, of the accuracy of which he apprehended miniſters themſelves could not affect to entertain a doubt. It had of late become a faſhion in this country to run down the opinion of the attorney general's law; but he would aſk miniſters if they were ready in like manner to run down the attorney general's facts? Mr. Archdall thought it was not fair to attach blame to a government, becauſe all that could have been done under other circumſtances had not been effected. The Iriſh government could not foreſee the murder of Lord Kilwarden; becauſe they had, previous to that event, no explicit intelligence of the actual deſigns of the inſurgents.

Mr. Dawſon remarked, that if the object of the motion was to make an attack on miniſters here, through the medium of Iriſh affairs, he would proteſt againſt ſuch an inſidious mode of proceeding. It was degrading to the character of the people of Ireland, to make uſe of them as a vehicle for the introduction of ſuch an ungenerous mode of proceeding, in an attack on men to whom the ſovereign had entruſted the management of public affairs. It was ſporting with the feelings of a brave, and a high-ſpirited people, to make a ſtalking horſe of their pretended rights merely as a pretext for

bringing

bringing forward a favourite ſubject of oppoſition. If, on the other hand, it was the object of the honourable baronet to prevent the repetition of paſt errors, by pointing out exiſting abuſes, and by recommending the diſmiſſal of the lord lieutenant of Ireland, the motion was not leſs obnoxious.

Lord Temple remarked, that the introduction of the motion would afford ſatisfaction to the people of Ireland, as it would ſhew them that what was connected with their ſafety and intereſt, were ſubjects of the deepeſt intereſt to the Imperial parliament. If blame could be clearly brought home to the government of Ireland; if it could be ſhewn that they were ſhamefully deficient in foreſight and precaution, it was impoſſible for miniſters here to free themſelves from a certain ſhare of the blame attached to ſuch criminal neglect.

General Tarleton argued in favour of the motion, as it was certain that the Iriſh government was taken by ſurprize; it would be neceſſary then to trace the cauſe of it to its true ſource. It was impoſſible to impute blame to the general officer (General Fox) who had the chief command. His known character and long experience, from an early period of life, precluded any want of promptitude or firmneſs on his part. Mr. Secretary Yorke ſtated the grounds on which his brother (Lord Hardwicke) accepted the lord lieutenancy of Ireland. It was with a view to conciliate that nation, and to allay the heats and animoſities of the different parties in that country. He then ſtated the ſteps which his lordſhip had taken to bring about thoſe ſalutary meaſures. After which he proceeded to detail the rebellion of the 23d of July, for the purpoſe of exculpating the Iriſh adminiſtration of any want of vigilance or promptitude on that diſaſtrous occaſion. Mr. Fox declared himſelf an enemy to the practice of men in office reſiſting an enquiry, by employing arguments, founded on partial extracts from papers and documents, not in the poſſeſſion, or perhaps within the reach of members of parliament. Such partial extracts, he contended, only contained what was in favour of the miniſterial argument, while every thing of a contrary tendency, or which could explain the parts that were inſiſted upon, were altogether withheld. "Let us then," ſaid he, "have the whole of the papers laid before us, or let us have none." The lord lieutenant could not complain for want of information; he had been two years in Ireland, he had an opportunity of obſerving the ſtate and the ſentiments of the people, and he had 60,000*l.* a year to ſpend in ſecret ſervice money, to procure intelligence. He was able therefore, to diſcriminate information, and to diſtinguiſh true from falſe. If the lord lieutenant did believe that a riſing was to take place, why did he leave the caſtle, and go to the Phœnix Park? Surely, if there was danger, his preſence at the ſeat of government would have given confidence to the loyal, and have inſpired vigour into the operations of the civil and military power. The ſtate of Dublin that day, indeed, preſented a moſt lamentable picture of a city deſerted by all the efficient members of its government; and if danger was apprehended, never was conduct ſo unaccountable. The lord lieutenant retires to his villa! the commander in chief goes to Kilmainham! The lord mayor goes to his villa alſo! The ſuperintending magiſtrate, alderman Alexander, tells his conſtables to be in readineſs, and drives out of town to his villa! What was to be inferred from this, but that nobody believed that any riot or rebellion would take place? Miniſters had ſhewn that they would not be behind hand with their neighbours in taxing the pockets of their fellow ſubjects, but they wiſhed to tax their faith beyond all example. After ſuch a train of facts, how could any man affect to ſay, that the Iriſh government had not been taken by ſurprize? Mr. Dallas ſaid, as to the Iriſh government having been taken by ſurprize, there was no colourable ground for any ſuch imputation. Doctor Lawrence remarked, as the darkneſs of the night in which the inſurrection had broke out had been particularly mentioned, he ſhould juſt obſerve, that notwithſtanding the darkneſs was repreſented to be ſo great as to prevent a perſon from ſeeing his hand before him, a man had been hanged upon the ſole evidence of one, who depoſed, that he had diſtinctly ſeen him from a two pair of ſtairs window. Lord de Blaquiere declared, that the more carefully he conſidered the ſubject the more he was convinced of the neceſſity of enquiry. Mr. Windham was of the ſame opinion. Colonel Hutchinſon ſpoke in favour of the enquiry; on which the houſe divided,

For the enquiry	- -	82
Againſt it	- - -	178
Majority	-	96

Amongſt our domeſtic occurrences, it is with regret that we relate the following:—An alarming fire broke out on Wedneſday morning the 28th of March, in a diſtillery of Meſſrs. Calvert, Clarke, and Co. at Vauxhall. It happened by the burſting of the great ſtill, which contained ten thouſand gallons of waſh, which inſtantly was inflamed, and threatened the immenſe eſtabliſhment, as well as the neighbourhood, with ruin. It was very near the ſecond ſtill, which was charged with a quantity of ſpirit above proof, the explotion of which would have communicated to four hundred tuns of manufactured gin, almoſt equal in ſtrength to ſpirits of wine. The preſence of mind, courage, and activity of two men attending the ſtill, ſaved the deſtruction of the whole, by throwing a quantity of grains into the ſtroke hole, and ſmothering the flames.

flames. Were it not for this prudent act, four hundred tuns of ſpirit, upon which the duties had been paid, with all the premiſes, would have been deſtroyed. The proprietors were inſured for between 50 and 60,000*l.* in the Britiſh and Imperial fire offices. The actual damage was eſtimated at from twelve to 15,000*l.*; as half of the waſh ran into a barge, which lay cloſe to the houſe.

We ſhall now take a ſurvey of the ſtate of our trade and manufactures in the month of March. Our readers will ſee by the debates in the houſe of commons, on the Iriſh Bank Reſtriction Bill (ſee p. 348, &c.) the ſtate of the exchange, and circulating medium of Ireland; as alſo the coinage of money in Great Britain in the reigns of Queen Anne, Kings William, George the Firſt, Second, and Third.

The London Dock Company agreed to add, by a new ſubſcription, 360,000*l.* ſterling to their former capital of 1,200,000*l.* in order to compleat the dock and warehouſes.

On the 8th of March the Earl of Hardwicke, accompanied by ſeveral of the great officers of ſtate, laid the foundation ſtone of the new bank of Ireland, on the ſite of the late houſe of commons, in College Green, Dublin.

Several tons of dollars were ſent down to Birmingham, by the canal, to be converted into crown pieces, at leaſt to receive the ſame impreſſions, by the machinery of Mr. Boulton, in order to leave as ſmall a temptation as poſſible to export, or melt them down, as bullion. The dollars in currency in the courſe of the month of which we are now treating, weighed four hundred and two grains; the proper weight of the crown piece four hundred and ſixty-four grains.

The directors of the Eaſt India Company hired eight extra ſhips, bearing in all four thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-eight tons, for the outward voyage of the ſucceeding ſeaſon.

A variety of articles of Britiſh manufacture were in preparation to be exported to America, and to the north of Europe.

CHAP. VII.

Brilliant Victories in the Eaſt Indies.—Curious State Paper.—Defeat of the Candians.—Capture of Goree by the French.—Recapture of that Iſland by the Engliſh.—Weſt Indies.—America.

AS a war raged in the Eaſt Indies, and as we had to contend with powerful confederates in that quarter, the public mind was of courſe impatient to learn the reſult of the plans which the governor general had propoſed to follow on the opening of the campaign. This impatience was gratified in the beginning of April with the official intelligence of the moſt brilliant victories ever obtained in that quarter by Generals Welleſley and Lake, over the combined forces of Dowlut Raw Scindia, and the rajah of Bezar. The battle was fought on the 23d of September 1803, near Alljuntypaſs, and ninety pieces of cannon were taken from the enemy. As this victory was very important, and obſtinately contended, we ſhall give the particulars of it as ſtated in the honourable major General Welleſley's letter to his excellency the governor general, &c. Having enumerated the names of the officers and regiments by whom he was joined—"On the 23d of September I arrived," (ſays General Welleſley) "at Naulaiah, and there received a report that Scindia and the rajah of Bezar had moved off in the morning with their cavalry, and that the infantry were about to follow, but were ſtill in camp, at the diſtance of about ſix miles from the ground where I intended to encamp. It was obvious that the attack was no longer to be delayed, and, having provided for the ſecurity of my baggage and ſtores at Naulaiah, I marched on to attack the enemy. I found the whole combined army of Scindia, and the rajah of Bezar, encamped on the bank of the Kiſtria river, nearly on the ground which I had been informed they occupied. Their right, which conſiſted entirely of cavalry, was about Bakerdum, and extended to their corps of infantry, which were encamped in the neighbourhood of Affye. Although I came firſt in front of their right, I determined to attack their left, as the defeat of their corps of infantry was likely to be moſt effectual; accordingly I marched round to their left flank, covering the march of the column of infantry with the Britiſh cavalry in the rear, and by the Mahratta and Myſore cavalry on the right flank. We paſſed the river Kiſtria at a ford beyond the enemy's left flank; and I formed the infantry immediately in two lines, with the Britiſh cavalry as a reſerve in the third, in an open ſpace between that river and a nullah running parallel to it. The Mahratta and Myſore cavalry occupied the ground beyond the Kiſtria on our left, and kept in check a large body of the enemy's cavalry, which had followed our march from the right of their own poſition. The enemy had altered the poſition of their infantry previous to our attack; it was no longer, as at firſt, along the Kiſtria, but extended from that river acroſs to the village of Affye, upon the nullah which was upon our right. We attacked them immediately, and the troops advanced under a very hot fire from cannon, the execution of which was terrible. The piquets of the infantry, and the ſeventy-fourth regiment, which were on the right of

The Death of Lieut. Colonel Maxwell in the Engagement with the Mahratta Forces

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of the firſt and ſecond lines, ſuffered particularly from the fire of the guns on the left of the enemy's poſition near Aſſye. The enemy's cavalry alſo made an attempt to charge the ſeventy-fourth regiment, at the moment when they were moſt expoſed to this fire; but they were cut up by the Britiſh cavalry, which moved on at that moment. At length the enemy's line gave way in all directions, and the Britiſh cavalry cut in among their broken infantry; but ſome of their corps went off in good order, and a fire was kept up on our troops from many of the guns from which the enemy had been at firſt driven, by individuals who had been paſſed by the line, under the ſuppoſition that they were dead. Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, with the Britiſh cavalry, charged a large body of infantry, which had retreated and was formed again, in which operation he was killed; and ſome time elapſed before we could put an end to the ſtraggling fire, that was kept up by individuals from the guns from which the enemy were driven. Their cavalry alſo, which had been hovering round throughout the action, was ſtill near us. At length, when the laſt formed body of the infantry gave way, the whole went off, and left in our hands ninety pieces of cannon. This victory, which was certainly complete, has, however, coſt us very dear in officers and men. I cannot write in too ſtrong terms of the conduct of the troops; they advanced in the beſt order, and with the greateſt ſteadineſs, under a moſt deſtructive fire from a body of infantry far ſuperior in numbers, who appeared determined to contend with them to the laſt, and who were driven from their guns only by the bayonet; and, notwithſtanding the numbers of the enemy's cavalry, and the repeated demonſtrations they made of their intentions to charge, they were kept at a diſtance by the infantry. The officers commanding brigades, nearly all thoſe of the ſtaff, and the mounted officers of the infantry, had their horſes ſhot under them*.

In the general orders on the ſubject of this victory, the governor and council ſignified their intention of preſenting honorary colours to the cavalry and infantry, and of cauſing the names of all who fell to be inſerted in a monument to be erected at Fort William.

On the 9th of April, a Gazette Extraordinary was publiſhed, containing diſpatches which had been received at the India Houſe, from Bombay. They related to the operations of General Lake before Agra, under date of the 10th, 12th, 14th, and 18th of October. In the laſt of theſe diſpatches, addreſſed to Marquis Welleſley, the general announces the capture of Agra in theſe words:

"My Lord, I have the pleaſure to inform you, that the important fortreſs of Agra, termed by the natives the Key of Hindoſtan, capitulated laſt night (October 17), and the garriſon, conſiſting of between five and ſix thouſand men, marched out at noon this day (October 18) when the place was immediately occupied by our troops, under the command of Brigadier General Macdonald. The only terms required by the garriſon were, protection to their perſons, and private property."

On the 21ſt of April, diſpatches were received at the India Houſe, by way of Bagdad, which were publiſhed in the London Gazette. By theſe diſpatches it appears, that the commander in chief obtained a moſt complete and glorious victory on the 1ſt of October 1803, at Caſſowly, over a large body of the enemy. The particulars of this affair is thus detailed by General Lake himſelf, in a letter to his excellency Marquis Welleſley.

"After a forced march of twenty-five miles, which was performed by the cavalry in little more than ſix hours, I came up with the enemy, who appeared to be upon their retreat, and in ſuch confuſion, that I was tempted to try the effect of an attack upon him with the cavalry alone. By cutting the embankment of a large reſervoir of water, the enemy had rendered the road very difficult to paſs, which cauſed a conſiderable delay in the advance of the cavalry. Of this the enemy had availed himſelf to take an advantageous poſt, having his right upon a rivulet, which we had to croſs, and

* *Liſt of Killed and Wounded in the Action of Sept.* 23, 1803.

Killed. 19th light dragoons, lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, and capt. Bligh.—4th regiment of N. C. capt. Mackay.—5th ditto, lieutenants Bonomi and Macleod. His majeſty's 74th regiment, captains Macleod, Ayton, Dyce, and Maxwell. Lieutenants J. Campbell, Campbell Campbell, T. Grant, Morris, Nelſon, and volunteer Moore.—His majeſty's 78th regiment, lieut. Douglas.—1ſt battalion 2d regiment N. I. lieut. Brown.—Artillery, captains Fowler and Steel.—Lieutenants Lindſay and Griffiths.—N. B. Europeans killed and wounded, including artillery and officers, are upwards of 600.—Of the natives, no account has yet been received, but ſuppoſed about 900.

Wounded. 19th light dragoons, captains Catchcart and Sale. Lieut. Wilſon.—4th regiment N.C. lieut. Paley, and cornet Meredith.—5th ditto, capt. Colebrooke.—7th ditto, capt. Magregor.—His majeſty's 74th regiment, major Swinton, capt. lieut. Moore; lieutenants Shawe, Main, Macmurdo, and Langlands; enſign Keerman.—His majeſty's 78th regiment, capt. Mackenzie; lieutenants Larkins and Kinlock; enſign Bethune.—1ſt battalion, 2d regiment N. I. lieut. Walker.—1ſt battalion 8th regiment N. I. lieutenants Fair, Davie, Fenwick, and Hunter.—1ſt battalion 12th regiment N. I. lieut. col. Macleod, and major Macally; lieutenants Hervey, Smith, Decruz, and Boodler.—1ſt battalion 10th regiment N. I. lieut. Pahry.—His majeſty's 74th regiment, 124 killed, and 270 wounded. Ditto, 78th ditto, 29 killed, and 76 wounded.—Total killed, 153.—Total wounded, 346.

(A true copy.) (Signed)
J. GRANT, Secretary to Government.

his left upon the village of Saſwaree; the whole of his front was amply provided with artillery. I was prevented from diſcovering this change in the ſituation of the enemy by the quantity of duſt, which, when once clear of the water, totally obſcured him from our ſight; I therefore proceeded in the execution of my deſign, by which I hoped to prevent his retreat into the hills, and ſecure his guns; directing the advanced guard, and firſt brigade commanded by Colonel Vandeleur, upon the point where I obſerved the enemy in motion, but which proved to be the left of his new poſition: the remainder of the cavalry I ordered to attack in ſucceſſion, as ſoon as they could form after paſſing the rivulet. The charge of the advanced guard under Major Griffith, and that of the firſt brigade led by Colonel Vandeleur, was made with much gallantry; the enemy's line was forced, and the cavalry penetrated into the village; they ſtill however continued to be expoſed to a moſt galling fire of cannon and muſquetry, which, as it was impoſſible under ſuch circumſtances to form the ſquadron for a freſh attack, determined me to withdraw them. The guns which had fallen into our hands, could not be brought away from the want of bullocks. In this charge Colonel Vandeleur fell, mortally wounded; in him the ſervice have loſt a moſt valuable Officer. The attacks of the other brigades were conducted with the ſame ſpirit; but after taking ſeveral of the enemy's guns, being ſtill fired upon without being able to diſcover the enemy, they retired in good order, retaining poſſeſſion of a part of the artillery. In the performance of this ſervice, the third brigade, conſiſting of his majeſty's twenty-ninth regiment, and the fourth regiment of native cavalry, under the command of that meritorious officer, Colonel Macan, met my entire approbation. The infantry having marched at three A. M. arrived upon the banks of the rivulet about eleven o'clock. After ſo long a march it was abſolutely neceſſary to allow ſome time for the men to refreſh themſelves, during which the enemy ſent in to ſay, that if certain terms were allowed them, they were willing to ſurrender their guns. Anxious to prevent the farther effuſion of blood, I directed a letter to be written, acquieſcing in their propoſals, and allowing them an hour to decide. In the mean time the ſeveral columns for the attack were formed. The infantry formed in two columns upon the left; the firſt, compoſed of the right wing, under command of Major General Ware, was deſtined to gain the enemy's right flank, which he had thrown back ſince the morning, leaving a conſiderable ſpace between it and the rivulet, and to aſſault the village of Saſwaree: the ſecond, compoſed of the left wing under Major General St. John, was to ſupport the firſt column; the third brigade of cavalry, under Colonel Macan, was to ſupport the infantry; the ſecond brigade, under Lieutenant-colonel Vandeleur, was detached to the right, to be ready to take advantage of any confuſion in the enemy's line, and to attack him upon his retreat. The brigade under Colonel Gordon compoſed the reſerve, and was formed between the ſecond and third brigades. As many of the field pieces as could be brought up with the gallopers attached to the cavalry, formed four different batteries. At the expiration of the time which I had allowed the enemy to decide, I ordered the infantry to advance; as ſoon as they became expoſed to the enemy's guns, the four batteries commenced their fire, and continued to advance, though oppoſed by a great ſuperiority, both in number and weight of metal. When the ſeventy-ſixth regiment, which headed the attack, had arrived at the point from which I intended to make the charge, they were ſo much expoſed to the enemy's fire, and loſing men ſo faſt, that I judged it preferable to proceed to the attack with that regiment, and as many of the native infantry as had cloſed to the front, to loſing time in waiting until the remainder of the column ſhould be able to form, the march of which had been retarded by the impediments in the advance. As ſoon as this handful of heroes were arrived within reach of the enemy's canniſter ſhot, a moſt tremendous fire was opened upon them. The loſs they ſuſtained was very ſevere, and ſufficient alone to prevent a regular advance. At this moment the enemy's cavalry attempted to charge, but were repulſed by the fire of this gallant body: they, however, rallied at a ſhort diſtance, and aſſumed ſo menacing a poſture, that I thought it adviſeable to order them to be attacked by the cavalry. This ſervice fell to the ſhare of his majeſty's twenty-ninth regiment, commanded by Captain Wade (Major Griffith having at that inſtant been unfortunately killed by a cannon ſhot), and was performed with the greateſt gallantry, and in a manner which entitles Captain Wade, and every officer and ſoldier in the regiment, to my warmeſt acknowledgments. The remainder of the firſt column of infantry arrived juſt in time to join in the attack of the enemy's reſerve, which was formed in the rear of his line, with its left upon the village of Saſwaree, and its right thrown back. About this time Major General Ware fell dead, his head being carried off by a cannon ſhot. On his death the command of this column fell upon Colonel M'Donald, who was obliged in the end to abandon his poſt, but not until he had loſt his guns. Even then his left wing did not fly, but attempted to retreat in good order. Severe as this loſs has been which we have ſuſtained in the atchievement of this complete victory, that of the enemy has been much greater. With the exception of upwards of two thouſand, who have been taken priſoners (of which number I have only obtained the principal officers, amounting

ing to forty-eight) I have reaſon to believe that very few eſcaped the general ſlaughter. The general then bears teſtimony to the gallantry of the officers and men; "the whole of my ſtaff," continued he, "upon this as upon every former occaſion, are entitled to a large ſhare of praiſe, and to my warmeſt gratitude; the zeal which they diſplayed upon this memorable day, is too plainly proved by the encloſed return of the killed and wounded *." The general added the following poſtſcript to this letter:

"In the hurry which I wrote my diſpatch of yeſterday's date, I fear I did not explain to your lordſhip, that the enemy's corps, which we have defeated, compoſed the whole of the fifteen regular battalions, which had been ſent from the Decan, under the command of monſieur Dundernez, and two battalions of the ſame deſcription, which had eſcaped from Delhi. I therefore have the ſatisfaction of congratulating your excellency upon the annihilation of the whole of the regular force in Scindia's ſervice, commanded by French officers.

G. L."

General Welleſley, in a letter to the governor in council in Bombay, under date Furdipoor, October 24, announced that Burhampore had ſurrendered without oppoſition to Colonel Stevenſon, on the 15th of that month; as did Aſſur Ghur, on the 21ſt of October, after a ſlight reſiſtance. Aſſur Ghur was the laſt fortreſs in the Decan, belonging to Scindia.

The fate of Major Davy, and the troops under his command, induced a belief that it would be imprudent to attempt any farther invaſion of the kingdoms of Candia, till at leaſt the paſſions of the natives cooled, and their jealouſies of the Britiſh government ſubſided. On the 5th of April, however, the Gazette contained a diſpatch from the honourable Frederick North, governor of Ceylon; in which his excellency ſtated, that on the 28th of March 1803, the king of Candy, at the head of the moſt numerous force he could collect in his dominions, attacked the petty fortreſs of Haugwelle, which was within eighteen miles of the ſeat of the Engliſh government, and defended by a ſmall garriſon of fifty Europeans, one hundred and ſixty ſepoys, and ſeventeen gun laſcars, on the 3d, 4th, and 6th of April 1803. All theſe actions were obſtinate, but the laſt was by far the moſt bloody and deciſive. After a combat of an hour and a half, the Candians were defeated with great ſlaughter, their guns taken, together with the royal ſtandard, and more than one hundred and twenty Bengal and Madras Laſcars, who had been made priſoners at Candy, and compelled to work at the Candian guns; thoſe of courſe were brought back to the Engliſh ſervice. The king fled at the beginning of the battle, and was followed by his ſecretaries of ſtate, both of whoſe heads he immediately ordered to be ſtruck off. A reinforcement was ſent up on the night after the battle, conſiſting of fifty Europeans, and eighty ſepoys, under Captain Hankey, to join Captain Pollock, who had commanded on that day.

It is almoſt needleſs to repeat that the brilliant victories in India, which we have juſt recorded, were purchaſed at the expence of the lives of many of our gallant officers and men. In this reſpect it would be ſome conſolation if theſe victories had led to a ſolid peace; which alone can afford thoſe commercial advantages, for which we have contended to retain our dominions in the eaſtern world. Our conqueſts in that quarter may dazzle the eyes of the unthinking, at the expence of our blood and treaſures; and extent of territory, inſtead of adding to our ſecurity, may in the end endanger it. We flattered ourſelves on the death of Tippoo Saib, and the capture of the Myſore, that we had extinguiſhed the only power that was able to interrupt our tranquility. Mr. Dundas (now Lord Melville) was of the ſame opinion. "England," ſaid he, (ſpeaking of that event in the houſe of commons,)

* *Total killed and wounded.*—1 major general, 1 colonel, 2 majors, 1 captain, 4 lieutenants, 2 quarter maſters, 2 cornets, 11 ſerjeants, 4 matroſſes, 67 rank and file, 1 ſubadar, 7 havildars, 6 naicks, 60 privates, and 3 laſcars, killed:—1 colonel, 2 lieut. colonels, 2 majors, 7 captains, 12 lieutenants, 3 quarter maſters, 1 cornet, 1 enſign, 27 ſerjeants, 6 matroſſes, 218 rank and file, 1 drummer, 4 ſubadors, 7 jamadors, 26 havildars, 19 naicks, 279 privates, 5 laſcars, and 1 beaſty wounded.—Grand total, 172 killed, and 652 wounded.—277 horſes killed; 154 wounded, and 122 miſſing.

Names of the Officers killed and wounded in the Action of the 1ſt of November.

Killed, major gen. Ware, general ſtaff; major gen. Campbell, deputy quarter maſter general; lieut. Duval, aid-de-camp to the commander in chief.—Wounded, lieut. gen. Gerrard, adjutant general; major G. A. F. Lake, ſecretary to the commander in chief; capt. J. Campbell, grain agent; lieut. Athurſt, commanding the eſcort of the commander in chief.—8th regiment of light dragoons, killed, col. Vandeleur; capt. Storey. Wounded, lieut. Lyndon (ſince dead), lieut. Willard.—27th regiment light dragoons, wounded, capt. White, capt. Sandys, capt. Milne, lieut. Gore.—29th reſtiment light dragoons, killed, major Griffith, cornet Fitzgerald, quarter maſters Philley and M'Goughby.—Wounded, lieut. Halſted (ſince dead), capt. Sloane, lieut. Thorne, quarter maſter Fa len.—1ſt regiment native cavalry, killed, cornet Coxwell. Wounded, lieut. Cornith.—4th ditto, wounded, lieut. Reid. 6th ditto, wounded, cornet Dixon.—74th regiment, foot, killed, lieut. and adj. Meuth, lieut. Herd.—Wounded, capt. Robertſon, lieutenants Maſter, Wilmer, and Sinclair.—12th native infantry. Wounded, enſign Dalton, major Gregory, capt. Fletcher, lieut. Ryan.—15th ditto, killed, lieut. Lambert. Wounded, col. M'Donald.—16th ditto, wounded, lieut. col. White, enſign G. D. Heathcote.

Ordnance captured—71 pieces of cannon of different calibres, 64 tumbrils complete, laden with ammunition, and 44 ſtand of colours.

" is as ſafe in Aſia as ſhe is in Europe; ſhe may diſmiſs all ſolicitudes, for ſhe has no enemy but herſelf, no conſpiracy among the native princes can cruſh us; the company have nothing formidable in India but its debt." And yet, after this aſſurance, from a man who had made Indian politics his ſtudy, we find a new and a powerful enemy ſtart up in the perſon of Scindia; and at a time that we thought his reſources exhauſted, and his power annihilated, he brings a powerful and well appointed army into the field, inſtructed in European tactics by French officers. It however reflects high honour on the courage and firmneſs of our troops, that the enemy was in the end compleatly routed by one-ſixth of their number; and it is hoped that the defeats which Scindia has ſucceſſively experienced, will convince him that it is not by intrigues or open defiance that he will be able to extend his provinces, or retain his ſovereignty; but by cultivating the friendſhip and alliance of the Britiſh government.

The following paper, which was received at the India Houſe about the time of which we are treating, will ſhed ſome light on the cauſe of this war. The title or ſuperſcription of this paper, ran thus: " A copy of the inſtructions from his Highneſs Scindia, &c. to A. B. C. (Abdallah Mouli Khan) his ſecret agent at the courts of Madras and Bengal *."

Art. I. The Engliſh power in India admitted them in by the indulgence of our fathers; having at length ſo rooted itſelf by its crimes, as, from factors and merchants, to have become a ſovereign ſtate; having invaded the liberty of our ſeas, and overſpread its ſurface by their veſſels; having availed itſelf of the diſturbances of our native princes, and received a price equally for its enmity as for its friendſhip; having, in fine, become the moſt powerful of the Indian ſtates. It is adviſeable, that with all convenient ſpeed the ſaid Engliſh power be expelled from India, and their name eradicated from the liſt of mankind.

II. To facilitate the progreſs of the armies of his highneſs and his allies, aſſembled for this purpoſe, is the object of the miſſion of A. B. C. A. B. C. will remember this; and, together with D. E. F. (another agent, real name unknown) will conduct himſelf accordingly.

III. Upon the receipt of theſe inſtructions, A. B. C. will proceed immediately to Bengal, and commence his operations without delay. He muſt procure an immediate introduction and gradual friendſhip with all the officers of ſtate, and more particularly with the members of the council, and the generals of the army; and, for the purpoſes hereafter mentioned, with the ſeveral collectors of revenue, and the governors of ſettlements.

IV. It is important that his highneſs ſhould be informed of the amount of force which, in caſe of war, the company can bring into the field againſt him; the number of artillery, quantity of ammunition, &c. A. B. C. will thus obtain admiſſion into every magazine and general ſtore, and minute down every thing therein contained; the number of the cannon and ſmall arms, the bore and weight of a ball, the quantity and quality of the powder. He will likewiſe obtain the names and numbers of the different regiments and their officers, their means of recruiting, bounty money, &c.

V. It is important that his highneſs ſhould be informed of the ſecret purpoſes of his enemies. A. B. C. will therefore cultivate an intimacy in the family of the governor general, and more particularly with the governor general himſelf. Having procured the confidence of the ſaid governor general, A. B. C. will find no difficulty in fathoming his deſigns; but A. B. C. is commanded to be careful to avoid all direct queſtions, leſt it ſhould induce ſuſpicions of his purpoſe. The execution of this article being ſomewhat delicate, the manner of it is left to the diſcretion of A. B. C. himſelf.

VI. It is important that his highneſs ſhould be informed of the inclinations of the ſeveral members of the ſupreme council, of their union, or their oppoſition to the governor. A. B. C. will learn this matter, and to embarraſs the proceedings of the governor general will encourage the oppoſition. For this purpoſe he is commiſſioned to draw on the houſe of Muley Shach, to the amount of two hundred and forty pagodas.

VII. It is important that his highneſs ſhould be informed of the diſpoſition and original inſtructions of the court of directors in England. To this end, having executed in India the preceding articles, A. B. C. ſhall proceed by the firſt ſhip to England. Upon his arrival, that he take a houſe in Leadenhall-ſtreet, immediately oppoſite the India Houſe; to the end, that he may become a ſpectator of any thing that may go in or out. It is adviſeable, moreover, that he become a proprietor of Eaſt India ſtock, &c. &c."

On the 12th of April the London Gazette contained an account of the capture of the iſland of Goree, by a French ſquadron, commanded by M. Mahe. The ſquadron carried upwards of ſixty guns, and ſix hundred men, about two hundred and forty of whom had been landed in the night.

* Many, it is true, have been inclined to look on this paper as a forgery, in order to excuſe the war againſt Scindia and the Mahrattas. But, on the other hand, it has been ſtated, that it has been ſubmitted to the legal inquiſition of a judge and jury in India, all of whom were ſworn; and, after a due deliberation, they unanimouſly pronounced it to be authentic. At all events it is a curious paper, and as ſuch we give it.

The

The garriſon conſiſted of fifty-four white men, including officers, who made a noble reſiſtance, but were at length obliged to yield to the ſuperiority of numbers. Our loſs conſiſted of one drummer, eight rank and file, killed; two officers, eight rank and file, wounded; total, nineteen. Of the enemy, three officers, and forty men, killed; two officers, and thirty men, wounded. Total, ſeventy-five.

On the 24th of April the following letter was officially publiſhed:

To William Marſden, Eſq.

"*Goree, March* 15, 1804.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of my lords commiſſioners of the Admiralty, of the arrival of his majeſty's ſhips under my command, and the veſſels named in the margin *, off the iſland of Goree, on the morning of the 7th of March; but, conceiving it poſſible, that it might be in the hands of the enemy (although Engliſh colours were hoiſted on the citadel, and ſoldiers cloathed in red placed on the batteries) I brought to with the convoy, and directed Mr. Charles Pickford, my firſt lieutenant, to proceed on ſhore in the cutter; and if he found it in the hands of the Engliſh, to make the ſignal I eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe. At ſun-ſet, not any ſignal having been made, nor the appearance of the boat, I came to anchor with the convoy a little out of gun ſhot; and deeming it highly neceſſary to gain ſome information with reſpect to the ſituation of the garriſon, I ordered, at ten o'clock P. M. three boats, manned and armed, under the direction of Mr. Runcanon, midſhipman, to proceed into the harbour, and cut out any of the veſſels he could find; which he did in a gallant manner, by bringing out a ſhip, under a heavy fire, from the batteries, which ſunk our cutter, and wounded one man. From her I learned that the French had been in poſſeſſion of Goree ſince the 18th of January, and that they had three hundred white and black troops in the garriſon.

"On the 8th inſtant (March 1804) I weighed to the weſtward of the iſland, to prevent any ſuccours being thrown in by ſea from Senegal; and on the evening of the ſame day, being determined to attack it, having ordered ſcaling ladders to be made for that purpoſe, at nine P. M. anchored, and ordered all the boats of the convoy to be ſent on board the Inconſtant; and, after embarking as many as they could poſſibly ſtow, I found they would not carry a ſufficient number to inſure ſucceſs. I therefore poſtponed the attack until the arrival of one of our convoy, which was in ſight, ſtanding in the bay, as her three boats would carry from thirty to forty men. At day light in the morning of the 9th inſtant we were agreeably ſurprized to ſee the Engliſh colours hoiſted over the French; and, ſhortly after, I received information from Lieutenant Pickford, that the garriſon had capitulated with him. I inſtantly diſembarked the troops, and retook poſſeſſion of the iſland.

"E. S. DICKSON."

The accounts from the Weſt Indies preſented nothing new, unleſs we except the ſucceſſive details of the maſſacres of the whites in Saint Domingo, immediately after the evacuation of that iſland by the French.

In the catalogue of our marine loſſes, we have with regret to ſtate that the Apollo frigate, of thirty-eight guns, and about forty ſail of the outward bound Weſt India fleet, was loſt off Cape Mondego, on the coaſt of Portugal, early in the morning of the 2d of April 1804. Captain Dixon, the third lieutenant, and about one hundred of the crew of the Apollo, were drowned. This diſaſter was followed by the melancholy loſs of the Magnificent, of ſeventy-four guns, Captain W. R. Jervis. That fine ſhip ſtruck on a ledge of ſunken rocks, not laid down in the charts, near the Black Rocks, off Breſt. The captain, officers, and crew, were all providentially ſaved by the exertions of the boats of the off-ſhore ſquadron. They were out but a ſhort time when ſhe turned over, and went down; ſo that her ſtores and guns, with the hull, were totally loſt, and of courſe could be of no uſe to the enemy.

It would be almoſt endleſs to enumerate the modes, which the rulers of France employed to blacken the character of the Engliſh government, and to involve it in every conſpiracy that the fertile imaginations of a Talleyrand, or a Sieyes, could deviſe. General Lannes, the French ambaſſador at Liſbon, having thought proper to inſiſt on the Portugueſe government to authorize the inſertion in the Liſbon Gazette of a ſtring of ſcandalous remarks reſpecting the royal family and the miniſters of England; Lord Robert Fitzgerald immediately tranſmitted the following ſpirited note to the chief ſecretary of ſtate:—

"*Liſbon, March* 16, 1804.

"The underſigned, envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic majeſty, has the honour to repreſent to his excellency the viſcount de Balſamao, that, for the preſent, he abſtains from making his complaints in form to the government of his royal highneſs the Prince Regent, reſpecting the article extracted, and tranſlated from the French paper, called the *Moniteur*, of the 18th of February; and, which has been printed and publiſhed in an extraordinary Supplement to No. II. of the Liſbon Gazette, of the 13th of this month. The underſigned will, for the preſent, content himſelf with remarking, that this infamous article, ſo worthy of its authors, is ſuited to the ſtile and genius of the official Journal from whence it is copied;

* Eagle ſtoreſhip, Hamilton, Venus, Jenny.

pied; but is altogether unworthy of a place in that which gives the tranſlation of it in the Portugueſe language: and the underſigned infinitely regrets, that this remarkable eſſay of the liberty of the preſs in Liſbon, has been diſtinguiſhed by the publication of an atrocious libel, invented at pleaſure by the enemies of his Britannic majeſty, againſt the moſt ancient and faithful ally of Portugal. The underſigned reſerves to himſelf the advantage which this facility of printing at Liſbon, the inſtant his government ſhall authorize him to avail himſelf of it, for the purpoſe of inſerting a formal denial of the abſurd calumny in queſtion; if that government, with its ſtrong ſenſe of conſcious rectitude, its glory, and its renown, ſhould trouble itſelf ſo far as to anſwer to ſimilar accuſations, and does not rather conſider it to be more conſiſtent with its own dignity, to treat with the ſovereign contempt, which it has always witneſſed for the contemptible inſipidities of the ſame kind, by which its enemies have ſo often, but vainly, attempted to blacken its reputation, ſince the epocha of the French revolution. The underſigned has the honour to renew to his excellency the homage of high conſideration and eſteem,

" R. S. FITZGERALD."

This communication had the deſired effect. The rulers of France now finding that the *Moniteur* was doomed to be the only medium of their libellous attacks on England, ſcarce a day paſſed in which the columns of that paper were not filled with ſomething of the kind, either directly, or by inſinuation. In the legiſlative aſſembly, every member that ſpoke, never failed to level his acrimony at this country, probably as the price of his permiſſion to open his lips. As a ſpecimen of this declamation we ſhall ſelect one, which we ſhall give place to, that we may not incur the charge of aſſertion without fact. On the 24th of March, Fourcroy delivered himſelf thus in the legiſlative body: " The ſeſſion," ſaid he, " which is now concluded, muſt make impreſſions of gratitude on the French people. Laws, the moſt important, have been diſcuſſed in the midſt of war, in the midſt of the moſt atrocious conſpiracy, but the government proceeds with a firm ſtep in promoting the glory and intereſt of the country; and to our enemies remain only ſhame and confuſion. In their deſpair they ſpread their gold and their crimes. Their miniſters at Hamburgh, at Stutgard, and Munich, will ſtill be only the artiſts of plots; they corrupt ſome wretches; but their future ſteps will be detected, as their paſt ſteps have been, and turned to their confuſion. If there are men, who, to the crime of having carried arms againſt their country, add ingratitude and perjury, the government will puniſh them with the ſame calmneſs with which it would pardon, and the puniſhment ſhall always be perſonal as the crime. Neither the ties of friendſhip, nor of family, ſhall be, in its eyes, any extenuation of guilt. As to the members of that unnatural family, which wiſhes to inundate France with her own blood, that it may be able to reign over it, their firſt furies, and their laſt criminal attacks, have placed between her and them an eternal bar. They have only been able to obtain from England permiſſion to be her ſoldiers. They wiſh to ſell to her our conqueſts, our glory, our proſperity; they have been able to ſell to her only uſeleſs armies: let them live on the wages of opprobium and contempt. But if they dare to ſtain our ſoil by their preſence, the wiſh of the French people is, that they may there find death as their recompenſe for two millions of citizens who have periſhed in the impious war, of which they have been the chief artizans, and as a return for the crimes with which, for the laſt four years in particular, they have attempted to overturn our territory, by their fomenting and maintaining, as far as was in their power, robbery and revolt. Citizens legiſlators, return to your houſes, and make known the ſtability of our inſtitutions, the loyalty of the citizens of Paris, &c." In addition to this, the grand judge made a ſecond report, previous to the trial of Generals Moreau, Pichegru, &c. To this report a paper was annexed, under the title of " Inſtructions given by Mr. Drake," (our miniſter at Munich) to M. D. L." We ſhall inſert a few extracts out of this fabrication, as a mere matter of curioſity:—

" It is wiſhed, (as Mr. Drake is made to ſay) that a bulletin ſhould be made out of all thoſe intereſting events that occur, on which the French papers are ſilent; as alſo of all thoſe that take place in the ſea ports and in the army. The aſſociates to give a very exact account of their hopes, and of the ſucceſs of their operations. Theſe bulletins muſt be numbered very exactly, that, in caſe it ſhould happen any one of them ſhould be miſlaid, or withdrawn, it may be immediately perceived, and notice given to the ſociety.

" Theſe bulletins muſt alſo be written according to the nature of their contents, partly with black ink, and partly with ſympathetic ink, for which M. D. L. will give them the receipt.

" Thoſe of which part is to be written with ſympathetic, will be marked by a ſmall ſpot of ink, made as if by chance, at the top of the firſt page of the letter. It is abſolutely neceſſary that M. D. L. and his aſſociates procure the means of being informed of every thing intereſting in the departments of the different miniſters, as well as in the ſenate, in council, in the interior of the palace, &c. for ſhould theſe bulletins not be exact, confidence might take the alarm, and be weakened.

" The object of M. D. L.'s journey being the overthrow of the preſent government, the beſt means of effecting it is, to obtain a knowledge of the plan of

of the enemy. For this purpoſe it is of the utmoſt conſequence to eſtabliſh a confidential correſpondence with the different offices, for gaining an exact knowledge of all plans both within and without the republic. The knowledge of theſe plans will furniſh the beſt means of defeat, and their failure will be a certain means of diſcrediting the government, the firſt and moſt important ſtep towards the end deſired. For this purpoſe means muſt be deviſed to obtain certain intelligence from the ſecretary of war, and the marine offices; as alſo in thoſe of foreign affairs and public worſhip; means muſt alſo be found to know what paſſes in the ſecret committees, which is ſuppoſed to be eſtabliſhed at St. Cloud, and compoſed of the Conſul's moſt confidential friends. Theſe notices ought to be given in the form of bulletins, according to the inſtructions of the preſident of the committee, and ſent with all poſſible expedition to M. D. L. (Mr. Drake) in the manner agreed on. Care muſt be taken to give an account of the different projects that B——— may have with regard to Ireland, and Turkey, and of the plots of the Iriſh refugees. Theſe points are moſt particularly recommended to M. D. L. as the firſt and moſt important in the beginning; alſo of the removal of troops, veſſels, thoſe building, and all the military preparations.

"Endeavours muſt be made to eſtabliſh a more direct correſpondence with England, by way of Jerſey, or ſome point of the French coaſt. Some way might alſo be found to eſtabliſh a correſpondence *via* Holland or Embden. In the mean while, when any thing very intereſting occurs, the letters may be addreſſed to Mr. Harwood, under cover to meſſrs. Herberger and Co. at Huſum; but as this way becomes more uncertain, care muſt then be taken to ſend a duplicate to W. M. D. In caſe it ſhould be poſſible to communicate with the commander of Jerſey, M. D. L. will write under a fictitious name, and the governor of Jerſey will receive his inſtructions from the Engliſh government.

"Thus you ſee," ſaid the grand judge, in deſcanting on this paper, "that the real objects of Mr. Drake's miſſion are to bring fire and flames into the republic, and to blow up the powder mills; to procure truſty printers and engravers, for the purpoſes of forgery; to penetrate into the heart of every aſſembly; to arm one party againſt the other; and, in fine, to diſorganize the armies." "Mr. Drake had an agency at Paris," (continued he) "but other miniſters, the inſtruments of diſcord, and executors of miſchief, like him, may alſo have agencies; Mr. Drake, in his correſpondence, unmaſks all thoſe that exiſt in France, by the very meaſures that he takes to deny that he knows any thing of them." "I repeat," ſays Mr. Drake, "that I have no knowledge of the exiſtence of any other ſociety beſides yours; but I repeat (he obſerves in ſeveral places) that if there does, that you and your friends will take the neceſſary meaſures not only not to embarraſs one another, but to be mutually ſerviceable to one another.

"I earneſtly requeſt you," he writes (Munich, February 25, 1804, No. 9) "to print and diſtribute a ſhort addreſs to the army immediately, both to the officers and ſoldiers. The main point is to gain partizans in the army; for I am thoroughly perſuaded, that it is through the army alone that we can reaſonably hope to gain the change deſired." The grand judge then concluded his obſervations with theſe words: "How vain theſe hopes were, is ſufficiently characteriſed by the ſtriking unanimity that prevails every where, now that the danger is diſcovered with which France was menaced."

It is evident that the objects of thoſe ſpeeches and reports were, as already obſerved, to degrade the character of the Britiſh government in the eyes of all Europe; to prejudice the minds of the French againſt the ſtate priſoners; to cover the murder of the Duke d'Enghein; and to furniſh Bonaparte with a pretext to inſiſt on thoſe courts that were in his power to diſmiſs our miniſters from them, where they maintained the dignity of the ſovereign they repreſented. The trial of General Pichegru was daily expected, when it was announced that he had hung himſelf in priſon. The particulars of the death of this unfortunate man are too intereſting to be paſſed over in ſilence. The following is the account as it appeared in the French papers: "The ex-general, Charles Pichegru, having repeatedly requeſted, and having given his word of honour that he would make no attempt on his life, Pichegru had obtained the diſmiſſion of his guards during the night. Every morning an attendant in waiting came to light his fire with a bundle of wood. Pichegru, on one of the preceding mornings, had laid aſide a part of a faggot, by which he thought he might put an end to his exiſtence. In ſhort, the 5th inſt. (April) after having ſupped very heartily at eleven o'clock, he went to bed about twelve. The attendant in waiting having retired, Pichegru drew from under his pillow, where he had placed it, a black ſilk handkerchief, which he tied round his neck. The piece of wood which he had kept in reſerve, he then made uſe of to aſſiſt him in the project of ſuicide. He introduced this piece of wood into the two ends of the handkerchief where it was tied; he turned this little ſtick cloſe into the glands of the neck, as often as he thought neceſſary to put a ſtop to reſpiration. When on the point of loſing reſpiration, he drew the ſtick behind his ear, and threw himſelf on the ſame ſide of his head, in order to prevent its ſhifting. Pichegru, naturally fat,

full of blood, ſuffocated by the full meal which he had juſt taken, and the great preſſure which he made, expired during the night.

Next day, in the morning, the attendant came to kindle his fire; he looked towards Pichegru's bed, ſaw him, as he ſuppoſed, in a profound ſleep, and retired to do his other work. About half paſt ſeven, the attendant came again, ſaw the head of Pichegru quietly reſting on his pillow, and again went away, ſtill fearing to interrupt his ſleep. At nine o'clock, he went up a third time; and obſerved no alteration in the poſture of the priſoner, who uſually ſpoke to him when he was awake. The attendant began to be ſurprized at his ſleeping ſo long, went up to the bed, when he ſaw his face pale and diſtorted; he then moved the body, and found it lifeleſs and without motion. He immediately gave information to the gaoler, who went that inſtant to inform Thevenot, the judge, and ſolicitor in this important trial. Eight phyſicians and ſurgeons were employed to draw up the *proces verbal* of the ſtate in which the body was found, and this *proces verbal* and the corpſe, were brought before the criminal tribunal on the 6th, about one o'clock in the afternoon. The four ſections of the tribunal immediately aſſembled, appointing eight phyſicians and ſurgeons to open, in the preſence of four commiſſary judges, aſſiſted by C. Lasfuterie, the body, and ſtate the circumſtances of his ſituation, and the cauſe of his death.

A mock inqueſt was immediately held on the body, which was followed by a judicial report of conſiderable length, of which the following is the ſubſtance:

"Citizens Soupe, Dedier, Bouſquet, Brunet, and Henry, ſurgeons appointed by the criminal tribunal to inſpect the body of the ex-general Pichegru, and to ſtate what was the cauſe which gave riſe to his death, unanimouſly declared, that from the Temple they were conducted into the chamber where Charles Pichegru, the ex-general, was confined. On arriving in the chamber they found a male corpſe. After deſcribing his perſon, and what appeared to them his age, they go on to ſay, that he died of ſtrangulation: they then proceeded to ſtate, that they found a black ſilk handerchief about his neck, through which was paſſed a ſmall ſtick, forty-five centimers long (about ten inches) and from four to five centimers thick, which ſtick, forming a tourniquet of the cravat, was ſtopped by the left jaw, on which he lay, with one end of the ſtick under, and this produced a degree of ſtrangulation ſufficient to occaſion his death. They then remarked, that the ſtick had reſted by one of its ends on the left cheek, and that by moving round irregularly, it had produced a tranſverſal ſcratch of about three inches. The face was diſcoloured, the jaw was locked, and the tongue was preſſed between the teeth. The diſcoloration extended over the whole body; the extremities were cold; the muſcles, and the fingers of the hand, were ſtrongly contracted. Their opinion, therefore was, from all they ſaw in the poſition of the body, and the idea they had formed reſpecting it, that the body was the corpſe of the ex-general Pichegru, and that he was guilty of ſuicide. The French government loſt no time in diſtributing copies of this report over all France. They knew very well Pichegru was dear to the majority of the people of that country. That it would not be eaſy to perſuade them that the man who had faced death ſo often in the field of battle, would be guilty of the crime of ſuicide. It was eaſy to ſee undoubtedly that he would be brought to the ſcaffold, and that even innocence would prove but a feeble ſhield to defend him from his implacable foes It might have been ſaid, perhaps, that he did not wiſh to glut the eyes of thoſe that thirſted for his blood by ſuffering under the hands of the common executioner; but he would at the ſame time recollect that his ſovereign, and ſome of the firſt characters in France, had yielded up their lives in that manner. His death, beſides, would have made a great impreſſion on thoſe who had not ſurrendered up their feelings, or who had not forgotten that Pichegru fought the battles of their country. Bonaparte, no doubt, ſaw all this, and very likely concluded with Vitellius, that the "ſmell of the dead body of an enemy was ſweet." Whatever light future time may ſhed on this ſubject, we ſhall only ſay that it was the general opinion that his life was diſpoſed of by clandeſtine means.

As General Pichegru at one time drew the eyes of all Europe, a brief account of him will not be unintereſting:—

Pichegru was born at Artois, in the department of Jura, February 16, 1761. When the French republic was ſtruggling for exiſtence in the midſt of of cabals, and diſcordant opinions, Pichegru may in a great meaſure be ſaid to have ſtrengthened its birth, by his celebrated campaign in the north. The reſult of which was the acquiſition of Holland, and the expulſion of the Auſtrians from the territory of France. To form an opinion of this general, it is only neceſſary to recal the battle of Moucron, ſo obſtinately conteſted; the battle of Turcoing, in which the force to which he was oppoſed loſt their beſt troops, and the whole of their artillery. That of Pont-a-Chain, which was followed by the taking Ypres*; that of Languemarke, Rouſſelaer, and Onglede, the paſſage of the Meuſe, and the two celebrated battles on the ice; the taking of Menin, Courtray, Oſtend, and four other garriſoned towns, particularly Nimeguen, and Bois-le-Duc, which he compelled to ſurrender in three weeks, though the latter held out againſt the Prince of

* It is remarkable that the day on which General Pichegru took Ypres, his father was guillotined.

of Orange a whole year. His victorious courſe was ended by the taking of Amſterdam, and the ſubjugation of all the United Provinces, which Louis the Fourteenth, in the heighth of his power and ambition, was never able to ſubdue. When Paris was declared in a ſtate of ſiege, the national convention conferred upon him the rank of commander general of the public force during that year which threatened the very exiſtence of the French nation. He was choſen a member of the legiſlative body in the year *five*, when, to the ſurprize of all France, and the ſurrounding nations, the executive directory publiſhed a manifeſto againſt him, which profeſſed to contain various papers found in the portfolio of M. Autraignes, at Venice, and in the correſpondence of the Auſtrian general Klinglin. This publication accuſed him of a conſpiracy againſt the republic, with having attempted to bring about a counter-revolution, and plotting for the reſtoration of Louis the Eighteenth. Without making any appeal to popularity, Pichegru ſubmitted quietly to be arreſted. He was accordingly condemned to be tranſported to Cayenne, and death was to be the penalty of his return to France. By ſome means he eſcaped, and fought refuge in England, where he continued to reſide in a private manner till his laſt unhappy return to his native country.

In order to draw the public attention from the death of Pichegru, the cry of the immediate invaſion of this country was re-echoed through the moſt remote corners of France; the number of gun boats and troops, deſtined for that purpoſe, were magnified in their newſpapers, pamphlets, and ſpeeches. The following extracts will ſerve as a ſpecimen of the reſt.

The council general of the department of Arriege, in their addreſs to the firſt conſul, on his eſcape from the conſpiracy, expreſſed themſelves in theſe words: "The Engliſh government has had recourſe to denial, in order to avoid the ſhame and opprobrium with which it is for ever covered. Its intriguers have been expoſed. Its deteſtable policy was already known: it is now demonſtrated. That government which oppreſſes its own nation, is the enemy and ſcourge of the world. It ſhall be overwhelmed. Citizen firſt conſul, by your genius and your courage, and all the nations of the univerſe, even the people of England themſelves, will load you with benedictions!!!"

"Haughty Albion," ſays the council general of the department of Logeres," "thy riches, thy ſhips, will become the prey of the conqueror.—Bonaparte, the idol of the French, will be equally ſucceſsful againſt England, as Scipio, at the head of the Romans, was againſt Carthage."

The very introduction to the following State Paper will point out the propriety of giving it at full length, as it turns on a ſubject that involves not only the preſent, but the future dignity and honour of the Britiſh nation, and as ſuch it ought to be handed down to poſterity.

Lord Hawkeſbury's circular Note, addreſſed to the Miniſters of foreign Courts reſident at the Court of London.

"*Downing-ſtreet, April* 30, 1804.

"SIR,

"The experience which all Europe has had of the conduct of the French government would have induced his majeſty to paſs over in ſilence, and to treat with contempt, all the accuſations which that government might have made againſt his majeſty's government, if the very extraordinary and unauthorized replies which ſeveral of the miniſters of the foreign powers have thought proper to make to a recent communication from the miniſter for foreign affairs at Paris*, had not given to the ſubject of that communication a greater importance than it would

* In order to elucidate this point, it may be neceſſary to give extracts from the replies of the miniſters of the principal courts.

"There is not one among us who does not decidedly condemn, in every thing which a diplomatic agent and his government undertake contrary to the laws of nations, and the rules of right and good faith generally adopted among civilized nations.

"COUNT COBENTZEL, ambaſſador of the emperor of Germany."

"His Imperial majeſty will ſee with ſatisfaction, that his agents to the French government participate in the juſtice which the firſt conſul does to the diplomatic body accredited to him, and that their care to obſerve, on all occaſions, the moſt rigorous principles of the rights of nations, are honourably appreciated by the chief of the government.

"PIERRE D'OUBRIL, charge d'affaires of Ruſſia."

"You know, citizen miniſter, (Talleyrand) the lively intereſt with which the king, my maſter, is inſpired for the preſervation of the life of the firſt conſul, and for the maintenance of order and tranquility in the ſtate of which he is the worthy head. You may therefore anticipate the effect which this communication will have on the mind of his Pruſſian majeſty, whoever may have been the authors and agents of this conſpiracy.

"MARQUIS DE LUCCHESSINI, envoy extraordinary of the king of Pruſſia."

"I have received a note, with a copy of the report of the grand judge, relative to papers which prove that Mr. Drake, the Britiſh miniſter at Munich, has held a culpable correſpondence with traitors, for objects which all civilized nations muſt regard with horror, and that horror muſt be redoubled, when we ſee that it is a miniſter that thus proſtitutes his ſacred character. When a ſubaltern agent commits a baſe or atrocious act, it may be ſuppoſed that he is influenced by perſonal intereſt; but the actions of a miniſter are generally attributed to the government he repreſents; and even when he acts againſt his orders (which I hope is the caſe in this inſtance) his conduct is ſo much identified with his government, that ſuch acts tend to overturn ſocial order, and to bring back

would otherwiſe have poſſeſſed. His majeſty has, in conſequence, directed me to declare, that he hopes he ſhall not be reduced to the neceſſity of repelling, with merited ſcorn and indignation, "the atrocious and utterly unfounded calumny, that the government of his majeſty have been a party to plans of aſſaſſination:—an accuſation already made with equal falſehood and calumny by the ſame authority againſt the members of his majeſty's government during the laſt war,—an accuſation incompatible with the honour of his majeſty, and the known character of the Britiſh nation; and ſo completely devoid of any ſhadow of proof, that it may be reaſonably preſumed to have been brought forward at the preſent moment for no other purpoſe than that of diverting the attention of Europe from the contemplation of the ſanguinary deed which has recently been perpetrated, by the direct order of the firſt conſul, in France, in violation of the right of nations, and in contempt of the moſt ſimple laws of humanity and honour.

"That his majeſty's government ſhould diſregard the feelings of ſuch of the inhabitants of France as are juſtly diſcontented with the exiſting government of that country—that they ſhould refuſe to liſten to their deſigns for delivering their country from the degrading yoke of bondage under which it groans, or to give them aid and aſſiſtance, as far as thoſe deſigns are fair and juſtifiable, would be to refuſe fulfilling thoſe duties which every wiſe and juſt government owes to itſelf, and to the world in general, under circumſtances ſimilar to the preſent. Belligerent powers have an acknowledged right to avail themſelves of all diſcontents that may exiſt in countries with which they may be at war. The exerciſe of that right (even if in any degree doubtful) would be fully ſanctioned in the preſent caſe, not only by the preſent ſtate of the French nation, but by the conduct of the government of that country, which, ſince the commencement of the preſent war, has conſtantly kept up communications with the diſaffected in the territories of his majeſty, particularly in Ireland; and which has aſſembled, at this preſent moment, on the coaſts of France, a corps of Iriſh rebels, deſtined to ſecond them in their deſigns againſt that part of the united kingdom.

"Under theſe circumſtances, his majeſty's government would be unjuſtifiable if they neglected the right they have to ſupport, as far as is compatible with the principles of the law of nations, which civilized governments have hitherto acknowledged, the efforts of ſuch of the inhabitants of France as are hoſtile to the preſent government. They earneſtly deſire, as well as all Europe, to ſee an order of things eſtabliſhed in that country, more compatible with its own happineſs, and with the ſecurity of the ſurrounding nations—but, if that wiſh cannot be accompliſhed, they are fully authoriſed by the ſtricteſt principles of perſonal defence, to endeavour to cripple the exertions, to diſtract the operations, and to confound the plans of a government, whoſe ſyſtem of warfare, as acknowledged by itſelf, is not only to diſtreſs the commerce, to diminiſh the power, and to abridge the dominions of its enemy, but alſo to carry devaſtation and ruin into the very heart of the Britiſh empire.

"In the application of theſe principles, his majeſty has commanded me to declare, beſides, that his government have never authorized a ſingle act which could not ſtand the teſt of the ſtricteſt principles of juſtice and of uſages recogniſed and practiſed in all ages. If any miniſter, accredited by his majeſty at a foreign court, has kept up correſpondence with perſons reſident in France, with a view to obtain information upon the deſigns of the French government, or for any other legitimate object, he has done nothing more than what miniſters under ſimilar circumſtances have always been conſidered as having a right to do with reſpect to the countries with which their ſovereign was at war; and he has done much leſs than that which it could be proved the miniſters and commercial agents of France have done towards the diſaffected in different parts of his majeſty's territories: thus, in carrying on ſuch a correſpondence, he would not in any manner have violated his public duty. A miniſter in a foreign country is obliged, by the nature of his office, and the duties of his ſituation, to abſtain from all communication with the diſaffected of the country where he is accredited, as well as from every other act injurious to the intereſts of that country: but he is not ſubject to the ſame reſtraints with reſpect to countries with which his ſovereign is at war. His actions to them may be praiſeworthy or blameable, according to the nature of the actions themſelves; but they do not conſtitute any violation of his public character, except in as far as they militate againſt the country, or the ſecurity of the country, where he is accredited.

"But of all the governments which pretend to be civilized governments, that of France is the one which has the leaſt right to appeal to the law of nations. With what confidence can it appeal to that law, a government which, from the commence-

nations to barbariſm. I beg your excellency (Talleyrand) to offer to the firſt conſul, in the name of my government, the moſt ſincere felicitations, for having eſcaped the attempts of his enemies, directed not only againſt his life, but againſt an object more dear to his heart, the happineſs of the nation of which he is the chief—a happineſs which is the reſult of his noble labours in the field of honour, and in the cabinet, and which is not yet ſufficiently eſtabliſhed not to be deeply ſhaken by his loſs.

"LIVINGSTON, miniſter plenipotentiary from the United States of America."

ment

ment of hoſtilities, has never ceaſed to violate it! It promiſed protection to the Britiſh ſubjects reſident in France, and who might be deſirous of remaining there after the recall of his majeſty's ambaſſador. It revoked that promiſe without any previous notice—it condemned thoſe ſame perſons to be priſoners of war; and it detains them ſtill in that quality, in contempt of its own engagements, and of the uſages univerſally obſerved by all civiliſed nations. It has applied that new and barbarous law, even to individuals who had the authority and protection of the French ambaſſadors and miniſters at foreign courts, to travel through France on their return to their own country. It commanded the ſeizure of an Engliſh packet boat in one of the ports of Holland, though its ambaſſador in that country had previouſly engaged to let the packet boats of the reſpective countries paſs in perfect ſafety until notice ſhould be given to the contrary. It has detained and condemned, in one of the ports of France, a veſſel which had been ſent thither as a matter of indulgence, in order to carry to France the French governor of one of the different iſlands which had been conquered by his majeſty's arms. Its conduct relative to the garriſon of St. Lucia has not been leſs extraordinary: the principal fort of that iſland had been taken by aſſault; yet the garriſon had been allowed all the privileges of priſoners of war, and had been permitted to return to France, with an underſtanding, that an equal number of Engliſh priſoners ſhould be releaſed. Yet, notwithſtanding that indulgence on the part of the Britiſh commander, to which, by the nature of the caſe, the French garriſon could not have the lighteſt pretenſion, not a ſingle priſoner has been reſtored to this country.

" Such have been the proceedings of the French government towards the power with which it is at war. What has its conduct been to thoſe powers with which it remained at peace? Is there a treaty which it has not broken? Is there an adjoining territory whoſe independence it has not violated? It is for the powers on the Continent to determine how long they will tolerate theſe unexampled outrages. Yet is it too much to ſay, that, if they do ſuffer, without controul or reſiſtance, the continuance of ſuch a courſe of proceedings on the part of any government whatever, they will ſoon ſee an end to that ſalutary ſyſtem of public right, in virtue of which the ſocieties of Europe have maintained and enforced for ages the ſacred obligations of humanity and juſtice?

(Signed) " HAWKESBURY."

In recording our naval affairs, we are happy to find that the courage and generoſity of the Britiſh commanders are inſeparable. To the many inſtances of this kind, the following is to be added.

A letter was received on the 10th of April at the Admiralty, from rear Admiral Thornborough, enclоſing one to him from Captain Hardinge, of his majeſty's ſloop the Scorpion, in which he reported the ſucceſsful iſſue of a moſt gallant and ſpirited attack which was made by Captains Hardinge and Pelly, with the boats of the Scorpion and Beaver, on the Dutch national brig Atalante, at anchor within the Vlie roads, on the 31ſt of March preceding. Captain Hardinge, after detailing the particulars of the engagement, which was obſtinate, ſtates, that the captain of the Atalante refuſed quarter, when moſt generouſly offered him, and fell in defence of his brig. The following letter on this ſubject is worthy of hiſtorical tranſmiſſion.

Copy of a Letter from Rear Admiral Thornborough, dated on board his Majeſty's Ship Defence, off the Texel, April 4, 1804.

" SIR,

" The chance of war, having put into our poſſeſſion the Atalante *, Dutch national brig, and being deſirous of paying every attention to the memory of Captain Carp, her commander, who gallantly fell at his poſt, in defence of the ſhip entruſted to his care: I have ſent his ſervant to you with his effects, in order that they may be delivered to his relatives. The Engliſh, not conſidering perſons ſerving on board ſhips of war, in civil capacities, as liable to be made priſoners, I have liberated and ſent on ſhore the purſer and pilot, that were taken on board the Atalante, and have charged the former with the delivery of this letter to you. I feel great concern at having been under the neceſſity of ſending the ſurgeon and wounded men belonging to the brig, to England; the dictates of humanity would have induced me to ſend them to the Helder, could I have been aſſured that my flag of truce would have been reſpected, and the officers permitted to return, which has ever been the cuſtom with civilized powers at war, till within the laſt ſummer; when an Engliſh officer going to Helvoet, under a flag of truce, was detained and ſent priſoner to France. Encloſed I have ſent an inventory of Captain Carp's effects.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

" EDW. THORNBOROUGH."

Rear Admiral Kirkkert, commander of the Batavian ſhips in the Texel.

* The Atalante carried ſixteen long twelve-pounders, and had on board ſeventy-ſix men. She was one of the largeſt brigs in the Dutch navy, and a remarkable fine veſſel.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Parliamentary Proceedings resumed.—Volunteers.—State of the Navy.—Earl St. Vincent.—Prerogative of the Sovereign.

THE Volunteer Bill was re-committed; ſeveral amendments were adopted, the moſt prominent of which were, for altering an inſertion in one of the exemption clauſes to twenty-four days ſervice within the year, inſtead of ſtating the periods; and another was, to inſtruct the lord lieutenants, &c. to apportion the quotas of men to be raiſed within the diſtrict, inſtead of drawing off the population and then admitting of exemptions. Theſe propoſitions were offered by Mr Pitt, and it was agreed to diſcuſs them on the report.

Mr. Crevey moved for papers with a view of grounding an enquiry on them, relative to the proceedings in Ceylon. He took a retroſpect of the tranſactions in that colony from the year 1795 down to the time he was ſpeaking. In the courſe of this view he condemned the object which gave riſe to the war then raging in that country. He then adverted to the government of that iſland, which he condemned in many points as inefficient. As an inſtance of its incapacity, he alluded to the impolicy of ſending our ſmall force to a diſtance in the woody and mountainous interior, where their numbers were greatly diminiſhed by the unhealthineſs of the climate; and cenſured them for intriguing at the court of Candy, and dethroning the legal monarch, inſtead of recalling and concentrating our troops. He alſo aſſerted, that the number of exaſperated Candians, who ſurrounded and maſſacred our force, was upwards of ten thouſand. Adverting to the project of ſending out two regiments, he aſked if the houſe would admit of ſuch a meaſure, without enquiring into the object of their ſervice; and adviſed them to look to the example of the Dutch, who, in 1764, had penetrated and taken Candy twice.

Lord Caſtlereagh acknowledged that the houſe had a right to every information on the ſubject, but the production of them would only expoſe the weakneſs of the garriſon in the iſland. As this was the caſe, he ſhould move the previous queſtion.

For the previous queſtion -	70
For the original motion -	47
Majority	23

Mr. Pitt introduced his motion on the naval defence of the country, under the impreſſion that no objection would be made to the information he wiſhed to obtain. His firſt motion was, for an account, ſhewing the number of ſhips of the line, fifty gun ſhips, frigates, ſloops, gun boats, bomb ſhips, hired armed ſloops, and cutters, in commiſſion, from the 1ſt of September 1793, to the 1ſt of September 1801, and from the year 1801, to the 1ſt of September 1803, diſtinguiſhing how many armed ſloops and floating batteries. He believed it would be found, that the ſpecies of force to meet the threatened invaſion was very inferior, in point of number and force at that time, to what it was at a period when the danger was infinitely leſs; and he ſhould prove, that the force ought therefore to be infinitely greater. At the commencement of the preſent war, the admiralty thought that our force for acting in ſhallow water, wanted addition; but they had not adverti ſed for the building of gun boats, &c. till the beginning of 1804; and their object was only to obtain an encreaſe of twenty-three gun boats, five in three months, and the remainder in the ſpace of ſix months; and it was a matter of ſurprize to him that theſe meaſures were not reſorted to ſix months previous to that time. While the enemies tranſports had collected under the eye of our blockading ſquadron, and when we were told that the invaſion was immediately to be expected, he aſked how it was poſſible that parliament could acquieſce in a motion, that a force to meet that of the enemy ſhould be ſuſpended for ſix months? His ſecond motion was to aſcertain whether the encreaſe of gun boats had not been attempted till the period he had juſt mentioned; and he contraſted this delay with the activity diſplayed at three periods of the laſt war, 1794, 1797, and 1801, when a very conſiderable number of gun boats had been built in leſs than ten weeks. If the papers ſhould bear out his aſſertions, they would furniſh ground for moving an addreſs to the throne, praying his majeſty to direct meaſures to be adopted for uſing additional expedition in completing a proper force to meet the enemy. The next point was to enquire how far our naval force would require new ſhips, ſuppoſing the war to be of conſiderable duration; and he thought that ſhips of war ſhould be immediately built in the merchant yards, as he had reaſon to conclude we had made leſs progreſs in ſhip building during the preſent war than when the danger was not ſo imminent. He then took a view of the number of ſeamen and marines in the beginning of the laſt war, when ſixteen thouſand had been augmented to eighteen thouſand, and the number encreaſed in the firſt year to ſeventy-ſix thouſand; while in the preſent war we ſtarted with a peace eſtabliſhment of fifty thouſand, to which only thirty-ſix thouſand had been added; which ſhewed that in the firſt inſtance the number had been encreaſed five fold, while in the latter it had not been doubled.

Mr. Tierney declared, that he conſidered the proceeding

ceeding of Mr. Pitt as one of the moſt extraordinary which ever had attracted the attention of parliament; he looked on the motion to be calculated only to engender ſuſpicion and deſpondency, with regard to the force on which Britons uſed to pride themſelves, while the mover had ſet up his own opinion againſt that of the whole admiralty. He then launched out into a panegyric on government, and particularly on the admiralty; and added, that, if the papers were produced, it would be ſeen that there were five hundred ſhips, beſide the irregular force, conſiſting of ninety Trinity Houſe frigates, one hundred and ſeventy-three lighters, and craft belonging to the king's yard, nineteen Eaſt Indiamen, and a flotilla ready to ſail at any time, amounting to ſix hundred and twenty-four, making a body of one thouſand five hundred and ninety-ſix ſhips, collected in twelve months.

Sir C. Pole defended the conduct of the board of admiralty. Admiral Berkeley was convinced of the neceſſity of the propoſed inveſtigation; and as to the five hundred cockle-ſhells which the miniſter rockoned as a part of our efficient navy, he was confident they were not fit to ſail from one pier to another in our harbours. Mr. Wilberforce preſſed the propoſed enquiry. He added, that naval officers had expreſſed the higheſt diſſatisfaction at the conduct of the firſt lord of the admiralty (Earl St. Vincent.)

Mr. Sheridan wiſhed to know who thoſe officers were who preſumed to criticize the conduct of the firſt lord of the admiralty. He was certain they were men unemployed, and therefore diſſatisfied; and as to the motion, he conſidered it as nothing but breathing a ſpirit of faction. He then entered into a general defence of the conduct of Lord St. Vincent, particularly with reſpect to his detection of the frauds in the dock yards, &c. in which reſiſtance he conſidered him to be clearing the bottom of the commonwealth from the vermin, filth, and rotteneſs with which it was infeſted by the late adminiſtration.

Mr. Fox ſpoke in favour of the motion. Mr. Addington obſerved that the object of miniſters was not to oppoſe information, but merely to reſtrain unneceſſary proceedings. Captain Markham ſaid that the total number of ſeamen employed at that inſtant was ninety-eight thouſand. He condemned the practice of building ſhips of war in the merchants yards. The houſe then divided,

For the motion - -	130
Againſt it - - -	201
Majority	71

The Volunteer Regulation Bill having paſſed the Houſe of Commons, in which it was debated in every ſtage, was read a firſt time in the Houſe of Lords, with a few obſervations, which chiefly turned on the importance of the meaſure, and the neceſſity of diſcuſſing it with temper.

On the order of the day for the ſecond reading of this bill, Lord Hawkeſbury remarked, that with regard to the point which had been ſo repeatedly urged, that his majeſty's government depended chiefly upon the volunteer force for the defence of the country, he ſhould decidedly proteſt againſt it: the firſt general mode of defence which they relied upon, was the regular eſtabliſhed military force of the country. In viewing the ſtate and preparation of that force at that time, he would have to look comparatively at what it was in former periods, of equal or nearly ſimilar urgency; not in an invidious point of view, but merely to ſtate the real facts of the caſe. There were at the time he was addreſſing the houſe, one hundred and eighty thouſand regular troops in the united kingdom. The volunteer force, however, for general ſervice, though it might be inferior to this, was, he contended, in ſome points of view, more efficacious than any other ſpecies of defenſive force: it was intended to act, in general, as a ſubſidiary body. His lordſhip took a view of the comparative advantages and diſadvantages of the invaded and invaders: one great and permanent advantage which this country would poſſeſs on that occaſion would be, that ſhe would have an armed nation at her ſide, the manifold ſuperiority of which could be more eaſily conceived than deſcribed. The known and eſtabliſhed prerogative of the crown, to call upon all the liege ſubjects of the realm to come forward, and arm in defence thereof, in caſe of actual invaſion, was certainly a conſolatory and important conſideration; but the difficulty lay in rendering the force thus acquired adequately ſucceſsful without previous preparation. This was the object government had in view when they propoſed legiſlative meaſures for arraying the national defence, and dividing the population of the country into diſtinct claſſes, which could be regularly recurred to, as the exigency ſhould require. At the ſame time, with reference to meaſures connected with that under conſideration, a ſuſpending power was veſted in the crown, on ſuch occaſions, as a certain proportionate number of volunteers ſhould come forward in different parts of the kingdom. This ſpecies of force, being deemed upon the whole decidedly preferable to the other, which it was felt would be productive of more inconveniencies to individuals, it was thought beſt to take advantage of that zeal and patriotic ardour which the volunteers manifeſted in freely coming forward in defence of their country; and under theſe conſiderations, whenever a certain proportion of volunteers were embodied, it was held unneceſſary to carry the general Defence Act into execution. The number at the time he was ſpeaking, fell little ſhort of three hundred and thirty thouſand. A

force of that immenſe number, was in itſelf not only of the higheſt importance, and an acquiſition, the advantages of which were almoſt incalculable; but it might neceſſarily be ſuppoſed to conſiſt of ſuch a variety of materials, and to involve ſo many various conſiderations, that the ground for aſtoniſhment fairly was, that ſo few difficulties were found to intervene in its organization and progreſſion to that ſtate of diſcipline and efficacy which it had attained. He then adverted to the idea of the utility of an armed peaſantry, which had been inſiſted upon by ſome as ſo far preferable, as to juſtify the cancelling and diſſolution of that armed force then under conſideration. He was aware, that in ſome circumſtances and ſituations an armed peaſantry might be uſed with effect; but it was held a matter of great doubt in ſome of the moſt reſpectable military opinions in the country, whether a force of that deſcription were beſt calculated for a conteſt of the nature of that in which we were embarked; and whether in all its bearings and relations, the force to which the bill in queſtion referred was not preferable. With reſpect to the conteſt, generally ſpeaking, in which we were involved, the wiſeſt policy, eſpecially with reference to the bill in debate, would be to conſider it as likely to be protracted, and the force in queſtion, as one of which we could avail ourſelves at any future period. Upon theſe general grounds, the ſyſtem of regulations which the bill went to enact, would, he thought, be the moſt adviſeable. The conſideration of diſcipline ſhould not be puſhed to that extent as to render it inconvenient or haraſſing to individuals, or to interfere too much with their private or civil concerns. It had been contended, that a third or a fourth part of the preſent amount, perfectly and regularly diſciplined and trained, would be preferable to the greater number moderately diſciplined; but this was very queſtionable. Having glanced at ſome of the moſt prominent regulations of the bill, he declared it as his opinion, that it was fair and proper that the conditions upon which the volunteers entered ſhould be ſcrupulouſly fulfilled on the part of government; and ſuch was certainly intended, with reſpect to the orders held out of the right of volunteers to elect their own officers; nothing, he obſerved, in the acts on that ſubject, tended to countenance ſuch a poſition. The language of the act was, that the officers ſhould be perſons holding commiſſions from his majeſty, which clearly implied a diſcretionary power in the crown. He ſpoke in terms of the higheſt ſatisfaction of the powerful military force which the exertions and policy of miniſters had called into exiſtence, and which would be found to be numerous and effective beyond all former example: he inſtanced the caſe of the year 1789, when theſe iſlands, he ſaid, were held to be in danger of invaſion, the government of that day boaſted their accumulated force of two hundred and fifty thouſand men. The real queſtion, however, was, not whether comparatively more or leſs had been done, but whether enough had been done towards perfecting the national mode of defence.

The Earl of Caernarvon acknowledged, that a ſpirit and courage more than equal to the dangers that threatened, had manifeſted itſelf throughout all claſſes of people in the nation, in a manner without example, ſuch as might have ſupplied miniſters with ample means of organizing ſome permanent ſyſtem of defence, capable of reſiſting any attacks which our moſt inveterate enemies could make upon us. But miniſters had been bewildered with the quantity of materials in their hands, and whatever advantages might have been derived from a volunteer ſyſtem, had been loſt by their miſmanagement. They had encouraged and accepted offers, reſerving to the corps the extraordinary power of withdrawing their ſervices at pleaſure, at any time before the appearance of the enemy, ſo that the danger might meet us without force; and to this abſurdity they had pledged the king's faith, and put it out of the power of a committee to correct this error. He conſidered the Defence Act, and the bill under conſideration, as one; they were indeed ſo interwoven, that they could not be ſeparated; the firſt was the reputed parent and heir of the latter, for miniſters confeſſed that the failure of the volunteer ſyſtem was to be replaced by the Defence Act, which was then placed on the ſhelf, and remained a dead letter. This extraordinary act was founded on an aſſertion of an ancient prerogative of the crown, of which not the ſlighteſt proof was produced when the bill was hurried with unexampled precipitation through that houſe. The aſſertion of this unknown, though, it ſeemed, undoubted prerogative, appeared to have been intended for the ſole purpoſe of making the extraordinary proviſions of the bill appear to be deeply rooted in the ancient conſtitution of this country, leſt that ſyſtem adopted by the bill ſhould be found to be repugnant to mankind, namely, of blending all claſſes and conditions of men, from the Prince of Wales, (the firſt ſubject) to the loweſt beggar that infeſted the ſtreets, in one common array, as common ſoldiers equally ſerving in the ranks, and liable to the moſt diſgraceful puniſhment for offending the dignity and commands of a Chelſea penſioner, ſerjeant, or corporal, to be placed over them; equally liable, from the higheſt to the loweſt, to be transferred to the ranks of the regulars, militia, or fencibles. The Prince of Wales, if he had not fortunately been colonel of a regiment of dragoons, would have found that his ſtation in the country, when its dangers called every man to his poſt, was decided by this act to be in the ranks, a common ſoldier, looking to corporals'

rank

rank as promotion. No man but thoſe who formed this plan, could believe ſuch an impracticable ſyſtem of folly could have ſuggeſted itſelf as a ſerious ſyſtem of defence to a ſet of men calling themſelves ſtateſmen; or could expect a facility in its execution, introduced by the aſſertion of a prerogative which never exiſted; nor could, if it even did, be put into execution. But in truth the ſyſtem was not ſo much calculated, or intended to be acted upon, as to create a terror, which would have the effect of creating volunteers by *compulſion*, on which the framers of the bill placed their ultimate hope for the defence of the country. By this ingenious contrivance it was expected that volunteers would come forward to protect their neighbours from the oppreſſive operation of the act; and being ſo produced, would make a better defence againſt the enemy than an army compoſed by the act of perſons whoſe education, habits of life, and inclielination, would revolt againſt the poſition in which they would be placed by force. The framers of the bill might have waited in vain for any extenſive army of volunteers raiſed by the ſole deſire of protecting their neighbours from ſimilar ſervice, unleſs purchaſed by them ſo to do (which might alſo have been intended by the act) but the ſpirit and courage of the nation outſtript the operation, or even the conſideration of the bill, and tendered a force in the true and genuine ſpirit of patriotiſm, raiſed by indignation at the threats of an implacable enemy, and by attachment to their king and country.

Lord Ellenborough ſaid, that if he had not been uſed to hear the moſt monſtrous propoſitions, he ſhould have thought it impoſſible that any perſon ſhould gravely expreſs a doubt of the prerogative in the king to require the aſſiſtance of his liege ſubjects in caſe of an invaſion. It would go along with the feeling of every man, even if he had not given himſelf the pains to examine into the ſtatutes and rolls of parliament, which would have ſoon convinced him that no doubts could ariſe in the minds of thoſe moſt diſpoſed to review them, of the exiſtence of that prerogative. The power of requiring the aſſiſtance of every man againſt the invaſion of an enemy, ought in every civilized country to exiſt ſomewhere, and it could not be placed in any hands but thoſe of the ſovereign head of the ſtate. The country would be without defence, unleſs ſuch power could be reſorted to; whoever had the right to make war, muſt have the power to carry it on; and if the noble lord had been at the trouble of reading the acts, he would have found, that in the thirteenth of Edward I. all men, according to their faculties, are ordered to provide themſelves with arms. The words of that ſtatute ran; "It is commanded that every man have in his houſe harneſs to keep the peace after the ancient aſſize; that is to ſay, every man between fifty and ſixty years ſhall be aſſeſſed and ſworn to arm, according to their quantity of lands and goods." And the act of the firſt of Edward III. cap. 5. ran alſo in theſe words: "No man ſhall be charged to arm himſelf otherwiſe than he was wont; and no man ſhall be compelled to go out of his ſhire but when neceſſity requireth; and ſudden coming of ſtrange enemies into the realm, and then it ſhall be done as hath been uſed in time paſt for the defence of the realm." His lordſhip obſerved that it was impoſſible to read that act, and withhold conviction of the exiſting prerogative to call out every man upon the coming of ſtrange enemies into the land; and if more proof was required, the commiſſion of array, which was referred to the conſideration of parliament, in the fifth of Henry IV. would prove the exiſtence of this very prerogative.

The Earl of Caernarvon replied, that he had not received the conviction he expected from the great knowledge and abilities of the learned lord. "I am very ready," ſaid the noble earl, "to admit as an axiom of law extending over all the civilized world, that the power to require the military ſervice of all men (according to their ſtations) on the invaſion of the kingdom by a foreign enemy, muſt exiſt ſomewhere, and that it cannot exiſt in any other hands but where the ſovereign authority reſides; but I do not draw the ſame inference as the noble lord does, that it is therefore (by force of the principle contained in the axiom) placed in the hands of the king, in this country, where the monarchy is limited, and the ſovereign power is in many inſtances divided amongſt the three eſtates; nor is it pretended that the king is entitled to all the powers which may be neceſſary to carry on a warfare, into which he has an undoubted right to enter. Whoever, therefore, allows the former exiſtence of a prerogative, now in diſuſe, is certainly bound to prove it beyond any doubt. The learned lord began with citing the thirteenth of Edward I. as if it was part of the military ſyſtem of that age, for the defence of the country againſt foreign enemies; or was intended to arm the king's hands for war. Without going further into the act, than the learned lord had read, it was obviouſly a proviſion of arms to keep the peace, and not to carry on war; and in the concluſion of the act it enjoins ſheriffs and conſtables "to take heed that thoſe ſo armed follow the hue and cry of the country;" and the title given to the act was "for the view of arms to follow the hue and cry;" and nothing was ſo clear, as that this was the meaning of that act, and up to that moment no perſon was exempted from following the hue and cry of their reſpective counties; and if any doubt could ſubſiſt whether this act made part of the general ſyſtem of offence and defence againſt foreign enemies, the act of the fourth of Henry IV. chap. 13. put it out of doubt; by omitting that act,

act, when it recited and confirmed all the other ſubſiſting acts, which clearly related to the general military ſyſtem. The learned lord had omitted to read the act of fourth Henry IV. which diſtinctly proved that no perſon (whatever encroachment of prerogative might have been attempted) could be called upon for military ſervice, but by tenure, and aſſent, and grant of parliament. The act of the fourth of Henry IV. chap. 13. ran in theſe words: "It is ordained and eſtabliſhed that the ſtatute made in the firſt year of king Edward III. grandfather to our Lord the king that now is, containing, "that none ſhall be conſtrained to go out of their counties but only for cauſe of neceſſity, and ſudden coming of ſtrange enemies into the realm;" and the ſtatute made in the tenth year of the ſaid grandfather, chap. 7. "that men of arms, archers, and hoblers, choſen to go on the king's ſervice out of England, ſhall be on the king's wages from the day they do depart out of the counties where they were choſen:" and alſo the ſtatute made the twenty-fifth year of the ſaid grandfather, "tha no man be compelled to find men of arms, archers, nor hoblers, other than thoſe which they do hold by ſuch ſervice; unleſs it be by common aſſent and grant of parliament, be firmly holden and kept in all points." This ſtatute was made to reſiſt encroachments made ſince the paſſing thoſe acts, which it revived (as if diſuſed) by recital and confirmation. The firſt was that read by the learned lord, and went to prove that no enemy being in the land, thoſe who owed ſervice to the king had been haraſſed by not paying their wages. And the laſt ſtates the law of the land reſpecting the military ſyſtem of thoſe days, as if againſt theſe encroachments, that no man of arms, &c. ſhould be compellable *unleſs by tenure*, or *conſent of parliament*. Nothing can be more clear and explicit than the words of the laſt ſtatute, which places the military power of the country on its undoubted baſis; namely, the *military tenures and authority* of parliament. If any prerogative could be inferred from thoſe ſtatutes, the ſtatute ſhould not be capable of being expounded by any other way, but by the ſuppoſition of ſuch a prerogative, namely, that of calling all men out of their counties on the appearance of a foreign enemy, without aſſent of parliament; but this ſtatute is perfectly intelligible and applicable to the military tenures known, and acknowledged to exiſt at the time, and therefore that act could not preſume any ſuch prerogative. No man was ſo little read in the hiſtory of this country, as not to know that, from the conqueſt, the land was divided into ſixty thouſand knights' fees, productive of ſixty thouſand men, for forty days military ſervice, at the king's pleaſure; and that this large military force continued in ſtrict practical uſe by perſonal ſervice, until the time of Henry the Second, when a relaxation of perſonal ſervice began to inſinuate itſelf, and the introduction of ſubſtituted ſervice, and gradually a commutation by eſcuage certain by agreement, and uncertain when no ſuch agreement was made, took place; and that the laſt gave occaſion to great oppreſſion, by the claim of unlimited penalties, which roſe to ſo great a grievance, that in the time of king John, it was reprobated by *Magna Charta* in theſe words: "*Nullum ſcutagium ponatur in regno noſtro niſi per commune conſilium regni.*" So circumſtanced, the tenures, with their ſervices, or eſcuage, continued till their abolition by the twelfth Charles II. and the eſtabliſhment of an extenſive militia, under lords lieutenants of counties, and their reſpective deputies; and that this continued until the exiſtence of the preſent militia, with the occaſional introduction of a more regular and permanent army. In all that period, nothing like the prerogative aſſerted had been acknowledged. The preamble of the twelfth of Charles II. which reprobated the aſſumption of the command of the militia by parliament in the preceding reign, and declared the king's right to command all forces raiſed, did not inſinuate the power of raiſing ſuch force by the king's prerogative on any occaſion. He declared he was at a loſs in the view he had taken of the military hiſtory, to trace any ground on which ſuch a prerogative could have taken root; but he was ſure that the facts could not be explained by reference to the facts known from hiſtory, without having recourſe to an uncertain prerogative. Lord Ellenborough, no doubt, was more converſant in the channels through which information of that nature could be traced, than he; and he had been more ſucceſsful in finding the commiſſion of array which he had cited, which, he ſaid, *paſſed the legiſlature* in the fifth of Henry IV. No ſuch ſtatute appeared on the ſtatute book, though (on finding an aſſertion of ſuch a commiſſion) he had ſearched for it. The commiſſion of array, in whatever words it might be couched, would not bring conviction home to any mind, as he was well aware that the times were productive of encroachments of that ſort. The act of the firſt Edward III. chap. 7. ſtated, "that commiſſions had been awarded to certain people of ſhires, to prepare men of arms, &c. and enacted, that it ſhould be done ſo no more." The act of the firſt Edward III. chap. 15. ſtated, "that by evil counſellors the king had bound people by writing to raiſe armed men, and forbids it." Frequent attempts to raiſe an army by commiſſion might have been made, and perhaps ſubmitted to at times, and at times reprobated. With reſpect to that to which his lordſhip had alluded, he could only obſerve, that by his own account of it, it ſhould have derived its *authority from parliament*, and *not from prerogative*. The execution of the ordinances of parliament was always intruſted to the king;

king; and it appeared alſo on the face of the ſtatement, that the commiſſion in parliament the fifth of Henry IV. was only the year following the act of the fourth of Henry IV. which he had already cited; which, as diſtinctly as words could convey their meaning, declared, "That no man ſhall be conſtrained to find men of arms, hoblers (horſemen) or archers, others than thoſe who hold ſuch ſervices, if not by common aſſent and grant of parliament." The commiſſion could not therefore be ſuppoſed to contradict the parliamentary doctrine of the year before, and its being contained in an act of parliament, was a proof that it was in conformity to the doctrine of the preceding year, and derived its authority from parliament, and not from prerogative.

Lord King regarded the bill as a maſs of abſurdities and incongruity, which he thought to be the general character of all the meaſures adopted by miniſters upon the ſubject. It had the effect of counteracting not only the regular army, but the militia force, and the army of reſerve; this was principally done by means of the exemptions; the militia and the army of reſerve alſo, in a great degree, counteracted each other.

Lord Boringdon differed materially from Lord Hawkeſbury, as to the efficiency at that time of the volunteer force; and as for the danger which might be apprehended from the volunteers being diſpoſed to diſband themſelves in caſe of a protracted conteſt. The dangers he thought would ariſe from the character and complexion of his majeſty's then government, and not from any want of patriotiſm or perſeverance on the part of the volunteers, whoſe conduct was beyond all praiſe.

The biſhop of Landaff ſaid he had little, or to ſpeak more properly, no military knowledge; but he loved his country, and could not ſee it tottering on the extremeſt verge of deſtruction, without uttering a cry, however faint, without ſtretching out an arm, however feeble, to prevent its fall. The die was in the air, which, by its fall, would indicate the ruin of Bonaparte, or Britain; which would indicate the conſequent reduction of France in their ancient limits, or the conſequent reduction of all the ſtates of Europe under the military yoke of the French republic.

But that cataſtrophe he thought was not to be diverted by the co-operation of certain individuals, however honourable in principle, however eminent in ability; but by the co-operation which the ſtate of the country at the time demanded, of an entire, cordial, diſintereſted concurrence of all the talents in the empire. He would not take upon him to impute to the adminiſtration, what had been ſo abundantly laid to their charge—inability. He had no public document, no private knowledge of them, which would enable him to form a proper judgment: But if they had been guilty of miſtakes, ſurely the novelty and unparalleled difficulty of their ſituation would with many, at leaſt it did with him, plead their excuſe. It was not at this time a queſtion whether the volunteer was the beſt ſyſtem which could have been deviſed for the defence of the country: it was the ſyſtem which had been adopted, and which could not be with ſafety abandoned. He always conſidered it as one of the moſt noble in its principle, moſt difficult in its execution, and he truſted it would be found moſt ſucceſsful in its operation. No country in the world had given a ſtronger proof of the patriotiſm of its inhabitants, than the volunteers of Great Britain. They conſiſted not of an indebted, diſcontented, miſerable rabble of the country, but of men of rank, of men of letters, of men of property, of reſpectable yeomen, tradeſmen, manufacturers, of all deſcriptions of reſpectable perſons, from the peer to the peaſant; from the enlightened ſtateſman to the political peruſal of a weekly newſpaper, or monthly magazine, all were animated with an ardent zeal to defend their country. And why were they all animated with that zeal? Becauſe they all knew there was not then, nor ever was a country, on the globe, in which all enjoyed, in their ſeveral ſtations, the various bleſſings of civilized ſociety, ſo ſecurely, and ſo abundantly, as every individual enjoyed in this. This was the knowledge which had excited, and carried to an unexampled height, the ſpirit of volunteering. This ſpirit was not a vain, frivolous holiday kind of ſpirit, captivated with military parade; it was not a vain, ſaucy, capricious ſpirit, diſdaining reproof, regulation, and reſtraint. No, it was a manly ſpirit of enlightened patriotiſm, which was ſenſible, that to produce its proper effect it ſtood in need of, it ought to ſubmit to inſtruction, diſcipline, and direction. But ſuppoſing that the volunteer ſyſtem could be brought to the higheſt degree of perfection of which it was ſuſceptible, another queſtion preſented itſelf. Would it be ſufficient for our protection? He was not able to anſwer this queſtion; for, ſo precarious were the events of war, that no man was able to anſwer it with certainty? But ſuppoſing that it was not ſufficient, what need was there for our deſpair? There were abundant reſources to ſupply the deficiency of the volunteer ſyſtem. If arms were wanted, why not put all the gunſmiths, ſword-cutlers, and blackſmiths in the empire into requiſition? Why not call out every man in the country not already enrolled in its defence, and capable of bearing arms, putting into the hands of theſe men the arms ſo prepared. If horſes were wanted, why not put into requiſition every coach and ſaddle horſe in the kingdom, to be trained and fitted for the various purpoſes of war. No man on ſuch an occaſion would grudge to tranſact his buſineſs on foot. Their Lordſhips would be proud to ſet the example, by walk-

ing down to the houſe; and the women, he ſpoke it to their honour, would on ſuch an occaſion be content to ſtay at home. Did they want ſhips? Why not hire all the merchantmen, and ſmall craft, which could be ſpeedily fitted out for the purpoſe. As to large ſhips, let our enemies build them; and let us truſt to our gallant admirals, and the tars of Old England, to conduct them into the ports of Great Britain. Did they want money? Scruple not the impoſition of taxes at that moment. Property was the creature of civil ſociety. The ſtate had a right to all individual property, if it was wanted for the general ſafety; and as the money thus raiſed would circulate amongſt ourſelves, wealth might chance to change hands, but the nation would not be impoveriſhed. Theſe, or meaſures ſuch as theſe, if brought forward with promptitude, and executed with vigour, might, when indemnified by parliamentary wiſdom, ſave the country. He dreaded the genius, he dreaded the intrigue of the enemy; but above all he dreaded the effect of that political paralyſis with which, by means of his arms, and by his intrigues, he had deadened the activity of every cabinet on the Continent. Yet he firmly relied on the courage and unanimity of this country to repel an invaſion. No perſonal ſervices, no privation of luxuries, no diminution of property, ought to be complained of while we were ſtruggling for our exiſtence as a free people. For his own part, he had rather live upon oat bread, and water, and be ſhod with the wooden clogs of Weſtmoreland, for the reſt of his life, as a free ſubject of this limited monarchy, than to be pampered with all the delicacies, cooked with all the luxuries of this luxurious town, as a ſlave of the French republic.

Lord Romney conceived that the bill under conſideration contained many regulations which tended to improve and meliorate the volunteer ſyſtem. The duke of Somerſet profeſſed himſelf to be a friend to the continuation of the ſyſtem. Lord Fife ſaid he could not but regret, that many reflexions had been thrown out in ſpeeches and in publications againſt the volunteer ſyſtem, ſome from ignorance and folly, and others, he was afraid, from worſe principles. He was confident the moſt malicious inſinuations would not raiſe a jealouſy between the volunteers and the regular army; it was their wiſh, honour, and intereſt, to ſupport each other. He had great experience laſt war in raiſing volunteers in the country, where he had the honour to be lord lieutenant. He had at the time he was addreſſing their lordſhips a very conſiderable number, and might have had more, had government accepted of the offers; and he was proud to ſay, during all that period, he never had occaſion to make a complaint to the war office but once, and that was of a captain returning a lieutenant preſent when abſent, and he was ſuperſeded. His lordſhip was of opinion that the volunteers had the power of reſigning, but at the ſame time he was fully confident, that they would never deſire to exerciſe that right ſo long as their country required their ſervices; and he ſaid he ſhould have regretted it extremely, had any meaſure been adopted which would have made any alteration in their willing and patriotic offers. He was happy to have that opportunity of complimenting a learned lord (Ellenborough, in the caſe of Mr. Dowley) on a deciſion which had done him great honour, and given univerſal ſatisfaction. He would never agree, however, to allow the men the power of chooſing their own officers; he had heard of the exiſtence of ſuch a practice, but in the part of the country in which he lived it had never been heard of or practiſed.

Lord Grenville affirmed that no man could entertain a higher idea than he did of the zeal, the energy, and the ſpirit of the people of England; and no idea could be more monſtrous than to ſuppoſe that one hundred thouſand volunteers, who had ſtepped forward in defence of the liberties and independence of their country, would not be found capable of the moſt important ſervices. It was not that he doubted of the courage of the volunteers of England, but it was keeping in view that thoſe whom they had to encounter were troops of undoubted courage, and who had enjoyed the advantage of a degree of diſcipline, obtained in not leſs than twelve campaigns, in which they were oppoſed to all the beſt diſciplined troops in Europe. With the knowledge of the enemy to be oppoſed, it was undoubtedly the duty of miniſters to have directed their principal attention to that deſcription of force which was to be encountered. In the bill before the houſe he could not obſerve the ſlighteſt appearance of a regular military ſyſtem. Since the commencement of the war he had ſeen no evidence of a ſyſtem adequate to the criſis in which we were placed, the various parts of which had any reaſonable degree of relation or connexion. Was it not allowed by miniſters themſelves, that during the ſhort interval of a peace the whole conduct of the enemy had been an uniform ſyſtem of violence and aggreſſion? On what principle was it, then, that miniſters diſbanded the militia, or were ſo backward in re-embodying them, he could not pretend to decide; their conduct in that inſtance was hardly reconcileable to any of the ordinary principles of human affairs. It was a ſubject of conſiderable intereſt to look to the ſucceſſive meaſure of miniſters for the defence of the country. The firſt in any point of view calculated to ſecure the augmentation of the regular army, was the bill for raiſing the army of reſerve. But how was the operation of that act encouraged by ſubſequent proceedings? The conduct of miniſters was characterized by their uſual confuſion and irregularity. They

They immediately introduced the general defence act; hardly two days elapſed before in two or three lines, the whole meaſure was rendered nugatory.—Miniſters took on themſelves to hold forth that voluntary offers ſhould be commuted for the general proviſions of the training acts. Not contented with this, they introduced a moſt extenſive and unparalleled ſyſtem of exemptions: They went ſo far as to introduce into a volunteer bill, proviſions not only exempting from the ballots for the militia and army of reſerve, then in exiſtence, but from all ballots which might afterwards be appointed by a ſolemn act of the legiſlature. It would be obvious to every one who took the trouble of exerciſing his judgment on the ſubject, that ſuch proviſions were utterly incompatible with the exiſtence of a regular army. Of the courage of the volunteers, no man could poſſibly entertain a doubt, and after the previous experience which had been attained of the ſervice of the militia, no man would pretend that they were not to be conſidered as a moſt important part of our national defence. Miniſters, however, ought to have properly balanced the means of uniting and harmonizing the application of thoſe different eſtabliſhments, ſo as in the leaſt poſſible degree to interfere with the military eſtabliſhment of the country. Inſtead of any encouragement having been held out to the regular army, it had been thwarted and embarraſſed. What he principally objected to was, that ſervice in volunteer corps protected not againſt one ballot for the militia, but againſt all ballots, even before the militia were completed. He contended that the ſyſtem purſued by miniſters on this ſubject was eſſentially different from that purſued during the late war: he did not deny that the volunteer eſtabliſhment, during the late war, admitted of exemptions from the militia ballots; but the exemption was given under quite different circumſtances. During the late war, the exemptions given to the volunteers ſucceeded the embodying of the militia; whereas, as the exemptions now ſtood, they accompanied and materially interfered with the filling up of the militia. The volunteer ſyſtem unexpectedly encreaſed beyond what miniſters thought neceſſary, and here again they ſtepped in to embarraſs and check the exertions and enthuſiaſm of the people; the people were to be perpetually trifled with; and when volunteers did not appear in ſufficient numbers, they were to be brought forward by threats of the general training bill. It was not at all his object to diſpute, under particular circumſtances, the right of the ſovereign to call out the population of the country; he muſt, however, ſtrongly object to the clauſe in the bill by which that power was defined. As the clauſe then ſtood, the power profeſſed to be veſted in the crown was monſtrous and unconſtitutional, and beyond all previous example. He could not pretend to be ſo well verſed as Lord Ellenborough in what had been very properly ſtyled the antiquity of the law. Some of the caſes cited by the learned lord, did however appear to him to be quite unapplicable to the preſent age, and the circumſtances of the country. He would not enter the liſts with that learned lord as to the conſtitutional opinions entertained in the time of Henry III. and Edward I. with reſpect to the power of the ſovereign to call out the population of the country. He did not controvert the ſovereign's right generally ſtated; in the preſent age, however, it was not to be received without a certain degree of limitation. It was the act, not of the ſovereign perſonally, but of the ſovereign acting under the ſanction and authority of parliament. This was the only intelligible uſe of the right in a country profeſſing to be governed by a ſyſtem of laws fairly and juſtly adminiſtered. When this power was exerciſed at all, it was to be generally and juſtly applied; it was not to be made the inſtrument of injuſtice, of partiality or revenge. To ſuppoſe that it could be exerciſed in that way, would be to ſubvert the whole ſyſtem of a free government; to pretend that the prerogative of the crown could extend ſo far as that any individuals could at pleaſure be transferred either to a regiment of the line, or to a militia regiment, was a poſition altogether monſtrous and abominable. It was objected, and juſtly, to the odious and tyrannical government of France, that the people were liable to be driven to every ſpecies of military ſervice. With what propriety then could miniſters call on the people of this country to ſtand forth in defence of a conſtitution, if the tyrannic power to which he had juſt alluded was ſanctioned? He contended that a clauſe in the bill did ſanction ſuch a power, and that that was the firſt inſtance of ſuch an arbitrary arrangement in the whole annals of the country. He wiſhed to know what ſource ſuch an odious doctrine was derived from. It could not be traced in the feudal times; for then the terms of ſervice were expreſsly limited Was it from the example of the iſſuing of the commiſſions of array? He conceived that it would be a waſte of time to ſhew that thoſe commiſſions afforded no argument for the unconſtitutional power granted by the bill. At the commencement of the civil war ſuch a power was contended for by the crown lawyers, but all the ableſt legal authorities of that day reſiſted it. So convinced was the king of the illegality of the power, that it was not acted upon in any inſtance. After the reſtoration, it was not attempted to be carried into practice, and militia laws ſoon after were ſubſtituted in its room.

The Lord Chancellor remarked that all the talents of Lord Grenville, and all the talents that were connected with that noble lord, could not have effected a more perfect ſyſtem than that now introduced to the houſe. No man, it was true, could deny that a ſtrong and numerous regular

gular force was desirable, and better in many respects than volunteers; but it would be allowed at the same time that such a regular force could not be so easily, nor in so short time raised to an amount equal to the efficacy of the volunteers. The learned lord then noticed what had been advanced by lord Grenville on the royal prerogative, to call out the people in case of actual danger. Against the restrictions which lord Grenville had imposed on that prerogative, he entered the most solemn protest, and argued the propriety of that prerogative from the necessity of the case in which it was supposed to be exercised. This prerogative was only claimed in case of invasion, and the good of the country and the safety of the people would then require such a sacrifice, even independent of the law of the land. His lordship here put a case, that should an invasion be made, and a landing effected when parliament was not sitting, what would be the result if this prerogative of the crown be suspended, or even so limited as to render it ineffective.

Lord Grenville replied that he had not contended that the sovereign had not a right, in cases of invasion, to require the services of his liege subjects, because, that the king had a right, representing the community, to call, in such a case of extreme necessity, upon the services of all his subjects; for the public service was not only a constitutional principle, but formed a part of the essence of civil society. What he objected to was, that the bill in carrying that principle into execution, gave the crown a power, not to call upon the whole or any class of the people, but upon any individual, and to place him in any regiment of the line or militia.

Lord Spencer thought that whatever might be the principle of the provisionary cavalry under the former administration, he could not see the necessity of it in the bill in question. Lord Hobart drew a comparison between the then force of the country, and that under the former administration. A greater force, it was true, was necessary at the time he was speaking, and therefore the means of raising that force were necessarily more extended. From the returns of the office with which he was connected, there were in the last war 175,000 regulars and militia, and upwards of 168,000 volunteers, whereas at the moment he was addressing their lordships there were above 682,000 effective men. The duke of Montrose contended that the prominent character of a good soldier was not courage only, but a determination to fight against the enemy. He delivered an eulogium on the Edinburgh volunteers; for them he would venture to answer. He was hostile to the exemptions; honour, glory, and safety ought to be the only reward of the volunteers. Lord Westmoreland defended the principle of the bill. The great extent of our coast, in proportion to the population of the country, was such as made it absolutely necessary; that when we saw that coast threatened, some extraordinary measures should be resorted, in order to apportion our means in some degree to that which was opposed to us. The commerce, the finances, and the industry of the country were unable to bear the pressure of the expence or other inconveniencies which might arise from the circumstance of the government having recourse to the ordinary means of raising a military body, if they raised it to that extent which the circumstances of the case required. It was therefore evident that something like the measure in debate should be adopted; and in so doing ministers had wisely followed the steps of the late administration, of which he was happy to say he formed a part.

Lord Auckland closed the debate. He said he was not aware that it would have been prudent or even practicable to have adopted any other system of defence commensurate to the dangers with which we had been threatened. He lamented the necessity of war; but our situation at that instant was preferable to that in which we found ourselves during the short period of nominal peace. Fortunately for us, the wickedest of mankind was the most intemperate of mankind, and his imprudence had counteracted his malignity. He could not govern his domineering vanity; he had exhibited every vice but that of hypocrisy. Instead of lulling us into a false security by protestations and flattery, he had insolently apprised us of his intentions to erase us from the nations of the world. Happily therefore he had forced us into a war before his plans were ripe for explosion; and therefore without levity or presumption we might boldly bid defiance to him. There will not be a doubt in any cool and unprejudiced mind, that with the combined force of our navy, army, militia, and volunteers, amounting together to about 700,000 men, we were more an object of dread and danger to France than France could be to us. The bill was then read a second time.

On Wednesday, the 28th of March, Lord Hawkesbury moved that his Majesty's message respecting the Irish militia be taken into consideration. His lordship hoped that the address which he meant to propose would meet the unanimous concurrence of their lordships. The address would not tend to pledge the house to the adoption of any specific measure; but merely general expressions of their willingness to concur in enabling his Majesty to avail himself of the offers made by several regiments of the Irish militia. The voluntary coming forward of these troops in so laudable and patriotic a manner, was following up the auspicious measure of the union, in a most important and striking instance, and tending to identify the interests, the happiness, and prosperity of both parts of the united kingdom. His lordship then moved an address in the general terms which he had stated. The duke of Montrose declared he was happy

happy in such an accession of force in the then circumstances of the country; he would, however, offer a few observations, and first he would observe upon the injurious tendency of armed bodies of men being suffered to deliberate, and in that point of view he had to regret that the offer proceeded from the troops, he had rather such an extension of service were in consequence of a prescribed duty on the part of the government and the legislature; that which was performed by persons so circumstanced, as a duty, would be well executed, but when they considered it as doing something more than their duty, the chance of its being well performed was the less.—He thought it would be preferable in his Majesty's government, on such an occasion, to come forward in a manly way, and at once propose legislative measures to render reciprocal the militia services of both countries; this would be furthering the happy effects of the union, and the interests, the happiness, and the security of all parts of the united kingdom. Regulations of this kind were become the more necessary as the relative situation of these countries, more especially with regard to continental considerations, and the aggrandizement of France, was considerably changed. It would be necessary that this country should become a more military nation than it had been for some years past, and in this change, he thought the nobility and gentry of the united kingdom ought to take the lead; they should inure themselves to military habits. He was aware that the extension of the military services of the British militia to Ireland would be rather unpalatable to many of its officers, to some, who on account of age, feelings of disinclination, might not wish to serve out of England, and that the unavoidable consequences of such would be several resignations. This however would afford an opportunity to the introduction of young officers, even to the higher ranks of the militia service, which he thought would be preferable to having these corps officered by old men. The experience of history demonstrated that victories in general were achieved by young commanders; for instance, the cases of the war carried on by the old king of Prussia, and his successor the great Frederick, who was very young when he commenced his military career; and the repeated victories which the French gained over the Austrian forces in the late war, were principally owing to the exertions of their young officers. Young commanders might commit errors, but they generally retrieved them by achieving victory. Whereas, old men generally let the occasion go by, while their endeavours were directed to avoid the commission of mistakes.

The Marquis of Sligo observed that the Duke of Montrose seemed to consider, that if the services of the Irish militia were necessary in this country, it would be more advisable and more manly to obtain them by an act of parliament than by the acceptance of their proferred services. He said the Irish militia had been enlisted explicity to serve in Ireland *only*; and therefore, however wise the principle suggested by the noble duke, it could not be acted upon at that time. To comply with that advice, the first step necessary would be to discharge every one of those patriots who had tendered their services, and to enlist them again on the terms of extended services. Every measure tending to cement the union of Great Britain with Ireland, ever had, and ever should have, his warmest concurrence. Every thing that assimilated them to each other, every thing that made them one, every thing that created in them one interest and one feeling, added to the happiness, the strength and the security of the empire. And if the period should happily arrive, when a population of near twenty millions should be brought to act under one mind, and one feeling, they had little to fear from their enemies, though the world should combine against them.

The earl of Limerick remarked, that the conduct of the Irish militia was on that occasion above all praise. With respect to the duke of Montrose's idea of coming manfully forward with a legislative provision on the subject, it might be manly and courageous, but certainly under the circumstances of the case, it would be dangerous. He was averse to the experiment of legislating for men so circumstanced as were the troops in question, with arms in their hands. At the same time no man could more earnestly wish for a reciprocity of the militia service than himself, and he had always held out the idea as tending to consolidate the military force of the united kingdom.

Lord Grenville was solicitous to contribute his share of applause to the ardent zeal and patriotism of those troops, who had so laudably come forward; and he agreed with the marquis of Sligo in what he had stated as the probable result of the union between the two countries. It was the object of that great measure to identify the interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to promote the happiness and security of both; to bring them wholly under one legislature and system of laws; but that the spirit of government in both countries should be precisely the same. As far as these principles were acted upon, so far were the objects of the union attained. It would certainly have been preferable that the desired arrangement had been the result of legislative provisions, and not, as in the instances in question, proceeding from the voluntary offers of the corps themselves.

Lord Hobart highly commended the spirit and patriotic offer of the Irish militia; such, he was sensible, would always be the conduct of the people of that country, when not misled by the intrigues of their enemies. The question then was not whether it would have been better to raise fencible or militia

regiments in Ireland; as it had been determined to raiſe a militia, let that force be raiſed on the uſual condition of ſerving in the country. Since an engagement to that effect had been entered into, it was above all things neceſſary that the public faith ſhould not be violated.

Lord Darnley thought that the militia of both England and Ireland ſhould be liable ſince the union to ſerve in either country. He did not underſtand how the offer of the Iriſh militia could be ſaid to augment the diſpoſable force of this country.

The marquis of Sligo ſaid that the meſſage from the houſe did not do entire juſtice to the zeal and patriotiſm of the Iriſh militia; that though it implied that offers of ſervice had been ſent from a certain part, he believed the entire of the militia had offered to volunteer to this country, and was perſuaded they would do ſo if they conceived their ſervices would have been accepted; that many or moſt part of them had made the ſame tender during the laſt war.—The addreſs was then voted *nem. dis.*

CHAP. IX.

Eaſt Indies.—Progreſs of Chriſtianity in India.—Gallant Actions of our Cruiſers in the Weſt Indies.—Affecting Account of the Loſs of the Apollo Frigate.

IF we look back to the events of the laſt month, we ſhall find our victories in the Eaſt Indies brilliant and rapid beyond all former example; but it is but juſtice to the enemy to ſay, that he never fought with ſo much obſtinacy; in ſome of the engagements almoſt every foot of ground was conteſted. The reſult of our ſucceſſes in that quarter is not to be eſtimated ſo much by the number of important poſts that fell into our hands, nor yet by additional territory, as that the defeat of thoſe troops which were inſtructed in European tactics by French officers, and on whom Scindia placed his ſole reliance. Thoſe French officers themſelves ſaw at length that it was in vain to oppoſe the cool but determined courage of the Britiſh army, and were in their turn obliged to yield. The only article of intelligence from the Eaſt Indies of hiſtorical importance in the courſe of the month on the affairs of which we are now treating was the publication from admiral Ranier, dated Bombay, December 14; which announced the capture of two Dutch ſhips, carrying ſix guns each, laden with ſugar, coffee, &c. alſo three French ſhips, the Phœnix of one hundred and ſixty tons, laden with pepper, ſpice, &c. the Petite Africaine of twenty-eight men and one hundred and ſixty tons, in ballaſt; the brig Maria Françoiſe of two hundred and fifty tons, laden with field artillery, ordnance, &c. At the time that the flames of war were devaſtating ſome of the fineſt provinces of India, it muſt be highly conſolatory to learn that Chriſtianity was daily gaining conqueſts in that country, over bigotry and ſuperſtition. On the eighth of May the ſociety in Edinburgh for the propagation of the goſpel received a letter from the Rev. Mr. Carey, the head of the Baptiſt miſſion in Bengal, in which he ſtated that a number of natives had been baptiſed and added to the church, in conſequence of ſufficient proof that they underſtood, and had received the goſpel. One of theſe proſelytes was a Brahmin, from the kingdom of Aſſam, who had been for ſeveral years a travelling devotee. Some of theſe converts gave hopes of talents fit for public uſefulneſs among their countrymen. Several copies of the New Teſtament in the Bengalee language were diſtributed in the weſtern provinces of Bahar, Oude, &c.

Several letters from Jamaica confirmed the failure of the expedition againſt Curacoa; it was thought proper, however, to keep the iſland in a ſtate of blockade, by the Blanche frigate, and two governvernment ſchooners.

A number of letters were received from Commodore Hood, of his Majeſty's ſhip Centaur, our chief naval commander at the Windward Iſlands, in the Weſt Indies. The firſt dated February 6, off Martinique, contained an account of a very gallant action performed by ſeventy-two ſeamen and marines belonging to the Centaur, under the command of Lieutenant Reynolds, in four boats. They captured a French corvette, of ſixteen long ſixes, and one hundred men, lying in Fort Royal harbour, after a very ſpirited reſiſtance. Every French officer but one, was either killed or wounded; and the captain (M. Cordier) who was among the latter, jumped overboard, and got on ſhore; our loſs in killed and wounded was only three officers, and ſix men.

In another letter, dated February 21, the commodore encloſed two letters from Captains Nourſe and Shipley, of the ſloops Cyane, and St. Lucia, ſtating the capture of four French privateers, which had very much annoyed our trade in that quarter.

On the 27th of February, the commander in chief encloſed a letter from Captain Carr, of the ſchooner L'Eclair, of ten guns, and ſixty men, deſcribing a moſt ſpirited action, in which, after a cloſe engagement of about an hour, they beat off a French privateer, the Grand Decide, carrying twenty-two nine pounders, and two hundred and thirty men.

On the 7th of March, the commodore wrote from Carliſle Bay, Barbadoes, that Captain Bland, of the Hereux, had taken a French armed ſchooner, after a long chaſe. Different captures were alſo made at Martinique, in the months of February and March.

Lieutenant King, in the ſloop Drake, carried

Fort Trinite, on the night of the 19th of February, with only thirty men, expoſed to triple that force.

Lieutenant Foreſt, of the Emerald, with thirty volunteers, on board the Fort Diamond armed ſloop, took poſſeſſion of the Moſambique French ſchooner privateer, of ten eighteens, in the moſt ſpirited manner, from under the batteries near the Pearl, on the 13th of March laſt.

And Lieutenant Furber, of the Blenheim, with fifty officers and men, in two boats, made a very gallant, though unſucceſsful attempt, to cut out a French armed ſchooner, which was chained to the beach, and lay under the protection of a battery at St. Pierre's.

Having already mentioned the loſs of the Apollo frigate, Captain F. Dixon, on the coaſt of Portugal, on her paſſage for the Weſt Indies; and as the circumſtances of the wreck of that fine veſſel is very affecting, we ſhall lay ſome of the particulars of it before the reader. On the 26th of March, 1804, ſhe ſailed from the Cove of Cork, with ſixty-nine ſail of merchant ſhips under convoy, for the Weſt Indies. Having reached within about three leagues of the coaſt of Portugal, north of Cape Mondego, about half paſt three o'clock on the 2d of April, the ſhip ſtruck the ground, to the aſtoniſhment of every one on board. She continued ſtriking the ground very heavy ſeveral times, by which her bottom was materially damaged, and making much water, the chain pumps were rigged with the utmoſt diſpatch, and the men began to pump; but in about ten minutes ſhe beat and drove over the ſhoal. On endeavouring to ſteer her, it was found that the rudder was carried away; ſhe then got before the wind, but from the quantity of water ſhe ſhipped, there was every probability of her ſoon foundering, as ſhe was ſinking, and filling very faſt. After running about five minutes, the ſhip ſtruck the ground again, with ſuch tremendous ſhocks, that it was apprehended ſhe would go to pieces every moment; ſhe kept ſtriking and driving further on the ſands, the ſea making breaches completely over her; the lanyards of the main and mizen rigging, and the maſts, fell with a tremendous craſh over the larboard ſide; the foremaſt went immediately after. The ſhip then fell on her ſtarboard ſide, with the gunwale under water. The violence with which ſhe ſtruck the ground, and the weight of the guns, thoſe on the quarter deck tearing away the bulwark, ſoon made the ſhip a perfect wreck abaft; only four or five guns could be poſſibly fired to alarm the convoy, and give notice of danger. On her ſtriking the ſecond time, pitiful cries were heard, where, between decks, many of the men were giving themſelves up to inevitable death. The ſhip ſtill beating the ground very heavy, made it neceſſary to cling faſt to ſome part of the wreck, to prevent being waſhed by the ſurges, or hurled by the dreadful concuſſions, overboard; the people holding faſt by the larboard bulwark of the quarter deck, and in the main channels, while the captain ſtood naked upon the cabin ſky light grating, holding faſt by the ſtump of the mizen maſt, and making uſe of every ſoothing expreſſion, which could have been ſuggeſted to encourage men in ſuch a perilous ſituation. Moſt of the officers and men were entirely naked, not having time to ſlip on a pair of trowſers. Day-light appearing about half paſt four o'clock, diſcovered the land at about two cables length diſtance, a long ſandy beach, reaching to Cape Mondego. When day-light cleared up, the crew could perceive between twenty and thirty ſail of the convoy aſhore, both to the northward and ſouthward, and ſeveral of them perfect wrecks. As it blew very hard, and a very great ſwell of the ſea, there was little proſpect of being ſaved. About eight o'clock, as there was every likelihood of the ſhip going to pieces, and the after part lying loweſt, Captain Dixon ordered every perſon forward, which it was very difficult to comply with, from the motion of the main-maſt working on the larboard gunwale, there being no other way to get forward. Soon after the people got forward, the ſhip parted at the gangways. The crew were now obliged to ſtow themſelves in the fore channels, and from thence to the bowſprit end, to the number of two hundred and twenty; for out of two hundred and forty perſons on board when the ſhip firſt ſtruck, it was ſuppoſed that twenty had periſhed between decks, and otherwiſe. About thirty perſons had the good fortune to reach the ſhore upon planks and ſpars. Monday the ſituation of the crew was beyond deſcription calamitous, the old men and boys dying through hunger and fatigue. Tueſday about noon, Lieutenant Harvey and Mr. Callam hoiſted out a boat from one of the merchant ſhips, to come to the aſſiſtance of their diſtreſſed ſhipmates. They ſeveral times attempted to launch her through the ſurf, but being a very heavy boat, and the ſea on the beach acting ſo powerfully againſt them, they could not poſſibly effect it. Several went upon rafts made from pieces of the wreck; but not one reached the ſhore; the wind having ſhifted, and the current ſetting out, they were all driven to ſea; amongſt them was the captain, who about three in the afternoon, went on the gib-boom with three ſeamen, anxious to ſave the remainder of the ſhip's company, and, too ſanguine of getting ſafe on ſhore, ventured upon the ſpar, ſaying, on jumping into the ſea, "My lads, I'll ſave you all;" in a few ſeconds he loſt his hold of the ſpar, which he could not regain; he drifted to ſea, and periſhed.

The night drawing on, the wind increaſing, frequent ſhowers of rain, the ſea waſhed over the wreck, the water running from the head down all over the body, kept the men continually wet; throughout the

the night the remaining ſtrength of every perſon was exerted for his individual ſafety. From the crowding ſo cloſe together, in ſo narrow a compaſs, and the want of ſomething to moiſten their mouths, ſeveral were ſuffocated; ſome drank ſalt water, ſeveral their own urine, and ſome chewed leather. On the appearance of day light, Lieutenant Harvey and Mr. Callam again endeavoured to launch the boat, ſeveral attempts were made without ſucceſs. About three in the afternoon of Wedneſday, the 4th, the unhappy ſufferers had the inexpreſſible happineſs of ſeeing the boat launched through the ſurf. All the crew then remaining on the wreck were brought ſafe to ſhore. Their weak ſtate may be conceived, when it is conſidered that they received no nouriſhment from Sunday to Wedneſday afternoon, and continually expoſed to the fury of the watry element.—About forty ſail of merchant ſhips, as already noticed, were wrecked at the ſame time on that dangerous beach, ſome of them ſunk with all their hands, and almoſt every ſhip loſt from two to twelve men each; yet the ſituation of the remainder was not equal to that of the frigate's ſhips company, as the merchant ſhips drawing a leſs draught of water, were moſtly driven cloſe on ſhore, and no perſon remained on board them after the firſt morning. The maſters of the merchant ſhips had tents upon the beach, and ſome proviſions they had ſaved from the wrecks, which they very generouſly diſtributed to the Apollo's ſhips company. Thus was loſt one of the fineſt frigates in the Britiſh navy, with ſixty-one of her crew. Dead bodies were every day floating aſhore, and pieces of wreck covered the beach ten miles in extent.

It cannot be denied that the elevation of the Firſt Conſul to the Imperial diadem is perhaps the moſt extraordinary event in the annals of modern Europe; an event that has already involved, and that is likely to involve the moſt important conſequences. And as we have hitherto noticed the means by which he aſcended into the conſular power, we ſhall follow it up, as a neceſſary portion of our hiſtory, in ſo many points of view, that it would be ſomething like an inſult to the good ſenſe of the reader to point out any one of them, either in peace or in war. Many were of opinion that Bonaparte would be gratified with the high office of firſt conſul, in which he was inveſted with all the authority of a crowned head; and which he exerciſed, but thoſe who marked his reſtleſs ambition foreſaw that he wiſhed to render the ſceptre of France hereditary in his family. The levity of the French character, their fondneſs for ſhew and novelty, were well known to Bonaparte, who ſaw that the time had now arrived when he could avail himſelf of the tide of popular opinion; which, however real or affected, ſeemed to run entirely in his favour. His flatterers and dependents, a numerous hoſt, began without loſs of time to propagate the idea of the neceſſity of bringing back France again to a monarchical form of government; and that as the firſt conſul had arreſted the revolutionary ſyſtem in its ſanguinary career, he ought, as the reward of his ſervices, to be called to the throne. The firſt hint of this kind in print appeared in the *Moniteur* of the 21ſt of April 1804, in theſe words: "It is aſſerted that a deputation of the council of ſtate will ſhortly preſent to the ſenate the new *conſultum*, relative to an hereditary ſucceſſion in the family of the firſt conſul. The nation deſires that ſolid ſyſtem to be introduced for the public good, and this deſire has been already expreſſed by ſeveral departments. The factions will thereby be deprived of every hope." This paragraph was immediately followed with a number of addreſſes, in which the inconveniencies attached to the elective ſyſtem were deprecated, and a more ſtable form of government recommended. The council general of the department Jura, at length ventured to ſpeak out in bolder terms. In their addreſs to Bonaparte, which, amongſt many other paſſages, contained the following: "The attack which threatened your life, has filled us with horror at the thoughts of the calamities into which all France was about to be plunged by a ſingle crime. This attempt of our enemies is an important admonition which ſhall not have been given in vain. Thoſe inſtigators of plots muſt be deprived of that chance of troubles and diſorders which is the object of their hopes. Let a more ſtable order of things preſent to the friends of tranquility a ſtronger ſecurity againſt all events. Let this order prevent for ever any vacancy in the ſupreme magiſtracy, by deſigning before hand, and in perpetuity, the ſucceſſor to the head of the ſtate. But, at the ſame time, let inſtitutions equally ſtrong and liberal, ſecure to our poſterity a ſufficient protection againſt the fluctuation and abuſes of power. We addreſs theſe our wiſhes with all frankneſs to Bonaparte; to his genius it belongs, by realizing them, to eternize his own work, and the happineſs of France."

The great queſtion of the inveſtiture of Bonaparte with the imperial purple was ſubmitted to the opinion of the tribunate on the 1ſt of May, 1804. The debates on this momentous topic were ſo intereſting, that we truſt we ſhall be excuſed if we inſert a few extracts from them. Fabre de l'Aude, the preſident, addreſſed the aſſembly as follows: "On the 23d of laſt month (April) our colleague Curee, laid on the table a motion of order, in which he demanded, 1ſt, That the government of the republic ſhall be confided to one emperor: 2d, That the empire ſhall be hereditary in the family of Napoleon Bonaparte, now firſt conſul: 3d, That ſuch of our inſtructions as are only traced out, ſhall be definitively ſuppreſſed. Curee, after a long introduction

troduction on the importance of the ſubject and the purity of his own patriotiſm, called the attention of the tribunes to the memorable epoch of the revolution, when the French (according to his blaſphemous expreſſion) with one unanimous will, and a voice as powerful as that of the creator, the firſt day of the exiſtence of the univerſe, exclaimed, "Let equality be eſtabliſhed, let privileges diſappear, and let the nation be as it ought to be." He then took a view of the government of Charlemagne, and the abuſe introduced into France after that glorious epoch, when one of the moſt powerful families of the feudal ſyſtem was called to the ſovereignty. Having then made ſome obſervations on the conſtituent aſſembly, and the conſtitution of 1791, and the ſtate of things down to the time in which he was ſpeaking, he obſerved that the happy ſituation of the French people, who were then in the full poſſeſſion of all the rights which were the ſole objects of the revolution in 1789, was diſturbed only by uncertainty in regard to the future. "The enemies of our country," ſaid he, "are alarmed at our proſperity; their plots have been multiplied, and one might ſay, that inſtead of a whole nation, they had to combat only one man. Him they have attempted to ſtrike, in order to effect his deſtruction, being well aſſured that France, deprived of its chief, would be divided by ambitious rivals, and torn by parties; would ſink amidſt the ſtorms let looſe againſt it in every direction. What ſecurity can we give it againſt the fear of ſo many misfortunes? What remedy can we oppoſe to ſo many evils? Opinion.—The armies, and the whole people have pronounced it:—Hereditary ſucceſſion in a family rendered illuſtrious by the revolution, conſecrated by liberty and equality; in the family of a chief, who was the firſt ſoldier of the republic before he became the firſt magiſtrate; a chief who would have been eminently diſtinguiſhed by his civil qualities, even if he had not filled the whole world with the fame of his arms, and the ſplendor of his victories.

Here (continued he) we have the inappreciable advantage of finding at the head of the nation the chief of an auguſt family, proper to form the firſt link of the new dynaſty; an eternal barrier will thus be oppoſed to the return of faction, and the French people will be certain of preſerving their dignity, their independence, and their territory. Let us haſten then, my colleagues, to demand that the chief magiſtracy may be made hereditary, for in voting a chief to be hereditary, as Pliny ſaid to Trajan, we prevent the return of a monſter. But at the ſame time, let us give a grand name to a great prince, let us procure to the ſupreme magiſtracy of the firſt empire in the world, the reſpect due to a ſublime denomination. I do not find any title for the chief of the national power, more worthy of the ſplendor of the nation than the title of emperor. I move then, that we refer to the ſenate a wiſh, which is that of the whole nation, and of which the object is—1ſt. That Napoleon Bonaparte, now Firſt Conſul, be declared Emperor, and in that quality remain charged with the government of the French Republic. 2d, That the imperial dignity be declared hereditary in his family. 3d, That ſuch of our inſtitutions as are only traced out ſhall be definitively ſuſpended.

Carnot roſe (the only member that oppoſed the motion.) He aſked if it was to grant the Firſt Conſul a reward for his ſervices to offer him the ſacrifice of liberty? He aſked if it was not to deſtroy Bonaparte's own work, to make all France his private patrimony? I voted, added he, againſt the conſulate for life, and I will not this day follow a different courſe, I will be conſiſtent with myſelf. But the moment that the order of things which is propoſed ſhall be eſtabliſhed, I will be the firſt to conform to it, and to yield to the new authority proofs of my deference. May all the members of the community follow the ſame example. He then proceeded to examine the form of government propoſed to be eſtabliſhed. He cited a number of examples from the hiſtory of Rome, and drew an inference from them, that a government by one individual, was not in the ſmalleſt degree a ſure pledge of its ſtability or tranquility. He applied the ſame inference to the hiſtory of France, where inteſtine commotions and civil diſcord ſo often exiſted under the government of princes, weak or unworthy of governing. After the peace of Amiens, continued Carnot, Bonaparte had the choice between a republic and a monarchy; but he had ſworn to defend the former, and to reſpect the wiſhes of France, which had made him their guardian. Now it was propoſed to make of that power a property, of which at the preſent time the adminiſtration was only poſſeſſed. The Romans were moſt jealous of their liberty, and Camillus, Fabius, and Cincinnatus, only ſaved the country, becauſe they relinquiſhed the power which had been confided to them after they had ſaved their country. But the liberty of Rome periſhed as ſoon as Cæſar wiſhed to graſp at abſolute power.

Carnot cited the example of the United States of America: It was reſerved for the new world to ſhew to the old the practicability of a nation's enjoying liberty, and the riſing proſperity of the people.—The deſtinies to which they appeared to be called, left no doubt remaining of the exiſtence of that truth. He then came to make ſome particular obſervations. Will, ſaid he, the opinion of the public functionaries be the free wiſh of the whole nation? will there not be inconveniencies attending the expreſſion of an oppoſite ſentiment? Is the liberty of the preſs ſo much reſtrained and degraded, that it will be impoſſible to make in the public prints the moſt reſpectful remonſtrances againſt the propoſed arrangement? He then aſked if the expulſion of the

Bourbons at all involved the neceſſity of a new dynaſty? If the eſtabliſhment of that new dynaſty would not throw obſtacles in the way of a general peace? If it would be recognized by foreign powers? and if, in caſe of a refuſal to recognize it, arms would neceſſarily be reſorted to, and for an empty title the ſecurity of the French nation would not be endangered? That it was not the only means which the exiſting government had of conſolidating itſelf. The means of this conſolidation conſiſted in adherence to juſtice. I am ready, continued he, to ſacrifice my perſonal opinion to the intereſts of my country; my reſpect for the law will remain unalterable; and I deſire above all things, to ſee every opinion and every ſentiment united againſt an eternal, an implacable enemy (England); that enemy which is now meditating univerſal oppreſſion. I vote againſt the motion.

Foure ſpoke next: he aſked Carnot if he had forgotton the regime of 1793, and that horrible decimevial committee which, in cold blood, ſigned arreſts for death and proſcription? He was aſtoniſhed to hear of any oppoſition to that propoſition which alone could prevent the return of ſuch miſeries. The aſſembly was not called on to conſider the intereſts of an individual family, but the intereſts of the whole nation.

Chapian contended that the intention of the French had always been to eſtabliſh a monarchical form of government.

Perree confined his obſervations to one point, namely, to ſhew what a powerful guarantee poſterity would poſſeſs in the hereditary ſucceſſion propoſed. The lateſt deſcendants of the head of the government, ſaid he, will ſeek in the hiſtory of Bonaparte the example which they ought to follow. They will reſpect his glory, and never ſhall our poſterity have reaſon to reproach us for the wiſh which we now form. This is not the time, ſaid Carret, when the people were the property of kings. The intereſts of both are now common: their repoſe, their ſtability, and their happineſs, are henceforth inſeparable.

Favaid obſerved that the pens of the eloquent were employed in celebrating the glory of the Firſt Conſul, and poſterity, which would be the judge of great men, would only re-echo the language of the age in which he lived. He ſaid he knew the place which he occupied in the hearts of the people; he knew, if he could judge by himſelf, the devotion which he merited, and with which he had inſpired the whole aſſembly. He wiſhed at the ſame time, however, to examine abſtractedly from all perſonal feelings of gratitude and love, if the unity and hereditary ſucceſſion of the chief conſul would be conſiſtent with the government of France. Different ſtates had a right to that form of government which they enjoyed, according to the principles invariable as that nature from which they originated. Political maladies in vain affected and ſuſpended thoſe principles for a moment; the criſis would come, and nature would reſume her rights. It was the nature of things that a country of vaſt extent, whoſe ſecurity was not guaranteed by its phyſical poſition, and whoſe relation with its neighbours inceſſantly menaced its tranquility, ought to be governed by one head. Rome, at its birth had kings, becauſe the ſurrounding ſtates were governed by kings. Rome, after conquering her neighbours, expelled the kings and created conſuls. When her power had gone beyond the limits of her territories, when ſhe had to combat nations far removed from the centre of her dominions, even the exceſſive love of liberty, could not prevent the ruin of the republic, and emperors were elevated to the throne. Happy would have been that great nation if the firſt of their emperors had, as he had it in his power, made the government hereditary in his family. The ſcenes which covered the throne with blood, the civil wars which deſolated that vaſt empire, and precipitated its downfall, would not have ſullied the page of hiſtory of the maſters of the world; but one great error led to dreadful abuſes. On the ruins of the monarchy deſtroyed, an attempt was made to ſubſtitute a monarchical government. France muſt have been deſtroyed, if the genius of Bonaparte had not created the conſulſhip, to precede for a few years the creation of the imperial dignity. He was called to that elevated poſt by the unanimous wiſh, and that wiſh was the firſt ſentiment which ought to give riſe to military ſervices. He had, as conſul, the power of performing vaſt ſervices, and all the world had ſeen that he had uſed it with a degree of ſucceſs of which no example was afforded in the hiſtory of the univerſe: that was enough for his own glory, but it was not enough for the happineſs of France. It was in the nature of things that if empires proſpered under a great man; the moment which deprived them of his ſervices menaced them with ſome dreadful exploſion, if the ſame moment did not ſupply his place with a ſucceſſor. It was then that ambition became inflamed, and long before ambition prepared in ſecret the means of ſupplanting rivals. Long diſputes, ſucceeded by civil wars, will agitate the minds of men, diſturb for ages, the union of citizens, and the people are often ſo unfortunate as not to ſee who is the moſt worthy amongſt the rival candidates to receive the ſceptre of which death has bereaved the object of their regret. What then could prevent theſe diſaſters? A conſtitutional law which would fix the line of ſucceſſion, and which would give to the family of the chief the new dynaſty.

Cortas laboured to prove that the motion was founded in utility, and that it was ſalutary and patriotic. Savie Rollen ſaid that abſolute monarchy was the moſt degrading of ſyſtems. Monarchy connected with the repreſentative ſyſtem, conciliated

political

political and civil liberty. There could be no ſtability in government, if arbitrary, but if founded on law, it was incorruptible. Frederick ſaid, that laws could not ſucceed, except by the preſervation of a proper equilibrium between the powers of the government and the liberty of the people. What Frederick thought, Napoleon was about to execute. After ſeveral other members had delivered their ſentiments in favour of the propoſition, the following decree was agreed to:

"The tribunate, conſidering that at the breaking out of the revolution, when the national will had an opportunity of manifeſting itſelf with the greateſt freedom, the general wiſh was declared for the individual unity of the ſupreme power, and for the hereditary ſucceſſion of that power.

"That the family of the Bourbons, having by their conduct rendered the hereditary government odious to the people, forced them to loſe ſight of its advantages, and drove the nation to ſeek for a happier deſtiny in a democratical form of government.

"That France having made a trial of different forms of government, experienced from thoſe trials only the miſeries of anarchy.

"That the ſtate was in the greateſt peril, when Bonaparte, brought back by Providence, ſuddenly appeared for its ſalvation.

"That, under the government of a ſingle individual, France recovered tranquillity at home, and acquired abroad the higheſt degree of conſideration and glory.

"That the plots formed by the houſe of Bourbon, in concert with a miniſtry, the implacable enemy of France, warned France of the dangers which threatens it, if, loſing Bonaparte, ſhe continued expoſed to the agitation inſeparable from election.

"That the conſulſhip for life, and the power granted to the firſt conſul, of appointing his ſucceſſor, are not adequate to the preventing intrigues at home or abroad, which could not fail to be formed during the vacancy of the ſupreme power.

"That, in declaring that magiſtracy hereditary, conformity is obſerved at once to the practice of all great ſtates, ancient or modern; and to the firſt wiſh of the nation, expreſſed in 1789.

"That, enlightened and ſupported by this experience, the nation now returns to this wiſh, more ſtrongly than ever, and expreſſes it on all ſides.

"That in all political changes it has been uſual for nations to confer the ſupreme power on thoſe to whom they owe their ſafety.

"That when France demands for her ſecurity a hereditary chief, her gratitude and affections call on Bonaparte.

"That France will preſerve all the advantages of the revolution by the choice of a new dynaſty, as much intereſted for their ſafety as the old one would be for their deſtruction.

"That France may expect from the family of Bonaparte, more than from any other, the maintenance of the rights and liberties of the people who choſe them, and all thoſe inſtitutions beſt calculated to ſupport them.

"That there is no title more ſuitable to the glory of Bonaparte, and to the dignity of the ſupreme chief of the French nation, than the title of Emperor.

"The tribunate, exerciſing the right given them by the 29th article of the conſtitution, have come to the following vote:

"That Napoleon Bonaparte, the firſt conſul, be proclaimed Emperor of the French, and in that capacity inveſted with the government of the French republic.

"That the title of Emperor, and the Imperial power, be made hereditary in his family in the male line, according to the order of primogeniture.

"That in introducing into the organization of the conſtituted authorities the modification rendered neceſſary by the eſtabliſhment of hereditary power, the equality, the liberty, and the rights of the people, ſhall be preſerved in all their integrity."

The foregoing decree having been put to the vote by the preſident of the tribunate, it was carried by acclamation, with the ſingle exception of Carnot.

As we have given the moſt intereſting parts of the ſpeeches delivered in the tribunate on the momentuous queſtion of the elevation of Bonaparte to the Imperial throne. In order to follow up the ſubject to its cloſe, we ſhall preſent the reader with ſome extracts from the ſpeech of Carion Niſas, in the ſenate, the firſt orator in that aſſembly, who, no doubt, had collected all that could be ſaid in ſupport of a propoſition that has formed a new feature, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, in the hiſtory of Europe, and as ſuch can never be indifferent to the Britiſh reader. The great object of Carion Niſas appears to have been an attempt to refute the arguments of Carnot, who ſtill had the courage to maintain his opinion. "Citizen Carnot," ſaid Niſas," is afraid that the meaſures propoſed amount to nothing ſhort of the total and abſolute deſtruction of the republic; and that thoſe who ſupport them have either the intention, or are ſo unfortunate as to give up the country to the prey of a deſpot. What! becauſe the firſt magiſtrate ſhall be called Emperor, and becauſe his power ſhall be hereditary, ſhall we have no law or a ſocial compact? For, according to his opinion, theſe firſt wants of a people are inconſiſtent with ſuch ſpecies of dominion, ſuch a form of the ſupreme magiſtracy. Thus thought not that zealous republican J. J. Rouſſeau, who has formally declared that every legitimate government (that is a government founded on law) is a republic. What is there any man who would now talk

talk of putting men above law? What government is more legitimate than that which propoſes, organizes, and accepts itſelf, which is conſiſtent with the liberty, the maturity, and the ſolemnity which preceded it, which inſpired the meaſures we adopt, and which preſides over their diſcuſſion? Citizen Carnot is afraid of beholding the return of the ancient monarchy of France, of feudal and proprietary royalty. Very little reflection is neceſſary to ſhew that, betwixt that ſpecies of royalty and that which we now propoſe, there is as great difference as betwixt light and darkneſs. Royalty began with taking poſſeſſion of the land, with the ſeizure of the perſons who inhabited it; the inhabitants were then *homines poteſtates adſcripti glebæ*. It was on theſe monſtrous fictions that the rights, titles, and *Jus* of the government of royalty were founded. The king of the French, ſuch as the conſtituent aſſembly wiſhed to appoint him; the emperor of the French, ſuch as we now wiſh to eſtabliſh, is neither the proprietor of the ſoil, nor of thoſe that inhabit it; he is the head of the French, by their voluntary choice: his dominion is moral, and no ſervitude can legally proceed from ſuch a ſyſtem. Citizen Carnot ſeems to believe that the reſult to which we now direct our attention, has been long before hand prepared by the firſt conſul, with an art as ſkilful as a deſire conſtant and indefatigable. On the contrary, it is a fact, and I call on thoſe who know it beſt, to declare, that the firſt conſul was the laſt to enter into this ſort of holy conſpiracy in favour of the country, formed on the 9th of November, by a ſmall number, among whom I had the honour to be one. It is true that the object was at firſt concealed; that the end in view was diſcloſed with a certain degree of addreſs; and that the precautions neceſſary to ſecure its ſucceſs, were alſo adopted. There were a number of citizens, and Carnot was one of them, who, full of revolutionary prejudices and errors, had not benefited by the leſſons of inſtruction and experience, and who were not yet capable of admitting truth. It was this that rendered addreſs neceſſary in diſcloſing the light to a perſon diſeaſed, who has been long deprived of it. In the midſt of this activity of wiſe opinions, which were advancing to improvement, and of erroneous notions, which were daily dying away, the firſt conſul ſhewed a reſiſtance, and a reluctance, as ſeemed for a long time invincible, to the reſult of which he perceives the neceſſity. He was, however, the laſt to perceive it, and it is only a day ſince that, compelled by the public voice, you ſee him publiſh thoſe addreſſes which, ſix months ago, poured on him from all parts of the republic, ſupported by the warm ſolicitations of the magiſtrates and public functionaries, which he has hitherto ſuppreſſed. The alarms created by the attempts at aſſaſſination againſt the perſon of the firſt conſul, by the proſpect of the frightful evils which would have followed from them, had they taken effect, have ſtrengthened every reſolution, and haſtened every meaſure. The firſt conſul is ambitious of glory, he is zealous for it; but it is proper that he ſhould conſider power as glory. A word from him, a ſingle emotion of that great ſoul which he could diſcloſe to the country, will render that truth more evident than all the details, and all the aſſertions which I could adduce. One day the firſt conſul ſpoke with the moſt profound ſenſibility of the miſeries of the revolution. Some one who wiſhed to waken his emotion by a repreſentation of the reſults of that great criſis, and in concluſion ſaid to him, "It does not belong to you, citizen firſt conſul, to be afflicted at the revolution, without it you would never have been elevated to the rank which you now hold, and you would never have acquired that immenſe glory with which you are covered." "Well!" exclaimed Bonaparte, "would to God that France had never heard of me, that its government had never been guilty of ſuch errors, and that its people had never experienced ſuch miſeries. No, the man whoſe heart gave birth to ſuch expreſſions, ſees in the aggrandiſement of his power, only the encreaſe of the means of public happineſs. He ſeeks his own grandeur only in the glory of the nation." The ſpeaker then indulged his imagination in pourtraying Bonaparte in the warmeſt colours as a ſtateſman and a ſoldier. Having finiſhed this ſtudied panegyric, he laboured to prove that the unbridled conduct of the Cæſars, and the diſorders of the Roman empire, aroſe from that power not being hereditary. This led Niſas to combat Carnot's objection to the hereditary ſyſtem. He confeſſed that that ſpecies of government ſometimes made nations enter into domeſtic intereſts, and enhance family quarrels. That, no doubt, was a danger, but what human inſtitution was without danger. But thoſe intereſts had at leaſt ſome reality, ſome utility among the people at large, and that danger was leſs than that to which nations were often expoſed in conſequence of eſpouſing the quarrels and enliſting themſelves on the ſide of the perſonal paſſions, quarrels, or intereſts of thoſe rulers or orators. Pericles was not an hereditary prince, but, for an inſult offered to Aſpaſia, the Grecian republic was ſet in flames. In the beſt times of the Roman republic, eſpouſing ſometimes the intereſt of a tribune, and at another that of ſome other factious party, involved the ſenate in conſtant alarm; and the ſenate ſacrificing the people to their private intereſts and private quarrels, embroiled them with their offending and unoffending neighbours. The pretext for a foreign war was never wanting when the ſenate dreaded the approach of civil broils, and the blood of the people continued to flow with reſpect to foreign powers. Niſas contended,

tended that they would prefer a government analogous to their own to one that was always menacing, becauſe the principle of its eſtabliſhment would be oppoſed, and conſequently inimical. The eternal effervescence of popular governments, a prey to every paſſion, conſtantly threatened and agitated the intereſt of ſurrounding ſtates, and confounded all the relations of external politics. "This" ſaid the ſpeaker, recalls to my recollection the obſervation of the profound and prophetic remark of M. de Mercé Argenteau, the miniſter of the houſe of Auſtria, who about the time of the greateſt revolutionary convulſions, was aſked, Whether if he thought ſeriouſly that with German arms he could replace the Bourbons on the throne, he would not rather leave the Republic quiet to govern itſelf, as thoſe then in power judged moſt expedient? We know well, (anſwered this wiſe politician) that we cannot make France accept maſters whom ſhe has determined not to receive. We know alſo, that raw and inexperienced as her armies are, they will more than once beat our troops, and cauſe dreadful loſs. We will ſupport theſe reverſes, and we will continue to fight, ſometimes advancing and ſometimes retreating, according to the varieties of fortune. At the end of ſome years, a general or a politician muſt neceſſarily ariſe in France, who will ſeize on the government, who will reduce every thing to regular order, and with him even ſhall conclude a peace. That would be impoſſible, with a revolutionary ſpecies of government, which would for ever threaten to ſet Europe in flames.

Carnot ſaid, Niſas propoſes to us to follow the example of the United Sates of America; it is not for the firſt time, added he, that this example has been held forth, and it is not for the firſt time it has been combated. After the ſhameful and perfidious flight of the late king to Varennes, Vadice proposed in the conſtitutional aſſembly, the example of the American government, and invited that aſſembly to give to France a ſimilar conſtitution. Barrere ſpoke againſt that propoſition; his arguments and his words on that occaſion were worthy of repetition, they were as follow:—"A population thinly ſcattered on a moſt extended ſoil, a new people on a new land, a people whoſe activity will for a long period be ſatisfied by numerous and eaſy means of ſubſiſtence, a ſtate inſulated on a vaſt hemiſphere, ſurrounded by impenetrable foreſts and vaſt ſeas, can never be brought into compariſon with a people encircled by enterpriſing and reſtleſs nations, itſelf reſtleſs and enterprizing, like all thoſe populous and civilized ſtates, among which the means of proviſion are dear and ſcarce, in proportion to their luxury and population." He then adjured them to conſider what Barrere had ſaid, and the impreſſion which it made on the conſtituent aſſembly, which was ſo powerful, that not a word more was ſaid of a preſidential or federal government.

This ſpeaker was followed by Jaid Pauvilliers; his ſpeech conſiſted chiefly of a recapitulation of the leading arguments that had been delivered by the tribune Curee, and afterwards elucidated and enforced by his colleagues. In order that a link may not be omited in the chain of this extraordinary and almoſt unexampled procedure, we ſhall inſert the anſwer of the vice-preſident of the ſenate to the deputation of the tribunes, on the 18th of May, 1804.

"Citizens tribunes, this day will form a remarkable æra. It is the day on which you are called, for the firſt time, to exerciſe with the conſervative ſenate, the republican and popular privilege which the fundamental laws of the conſtitution have delegated to you. You could not exerciſe this prerogative at a more favourable moment, or apply it to an object of more importance than the preſent. Citizens tribunes, you expreſs to the truſtees of the national rights a wiſh truly national. I cannot remove the veil which concealed for a time the labours of the ſenate on this important ſubject. I muſt inform you, however, in the mean time, that ſince the 27th of March, the ſenate has directed the attention of the firſt magiſtrate to the ſame ſubject; the ſenate had previouſly founded the public opinion, and had announced it to the government. But you will prize your advantages and privileges, when you obſerve that what we have been thinking of in ſilence for two months, the peculiar nature of your inſtitution, and the place you hold in the conſtitution, has enabled you at once to ſubmit to diſcuſſion in preſence of the people. You have ſerved at once the people and the government, by diſcloſing and enforcing this opinion, pregnant with ſo many advantages, and at firſt ſecretly cheriſhed in the boſom of this aſſembly, where you have now ſo glorioufly reported it. The happy developement which you have given this great idea, procures to the ſenate, which opened the tribune to you, the ſatisfaction of being able to congratulate themſelves on their choice, and to approve what they have done. In your public ſpeeches we have found the baſis of our opinions. Like you, citizens tribunes, we do not wiſh the return of the Bourbons, becauſe we do not wiſh a counter revolution, which is the only benefit we could derive from thoſe unfortunate exiles, who have carried with them deſpotiſm, nobility, feudal tyranny, ſlavery and ignorance; and who, ſtill to augment their crimes, have encouraged the hope, that a return to France might be forced by the way of England. Like you, citizens tribunes, we wiſh to raiſe a new dynaſty, becauſe we wiſh to ſecure to the French people all their rights which they have reconquered, and which the folly of their enemies would take from them. Like you, citizens tribunes,

we wiſh liberty, equality, and knowledge may no longer have a retrograde motion. I do not ſpeak of the great man called up by his glory to give his name to the age in which he lives, and who ought to be called on by our wiſhes, to conſecrate to us, his family and exiſtence. It is not to himſelf, it is not to us that he ought to devote himſelf. What you propoſe with the ardour of enthuſiaſm, the ſenate will conſider with cool deliberation. Citizens tribunes, we are the corner ſtone of the ſocial edifice; but it is the government and hereditary chief that muſt conſtitute the key ſtone of the arch. You repoſe in our boſom the wiſh that this arch may be at laſt conſolidated. In receiving this wiſh, the ſenate does not forget that what you ſolicit is not ſo much a change of the ſtate of the republic as a means of perfecting and eſtabliſhing it; and this certainly is what we are moſt intereſted in. In this national temple the conſtitution ought to repoſe in ſome meaſure in the god Terminus. If we are induced to interfere in any reſpect with the ſacred compact, the guardianſhip of which is entruſted to us, it is only to add to its ſtrength, and to extend its duration.

On the 19th of May the Senatus Conſultum finally adopted the decree for conferring the imperial dignity on Bonaparte. The ſenate, accompanied by ſeveral bodies, repaired to St. Cloud, and being admitted to an audience of the newly created emperor: The conſul Cambaceres, after a long addreſs, preſented the act of the Senatus Conſultum. This act contained one hundred and forty three articles, which were in ſubſtance as follows:

"Napoleon Bonaparte is declared emperor of the French, and the Imperial dignity hereditary in the legitimate deſcent, from male to male, in the order of primogeniture, to the excluſion of females and their deſcent. The firſt conſul may adopt the children or the grand children of his brothers, provided they have attained the age of eighteen years complete, and he himſelf have no children. Adoption, however, is prohibited to his ſucceſſors. In default of a natural heir of the firſt conſul, or of an adopted heir, the empire will be transferred to Joſeph Bonaparte, and his deſcendants; and in default of Joſeph and his deſcendants, to Lewis and his deſcendants. In caſe of the failure of the heirs of Joſeph and Lewis Bonaparte, a ſenatus conſultum, propoſed to the ſenate by the titularies of the great dignitaries of the empire, and ſubmitted to the people, ſhall appoint an emperor.

"The members of the imperial family ſhall bear the title of French princes. The eldeſt ſon of the emperor ſhall bear the title of imperial prince. A French prince who ſhall marry without permiſſion from the emperor ſhall be deprived of all right to the inheritance, unleſs he ſhall have no children by this marriage, and it ſhall be afterwards diſſolved.

"The brothers of Bonaparte are to be created French princes. Imperial palaces are to be eſtabliſhed in four principal points of the empire. Females are in all caſes excluded from the regency; and the reigning emperor may, previous to his death, appoint a regent from among the French princes, if his heir male be a minor.

"The titularies of the great dignities of the empire are, the great elector, the arch-chancellor of the empire, the arch-treaſurer, the conſtable, and the high-admiral. They ſhall be nominated by the emperor, and they ſhall enjoy the ſame honours as the French princes, and rank immediately after them. They ſhall be ſenators and counſellors of ſtate, and ſhall form the great council of the emperor.

The other great officers are, one marſhal of the empire, choſen from amongſt the moſt diſtinguiſhed generals; twenty-eight inſpectors and colonels-general of artillery, cavalry, and the marine; three great civil officers of the crown, ſuch as ſhall be inſtituted by the ſtatutes of the emperor: The laws are to be thus promulgated: *Napoleon*, by the grace of God, and the conſtitution of the Republic, Emperor of the French, &c. &c."

On the 18th of May, Conſul Cambaceres, the preſident preſented the organic *Senatus Consultum* to Bonaparte, at the palace of St. Cloud. This circumſtance furniſhed Cambaceres with an opportunity of addreſſing the newly appointed emperor in a ſpeech; and as it turned on the moſt extraordinary event in modern times, we ſhall lay ſome of the moſt eloquent paſſages of it before the reader.

"Sire: The decree which the Senate has paſſed, and which it takes the earlieſt opportunity of preſenting to your imperial majeſty, is only the authentic expreſſion of a will already manifeſted by the nation. This decree, which confers on you a new title, and which after you ſecures the dignity hereditary to your race, adds nothing either to your glory or your rights. The love and gratitude of the French people have, for four years, entruſted to your majeſty the reins of government, and the conſtitution of the ſtate, has repoſed in you the choice of a ſucceſſor. The more auguſt denomination decreed to you is then only a tribute which the nation pays to its dignity, and to the neceſſity it experiences of giving you daily teſtimonies of reſpect and attachment, which every day encreaſe.

"How could the French nation find bounds to its gratitude, when you place none to your care and ſolicitude for it! Preſerving the remembrance of the evils which it ſuffered when abandoned to itſelf, how could they reflect without enthuſiaſm, on the happineſs it has experienced, ſince providence inſpired it with the idea of throwing itſelf into your arms! Its armies were defeated; its finances were in diſorder; public credit was annihilated; factions were diſputing for the remains of our ancient ſplendor, every idea

idea of morality, and even of religion, was obfcured; the habit of giving and refuming power, left the magiftrates without conſideration, and even rendered every kind of authority odious. Your majeſty appeared, you recalled victory to our ſtandards; you eſtabliſhed order and œconomy in the public expences. The nation, encouraged by the uſe made of your authority, reſumed confidence in its own reſources; your wiſdom allayed the rage of party; religion ſaw her altars raiſed; ideas of juſtice and injuſtice were awakened in the minds of the citizens, when they ſaw crimes followed by puniſhment, and virtue ſignalized and rewarded with honourable diſtinctions. In the laſt place, and it is no doubt the greateſt of the miracles operated by your genius, that people, whoſe civil effervefcence had rendered them impatient of every reſtraint, and hoſtile to every authority, were by your means made to cheriſh and reſpect a power, which was exerciſed only for their glory and repoſe.

"The French people do not pretend to eſtabliſh themſelves judges of the conſtitution of other ſtates; they have no critical remarks to make; no examples to follow; experience in future will become their guide. They have taſted for ages the advantage of hereditary power; they have made a ſhort, but painful trial of the contrary ſyſtem; they return by the effect of free and mature deliberation to a path ſuited to their genius. They make a free uſe of their rights, to delegate to your IMPERIAL MAJESTY a power which your intereſt forbids you to exerciſe by yourſelf. They ſtipulate for future generations, and by a ſolemn compact entruſt to the offspring of your race, the happineſs of their poſterity. The former will imitate your virtues, the latter will inherit our love and fidelity. Happy the nation, which, after ſo much trouble and uncertainty, finds in its boſom a man worthy of appeaſing the tempeſt of the paſſions, of conciliating all intereſts, and uniting all voices! Happy the prince who holds his power by the will, the confidence, and affection, of the citizens!

"If it be in the principles of our conſtitution (already ſeveral examples of this kind have been given) to ſubmit to the ſanction of the people that part of the decree which concerns the eſtabliſhment of our hereditary government, the ſenate have thought that it ought to entreat your Imperial majeſty to conſent that the organic diſpoſitions ſhould be immediately carried into execution; and that, for the glory, as well as the happineſs of the republic, Napoleon be immediately proclaimed Emperor of the French."

The emperor replied in the following words:

"Every thing that can contribute to the good of the country is eſſentially connected with my happineſs. I accept the title which you think neceſſary to the glory of the nation. I ſubmit to the ſanction of the people the law of hereditaments. I hope France will never repent of having ſurrounded my family with honours. In all caſes, my ſpirit will ceaſe to be preſent with my poſterity, the day on which it ſhall ceaſe to deſerve the love and confidence of the great nation."

The ſenate being then admitted to an audience with her majeſty, the empreſs, Cambaceres ſpoke as follows:

"Madame, we have juſt preſented to your auguſt ſpouſe the decree which confers on him the title of Emperor, which eſtabliſhes the government hereditary in his family, and aſſociates future generations in the happineſs of the preſent race. A very agreeable duty remains to be performed by the ſenate, that of offering to your Imperial majeſty the homage of its reſpect, and an expreſſion of the gratitude of the French. Yes, madame, fame proclaims the good which you are continually doing; it ſays, that, being always acceſſible to the unfortunate, you employ your influence with the chief of the ſtate only to relieve diſtreſs; and that, to the pleaſure of obliging, your majeſty adds that amiable delicacy which renders gratitude ſweeter, and the kindneſs more valuable. This diſpoſition preſages that the name of the Empreſs Joſephina will be the ſignal of conſolation and hope; and as the virtues of Napoleon will always ſerve as an example to his ſucceſſors, to teach them the art of governing nations, the living remembrance of your goodneſs will teach their auguſt conſorts, that the care of drying up tears is the moſt effectual means of preſerving an empire over all hearts.

"The ſenate thinks itſelf happy in the opportunity of being the firſt to ſalute you empreſs; and he who has the honour of being its organ, takes the liberty to hope that you will deign to reckon him among the number of your moſt faithful ſervants."

The Organic Senatus Conſultum was proclaimed by the emperor, and publiſhed in Paris the following day at noon.

His Imperial majeſty inſtantly nominated to the dignity of grand elector, his Imperial highneſs prince Joſeph Bonaparte; to that of conſtable, his Imperial highneſs prince Louis Bonaparte.

The arch chancellor of the empire, the arch treaſurer, and conſtable, took the oaths in the preſence of the emperor.

His Imperial majeſty afterwards addreſſed the following letter to conſul Cambaceres, and a ſimilar one to conſul Lebrun.

"Citizen conſul Cambaceres, your title is about to be changed; but your functions and my confidence remain the ſame. In the high dignity of arch chancellor, with which you are going to be inveſted, you will manifeſt, as you have done in that of conſul, the wiſdom of your counſels, and thoſe diſtinguiſhed talents which have given you ſo important

portant a ſhare in all the good that I can have done.

" I have nothing therefore to requeſt of you, but the continuation of the ſame ſentiments for the ſtate and me.

(Signed) " NAPOLEON."

The emperor wrote with his own hand, ordering that on account of his elevation, the archbiſhop of Paris ſhould direct the *Te Deum*, and *Veni Creator* to be ſung in all the churches of his dioceſe.

We ſhall not attempt to point out or anticipate the conſequences of the event juſt narrated: it will be more eligible perhaps to ſtate thoſe in which this country may be intereſted in the courſe of our hiſtory; the reader will then be enabled to draw his own deductions from a plain ſtatement of the facts, by which means the judgement will be left unbiaſſed, and enabled of courſe to exerciſe its own powers. The ſudden change however in the political ſentiments of the French, will never ceaſe to aſtoniſh thoſe who will recollect the revolutionary effervescence of that nation, and the height of enthuſiaſm, nay, even madneſs, which at one time pervaded the bulk of the people in ſupport of what they called LIBERTY and EQUALITY, as well as other abſtract theories, which bewildered the minds of the many, and hurried them into acts at which humanity even at this day ſhudders.

General Moreau, and the other ſtate priſoners, were put upon their trials on the 29th of May. Nearly the whole of the firſt day was occupied in reading the act of accuſation. It aſſumed three propoſitions as granted. 1ſt, That the conſpiracy was indiſputably proved. 2d, That the Engliſh government was the ſoul of it; and, 3d, That all the individuals confined in virtue of the different mandates of arreſt, were authors or accomplices in the conſpiracy, or guilty of infringing the law relative to conſpirators. The object of the conſpiracy was aſſerted to have been to place Louis XVIII. upon the throne, in which plan Moreau had promiſed to cooperate with Pichegru and Georges; and that he had conſented to take a ſhare in the reſtoration of royalty, but afterwards wavered in his opinion, and finally wiſhed to erect himſelf into a dictator.

The high military reputation of General Moreau, the unaffected ſimplicity of his manners, the ſuavity of his temper, intereſted every breaſt that could feel for the perilous ſituation of a brave man in the power of a relentleſs rival. The charged preferred againſt him were drawn up with great art. We ſhall inſert a few of them:—

" General Moreau, being at the head of the army of the Rhine, could not have remained ſilent on the diſcovery of proofs that Pichegru was a chief of conſpiracy, without being guilty of treaſon againſt the nation. Nevertheleſs he was four months and a half without mentioning any thing of this diſcovery, and he only mentioned it at a time when he knew that the directory had torn the maſk from the conſpirator, and that his deportation was decreed. After the 9th of September Moreau has denounced Pichegru, it was only to free himſelf from thoſe ſuſpicions which would have ruined him without ſaving his friend.

" In a proclamation of the 23d, from the army of the Rhine and Moſelle, he expreſſes himſelf in the following terms: " It is but too true that Pichegru has betrayed the confidence of all France. I have informed one of the members of the directory, the 17th of this month, that a correſpondence had fallen into my hands between him and Condé, and other agents of the pretender, which left no doubt of his treaſon."

In his letter to the directory, dated the 27th of September, ſpeaking of Pichegru, he ſays, " We have been friends as long as we defended the ſame cauſe; and we have ceaſed to be ſo as ſoon as it was proved to me that he was an enemy of the French republic!"

All theſe heads of accuſation were commented on with uncommon ingenuity: the great object which the French government appears to have aimed at throughout the whole, was to eſtabliſh an intercourſe between Moreau and Pichegru, in order to open a door for the return of the Bourbon family to the throne; and the next aim was to involve the Britiſh government in this plan. We ſhall wind up this article with the following letter, the character of the writer, the hiſtorical anecdotes which it contains, will plead the length and inſertion of it with every reader, who wiſhes to form an impartial judgment of this myſterious tranſaction.

Letter of General Moreau to the Firſt Conſul.

" *The Temple, May* 7, 1804.

" It is now near a month ſince I have been detained as an accomplice of Georges and Pichegru; and I am perhaps deſtined to appear before the tribunals, and vindicate myſelf from the charge of conſpiracy againſt the ſafety of the ſtate, and its chief magiſtrate.

" I was far from expecting that having paſſed through the revolution and the war free from the ſlighteſt reproach of inciviſm or ambition (and more eſpecially after having been at the head of great and victorious armies, which would have given me the means of ſatisfying ſuch paſſions if I poſſeſſed them) that it would be at the moment when I was leading a private life, only engaged with my family, and only ſeeing a very ſmall circle of friends, that I could be accuſed of ſuch an act of madneſs. I have no doubt that my former connexion with General Pichegru has been the motive of my accuſation.

" Before

" Before I ſpeak of my juſtification, permit me, general, to trace this connexion to its ſource, and I doubt not but you will be convinced, that the connexion which one may keep up with an old friend, and a man who has been formerly one's commander, however divided in opinion, and however attached to different parties, are far from being criminal.

" General Pichegru took the command of the army of the north at the beginning of the ſecond year of the republic: I had been then for ſix months a general of brigade; and ſometimes diſcharged the functions of general of diviſion. Pleaſed with ſome ſucceſſes of mine, and with ſome military diſpoſitions, he ſoon obtained for me that rank, the duties of which I at that time diſcharged.

" In entering upon the campaign, he gave me the command of half the army, and confided one of the moſt important operations.

" Two months before the end of the campaign, his ill ſtate of health obliged him to abſent himſelf from the army. The government then, upon his requeſt, entruſted me to finiſh the conqueſt of Dutch Brabant and Guelderland. After the winter's campaign, which made us maſters of the reſt of Holland, he went to the army of the Upper Rhine, and marked me as his ſucceſſor, and the national convention entruſted me with the command of the army he then reſigned. A year after, I replaced him at the army of the Rhine; he was called up to the legiſlative body, and our correſpondence became leſs frequent.

" In the ſhort campaign of the ſixth year, we took the papers of etat major of the enemy. They then brought me a quantity of papers, which General Deſaix, who was then wounded, amuſed himſelf with reading. It appeared by this correſpondence that General Pichegru had been in correſpondence with the French princes. This diſcovery gave us great uneaſineſs, and to me more particularly. We agreed to let it reſt in oblivion. Pichegru, in the legiſlative body, had leſs means of hurting the common cauſe, as peace was their ruin. I took precaution, however, for the ſafety of the army againſt that ſyſtem of eſpionage which might have ruined it. The reſearches that I made, and the decyphering of this correſpondence, has placed all thoſe pieces in the hands of ſeveral perſons.

" The events of the 18th of April were then announced, and the public anxiety was very great. In conſequence of which, two officers, who were informed of the correſpondence, prevailed upon me to inform the government of it, and gave me to underſtand that it had been pretty public, and that at Straſburgh they were preparing to inform the directory of it.

" I was a public functionary, and I could no longer keep ſilent; but without addreſſing myſelf directly to the government, I informed the director, Barthelemy, confidentially of it, begging of him at the ſame time to give me his advice; and informing him that thoſe pieces, although undoubtedly authentic, could not be proved in a court of juſtice, as they were not ſigned, and moſtly in cyphers.

" My letter arrived in Paris a very ſhort time after citizen Barthelemy had been arreſted; and the directory, to whom it was ſent, demanded from me the papers of which it made mention.

" Pichegru then went to Cayenne, and from thence to Germany and England, without my having any correſpondence with him. Some time after the peace with England, M. David, uncle to General Souhau (who had paſſed a year with him at the army of the north) informed me that General Pichegru was one of thoſe baniſhed in Auguſt, and that he was aſtoniſhed at hearing it was from my oppoſition alone that you refuſed to permit his return to France. I replied to M. David, that ſo far from oppoſing his return, I ſhould make it my buſineſs to ſolicit for him this permiſſion. He ſhewed this letter to ſome perſons, and I have learned that the demand was poſitively made to you.

" Some time after, M. David wrote to me, " That he had applied to Pichegru to demand of you directly to be eraſed from the liſt; but that he had anſwered, that he would not make the demand unleſs he was certain that it would be complied with:" that, moreover, he deſired to thank me for the anſwer I had given, and to aſſure me that he never thought me capable of acting in the manner that was imputed to me; that he even knew in the affair of the correſpondence of Klenglen I had been placed in a moſt delicate ſituation. M. David wrote to me three or four unimportant letters more on this ſubject. After his arreſt, he wrote to me to take ſome ſteps in his favour. I was very ſorry that the diſtance between me and government prevented me from giving ſome lights to your juſtice in this reſpect, and I do not doubt but it would have been eaſy to have removed that prejudice which had been given you upon this ſubject.

" I no longer heard Pichegru ſpoken of, except indirectly, and by perſons whom the war obliged to return to France. From that epocha to the preſent moment, during the two campaigns in Germany, and ſince the peace, there have been diſtant overtures made to me, to know whether it was poſſible to prevail on me to enter into correſpondence with the French princes. I conſidered theſe propoſals ſo ridiculous, that I did not even make any anſwer.

" As to the actual conſpiracy, I can equally confirm that I am far from having the leaſt ſhare in it. I confeſs that I am even at a loſs to conceive how a handful of individuals, diſperſed, could hope to change the face of the ſtate, and to reſtore upon the throne a family that the combined efforts of all Eu-

rope, and of civil war, could not ſucceed in reſtoring; or how it can be ſuppoſed that I could be ſo void of reaſon as to join in ſuch a plan, by which I ſhould loſe the fruit of my whole labours, which would in ſuch a caſe draw upon me continual reproaches.

"I repeat it to you, general, that whatever propoſition was made to me, I have rejected from opinion, and always conſidered it the greateſt folly; and when it has been repreſented to me that the chances of the invaſion of England were favourable to a change of government, I replied, that the ſenate was the authority round which all Frenchmen would unite in caſe of troubles, and that I would be the firſt to obey its orders.

"Such overtures made to me, an inſulated individual (who had not choſen to preſerve my connexion, either in the army, of which nine-tenths had ſerved under my orders, or with any conſtituted authority) could obtain no other anſwer than a refuſal.

"The part of giving information to government was repugnant to my character, an office which was always judged of ſeverely; it becomes odious, and marked with the ſeal of reprobation, againſt a man who is guilty of it, with reſpect to perſons to whom he owes gratitude, and with whom he has had long habits of friendſhip. Duty may even ſometimes yield to the cry of public opinion.

"This, general, is what I have to ſay to my connexion with Pichegru; they will ſurely convince you, that very falſe and haſty concluſions have been drawn from actions, which, though perhaps imprudent, were very far from being criminal; and I have no donbt but that if, by your authority, I had been aſked for explanations on thoſe points, which I would have readily given, it would have ſaved you the regret of ordering my detention, and me the humiliation of being impriſoned, and, perhaps, obliged to go before the tribunals, and ſay that I am not a conſpirator, and to appeal, in ſupport of this indication, to the uniform probity of my life for the laſt twenty-five years, and to the ſervices which I have rendered to the country. I will not ſpeak of thoſe, general; I can ſay, they are not yet effaced from your memory; but I will recall to your recollection, that if ever the deſire of taking part in the government of France had been the object of my ambition and of my ſervice, the cover was open to me in the moſt advantageous manner before your return from Egypt; and ſurely you have not forgotten the diſintereſtedneſs with which I ſeconded you on the 18th of Brumaire. Enemies have kept us at a diſtance ſince that time. It is with much regret that I find myſelf compelled to ſpeak of myſelf and of my ſervices; but at a time when I am accuſed of being the accomplice of thoſe who only conſidered of acting under the guidance of England, perhaps I ſhall have to defend myſelf from the ſnares which that power may have prepared againſt me. I have ſelf-love enough to ſuppoſe, that England may judge of the evil which I am ſtill capable of doing her, by what I have already done.

"If, general, I can gain your full attention, then I ſhall have no doubt of your juſtice.

"I ſhall await your deciſion of my fate, with the calm of innocence, but not without the uneaſineſs of ſeeing that thoſe enemies which are always attracted by celebrity, have triumphed.

"I am with reſpect,

"The General, MOREAU."

If the authenticity of this letter was not placed beyond the ſhadow of a doubt, it would ſcarcely be ſuppoſed to have come from the pen of General Moreau. There is an evident ſtruggle in it between his pride as a ſoldier, and a man, and his affection as a huſband. He hints, that if he had given himſelf up to ambition he could have gratified it, when Bonaparte was abſent in Egypt. This in all probability he could have effected, for at the time he commanded nine-tenths of the republican army and the military, undoubtedly would have preferred a man that had ſhared all their dangers and privations, to one that had fled from his troops, and left them in a foreign climate a prey to anarchy, and all the evils of war, in an enemy's country.

This letter was encloſed in the following, addreſſed to the Grand Judge.

"CITIZEN MINISTER,

"I ſend you encloſed a letter for the Firſt Conſul; I beg you, when you tranſmit it to him, to engage him to read it with the greateſt attention. I make no doubt but he will appreciate the ſituation in which I am placed, and haſten to pronounce on my fate. I beg you, citizen miniſter, to accept the aſſurance of the moſt diſtinguiſhed conſideration, with which I am

"The General, MOREAU."

The Grand Judge's Anſwer.

"This evening, at eleven o'clock, citizen General Moreau, I laid your letter of this day before the Firſt Conſul. His heart was affected in a lively manner by the rigorous meaſures which the ſafety of the ſtate preſcribed him. At your firſt interrogatory, when the conſpiracy and your being implicated therein were not yet denounced to the firſt authorities, and to all France, he had charged me, if you had ſhewn a wiſh to that effect, to bring you before him that very moment. You might have contributed to draw the ſtate out of the danger in which it ſtill continued. Before I let juſtice take its courſe, I would, by a ſecond interrogatory, aſſure myſelf

myſelf if there were no poſſibility to ſeparate your name from this odious affair. You have not given me an opportunity to do ſo. Now that the juridical proceedings are begun, the law requires that no paper, whether for or againſt you, ſhould be withdrawn from the judges; and the government have ordered me to annex your letter to the proceedings.

REGNIER.

If the Firſt Conſul did not feel himſelf diſpoſed to return a favourable reply to Moreau's letter, he ſhould in point of honour, have committed it to the flames, inſtead of tranſmitting it to the judges, for the purpoſe of adding weight to the articles of accuſation preferred againſt the general, which actually was the uſe to which it was converted. In the courſe of the trial, Moreau candidly acknowledged his reconciliation with Pichegru: he ſaid many generals had joined him to pray his recal from the Firſt Conſul; he alſo confeſſed that Pichegru had been twice at his houſe; the firſt time, he ſaid, was a mere complimentary viſit; but the ſecond time, Pichegru made overtures to him about the army, and about the influence which the princes might have there; the advantages that might be taken from the invaſion, &c. all which he anſwered ſo as to make him diſcontent. The preſident then aſked him, how, after having denounced Pichegru as a traitor, he could receive him at his houſe? Moreau anſwered, that at firſt he thought theſe accuſations well founded; but if Pichegru had then committed a fault, his ſubſequent victories had atoned for them. The preſident then again queſtioned him about the overtures. Moreau allowed that they were made, and obſerved; that when he commanded armies, ſimilar overtures were often made to him, both by republicans and royaliſts. Being aſked why he did not denounce them? he ſaid, he would much rather fight the enemy than give ſuch information; that as to the project of being dictator, he could have obtained it, if he wiſhed, before the arrival of Bonaparte; that it had been propoſed to him; but that he looked upon that man as a mad-man whoſe deſign was to overturn the government; and that if he had been deſirous to form a party, he would have looked for partizans, not among the royaliſts, but in the armies and conſtituted authorities.

The witneſſes on the part of the proſecution having been gone through, Burnet, counſel for Moreau, recapitulated *ſeriatim*, the whole of the evidence, in order to weaken the teſtimony of the witneſſes, to point out their contradictions, and the little credit that ought to be given to men of ſuch abandoned characters; who were moſt of them approvers in order to ſave their own lives. He then ſpoke for three hours in defence of his client: his ſpeech, in which eloquence and argument went hand in hand, drew tears from almoſt every one that heard it.—"General Moreau," ſaid he, "is in this criſis accuſed of a previous crime. The tutelary recollection which accompanies the accuſed do not exculpate him, nor prevent prejudices, but they enjoin more care, more circumſpection in the examination of the charges which have been brought againſt him. The accuſed may ſay, "Before you eſtabliſh your opinion, before you judge me, examine who I am." The advocate mentioned the heſitation of the head of the government, who for three days refuſed to believe that Moreau was guilty. The numerous addreſſes which congratulated the Firſt Conſul on having eſcaped the ſtroke with which he was menaced, expreſſed the deepeſt regret at finding Moreau numbered with the conſpirators; and he aſſured the judges that even Moreau in the ſituation in which he then ſtood, was ſtill worthy of all his glory. Having dwelt on Moreau's military career in a ſtrain of language as brilliant as the victories he deſcribed. He concluded his ſpeech with theſe words, "If Moreau had propoſed to ſerve the princes, it ſhould have been when he was at the head of the armies; and the man who, when he learned that Bonaparte had landed in France, publickly exclaimed, "This is the man who is neceſſary to ſave France," cannot have entertained the deſign to deſtroy him, and arrogate to himſelf the ſupreme authority."

The general was then called upon to ſpeak in his own defence, which he did in a very impreſſive ſpeech, delivered without the leaſt heſitation, in a manly tone of voice, and an air that arreſted the attention of the court. The following paſſage will enable the reader to judge of the reſt: "It was often propoſed to me," ſaid the priſoner, "to place myſelf at the head of the Republic; this is a fact well known to Bonaparte himſelf. My ambition, if I had any, could eaſily have covered itſelf with appearances, or even have aſſumed the honour of every ſentiment of love for my country. The propoſition was made to me by men famous in the revolution for their patriotiſm, and in our national aſſemblies by their talents. I refuſed it; I thought I was made to command armies, and would not command the republic. This is proof ſufficient, that if I had any ambition, it was not that of authority or power. The 18th Brumaire arrived, I was at Paris; that revolution, brought on by others as well as myſelf, could not alarm my conſcience. Directed by a man ſurrounded with great glory, I might have expected a happy reſult from it: I aſſiſted in it, whilſt other parties preſſed me to put myſelf at their head to oppoſe it. At Paris I received the orders of Bonaparte; in cauſing them to be executed, I aſſiſted in raiſing him to that high ſtation which circumſtances had rendered neceſſary. When, ſome time afterwards, he offered me the chief command of the army of the Rhine, I accepted it from him with as much devotion as if I had received it at the hands of the republic.

public. Never were my military ſucceſſes more rapid, more numerous, and more deciſive, than at that period, when their ſplendor was ſpread over the government which now accuſes me. In return for ſo much ſucceſs, the greateſt advantages of which was the having ſecurely eſtabliſhed peace on the continent; the ſoldier heard the loud cries of national gratitude. What a moment was it to conſpire, if ſuch an idea even entered into my imagination! Every one knew the devotion of the armies to the teachers, whom they loved, and who had led them from victory to victory. Would an ambitious man, a conſpirator, have let the opportunity eſcape, when at the head of an army of one hundred thouſand men, that had ſo often conquered; he repaired to the boſom of a nation ſtill agitated and ever in a ſtate of diſquiet? I thought of nothing but diſbanding the army, and I retired to the calm of civil life. In that ſituation of repoſe, which was not deſtitute of glory, I no doubt enjoyed my honours; thoſe honours which it is not in human power to ſnatch from me."

The grand judge having ſummed up the evidence, pronounced ſentence of death on the general Moreau, which was afterwards commuted for baniſhment to America, where he now reſides, beloved and admired by the inhabitants of that republic.

CHAP. X.

Preſentation of Colours to the London Volunteers.—Solemn Thankſgiving for his Majeſty's Recovery.—Dreadful Storms.

TO reſume the domeſtic part of our hiſtory, we find that miniſters were actively employed in putting the nation into the moſt formidable ſtate of defence, as it was expected that the enemy was fully prepared and fully reſolved to put the threat of invaſion into execution. Men, however, of the firſt military talents in the country differed in their opinion of the plans which government had adopted for this purpoſe. As the volunteer ſyſtem is a new and intereſting feature in the hiſtory of England, we have been attentive to record in the progreſs of our work, whatever related to that branch of our military force, the continuation of which in all probability will be found eſſential to the ſafety and glory of the country, in time of war eſpecially, when we have to contend with a powerful military nation, it is neceſſary that the united kingdom ſhould be armed at every point.

On Friday, May 18, 1804, the Loyal London Volunteers were preſented with their colours; the ceremony on that occaſion was grand and impreſſive.

At five o'clock in the morning a flag was diſplayed from the upper gallery of St. Paul's, as a ſignal for the regiments who were to receive their colours to embark. When the proceſſion (which was preceded by the lord mayor in his carriage, &c. &c.) reached the Tower Stairs, it was joined by his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York and his four aids de camp, who embarked with the lord mayor on board his barge, under a royal ſalute. They were followed by a long civic train. At eight o'clock the ſignal of embarkation was given. The firſt, ſecond, fourth, fifth and ſixth embarked at the King's Stairs at the Tower; the ſeventh, eighth and eleventh at the Cuſtom-houſe quay; and the ninth and tenth at the ſtairs next the Steel-yard above London bridge. The ten regiments were conveyed in one hundred and twenty-nine troop boats. As they ſailed down the river, the ſhips, in compliment to the day, were dreſſed with the colours of all nations, and moſt of them, as well as the different corps along the ſhore, ſaluted with cannon as they paſſed. The gun-boats and fencibles having moored, the corps were landed, under a diſcharge of great guns and muſquetry, and the whole marched at one o'clock into Greenwich park. On their arrival at the bottom of Greenwich hill, the whole formed into a cloſe column, in order to proceed to Blackheath, where they took up their ground, which extended full two miles. The ten companies of grenadiers, and the ſtandard guard of the cavalry formed a circle round them in which were her Royal Highneſs the princeſs Charlotte of Wales, the lord mayor's party, and from ſix to ſeven hundred perſons of the firſt rank and diſtinction.

The colours being unfurled and conſecrated in the moſt ſolemn manner, the enſigns came forward, and kneeling, received them, with an appropriate ſpeech from the lord mayor, which being concluded, the enſigns roſe by command, and placed themſelves, with their colours, in the centre of their reſpective companies, who faced to the right about, and marched in ordinary time to their regiments.

On the colours being paraded in front of each regiment, the word was given to form a circle of batallions, when the commanding officer of each addreſſed his regiment in a ſhort ſpeech on the occaſion. The corps here gave three cheers, after which they fired three vollies of batallions, from right to the left of the line. The following paſſage in the prayer of conſecration breathes ſuch a ſpirit of chriſtianity, that it would be unpardonable to omit it. "As thou haſt graciouſly inſtructed us, in thy holy word, to pray, not for ourſelves only, but even for our perſecutors, let us not conclude theſe our imperfect petitions, without imploring a bleſſing on our infatuated enemies. Enlighten, we beſeech thee, O Lord, their worldly minds, enable them to perceive how widely they have erred from thy ways; and in thy mercy lead them to a timely repentance. Pour into their hearts true humility, that they, no longer vainly truſting in their own ſufficiency, may acknowledge the ſource of every good and perfect

gift; and may they confeſs the merits of a Redeemer, truſting to his interceſſion at the throne of grace, for the pardon of all their ſins."

To this we ſhall add the ſpeech of the Lord Mayor on the preſentation of the colours.

"GENTLEMEN,

"I cannot but conſider myſelf peculiarly fortunate in being called on by my official ſituation to diſcharge a duty ſo gratifying as that which on the preſent occaſion devolves on me.

"Gentlemen, it would be a vain attempt for me to deſcribe the ſenſation to which this ſublime ſpectacle gives birth. Powers far ſuperior to mine could not do juſtice to the ſcene which here preſents itſelf—could pay but an inadequate tribute of applauſe to thoſe gallant and patriotic bands, who, rouſed by the voice of honour, yield their pleaſures and their occupations a willing ſacrifice at the ſhrine of their country.

Yes; it remained for the preſent age to prove that the citizens of London inherit the ſame ardent ſpirit, glow with the ſame devotion to the ſacred cauſe of freedom and independence, as diſtinguiſhed their immortal anceſtors, who, in the proudeſt periods of Britain's fame, were ſtill moſt conſpicuous in the career of glory. It was reſerved for the preſent age to prove the falſehood of the imputation, that the genius of commerce had extinguiſhed the fire of freedom in our breaſts, and to evince that thoſe who by civilization and induſtry beſt learn to acquire wealth, by their intrepidity and exertions beſt know how to preſerve it.

"Gentlemen, to your perſeverance and attention, as well as to the order of thoſe you command, are to be attributed their high ſtate of diſcipline and appearance. Your own feelings, and the approbation of your country, form the moſt honourable, and I am ſure, to you the moſt gratifying reward.

Gentlemen, I am preſenting to you the colours, a tribute of the gratitude of your fellow citizens, and the beſt mark of their attachment to their brethren in arms. Allow me to ſay, I rely with confidence that you will receive them as the moſt ſacred depoſit which can be entruſted to your care, and that, as the city of London is the firſt in the empire, its citizens will be the firſt to afford a bright example of devotion in a cauſe of which they have already ſhewn themſelves ſo worthy."

The 25th of May was obſerved as a day of thankſgiving, in conſequence of the recovery of his Majeſty from a ſevere indiſpoſition. The volunteers in the metropolis repaired to their reſpective churches, which were numerouſly attended. The day was marked with the greateſt ſolemnity; a new form of prayer was uſed upon that occaſion, in the petitions of which the different congregations fervently united. It ran in theſe words:

"Have mercy upon thy ſervant our ſovereign, whom thou haſt *repeatedly* ſmitten for the tranſgreſſions of his people. We acknowledge, that for our manifold ſins we are worthy of the ſeverity of thy judgments; yet, we beſeech thee, incline thine ear to us, when with penitent and contrite hearts we turn unto thee; and remove from our ſovereign, and from us *theſe* dreadful *viſitations*. We yield thee thanks and praiſe, O Lord, for thy great mercy already manifeſted towards us, in his recovery from his late dangerous ſickneſs. Confirm and eſtabliſh, we beſeech thee, O Lord, the work which thou haſt begun."

In the courſe of this month ſeveral parts of the kingdom were conſiderably damaged by ſtorms, &c.

On the evening of the fourth of May the vicinity of Bath experienced a ſtorm, attended with more awful circumſtances than ever accompanied any elemental convulſion of the ſame nature within the memory of the oldeſt inhabitants. Tropical deluges perhaps might have equalled the rapid deſcent of the rain; but in continuance it exceeded the cuſtomary duration of tempeſts in the neighbourhood of the line. Unprecedented marks of devaſtation exhibited themſelves when the torrents ſubſided; roads torn up, gardens deſtroyed, and conſiderable portions of land removed from their ſituation. Among thoſe may be reckoned a vaſt body of earth from the ſummit and declivity of Beechen Clift, which fell with "hideous ruin and combuſtion," (for it is doubtful whether it was occaſioned by the action of the electrical fluid or water) loaded with buſhes and trees in the field below; the diſlocation of almoſt half an acre in a field at Hanging-land, and a ſpace of nearly the ſame extent in a field on the Prior-park eſtate.

A moſt tremendous ſtorm of thunder and lightning was alſo experienced the ſame night, in the counties of Lancaſhire and Cheſhire; the damage ſuſtained was almoſt incredible. The peals of thunder, which rapidly ſucceeded each other, were followed by immenſe torrents of rain and hail. Not far from Warrington, on the Cheſhire ſide, a bolt fell, which did great injury. At Bolton and its vicinity the tornado appeared to have collected all its force, the rain deſcended in ſuch quantities, that it was ſuppoſed a water ſpout muſt have been in that neighbourhood, the river Irwell having ſwelled to ſo great a height as to ſweep away many buildings, large quantities of houſhold furniture, &c. The duration of the ſtorm was upwards of two hours.—At Houlton-park a ball of fire fell with ſuch force as to ſplit in ſhivers and tear up an aſh tree, which had long been admired for its ſtrength and beauty; ſeveral bridges were alſo ſwept away.

CHAP. XI.

Eaſt Indies, Treaties with the Rajah of Berar and Scindia.—Weſt Indies.—State of our Colonies.—Proclamation of Deſſalines.—Naval Captures.

WE ſhall now proceed to narrate the moſt remarkable events of the month of June, 1804. It was the hope of the nation that our dear-bought victories in the Eaſt Indies would be followed by an honourable and permanent peace; if not with all, yet with ſome of the hoſtile chieftains of that country. This hope was gratified by the ratification of two treaties, one with the Rajah of Berar, and the other with Scindia, two of the moſt warlike and powerful princes of the eaſt. The ceſſions made to the Eaſt India Company in virtue of theſe treaties enlarged, no doubt, their territorial poſſeſſions, but it is not quite certain that they ſerved to ſtrengthen their power, or to win the affections of the natives, which would be the beſt ſecurity for the continuation of peace, ſo deſirable at all times to a commercial body.

The Rajah of Berar ceded to the company in perpetual ſovereignty, the province of Cuttack, including the port and diſtrict of Balaſore, together with all the territories of which he had collected the revenues jointly with the Soubah of the Dekan. The hills on which the forts of Nernallah and Gawalghur were to remain in poſſeſſion of the Rajah; but all places to the ſouthward of theſe hills, and to the weſt of the river Wurda were to be given up to the Britiſh government.

The Rajah, on the part of himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, entirely renounced all claims of every deſcription on the territories of the Britiſh government, ceded as above, and upon all the territories of the Soubah of the Dekan. He alſo engaged, at the ſame time, never to take or retain in his ſervice any Frenchman, or the ſubjects of any other European or American power that might be at war with the Britiſh government, or any Britiſh ſubjects, either European or native, without the conſent of the company. Scindia ceded to the company and their allies, in perpetual ſovereignty, all his forts, territories, and rights in the Dooab, and country ſituated between the Jumna and the Ganges, and all his forts, territories, rights, and intereſts in the countries which are to the northward of the Rajahs of Jeypoor and Goodepoor, and of the Rajah of Gohud; ſuch countries formerly in the poſſeſſion of Maharajah, ſituated between Jeypoor and Joudepoor, and to the ſouth of the former, were to belong to the Maharajah.

He alſo ceded to the company and their allies the fort of Broach, and the territory depending thereon; and the fort of Ahmednugger, with all the territories which belonged to him previous to the breaking out of the war, ſituated to the ſouthward of the Adjuntee hills; including the forts and diſtricts of Jalnapoor, the town and diſtrict of Gandapoor, and all other diſtricts between that range of hills and the river Godavery. He renounced at the ſame time, for himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, all claims to the forts, territories, rights, and intereſts to the ceſſions juſt enumerated, and all claims of every deſcription upon the Britiſh government, and their allies, the Soubah of the Dekan, the Peiſhwa and Anaud Row Guickwar.

On the part of the company it was agreed that the following lands, villages, &c. in the territories of Rao Pundit Pundham, in Enaum, lately taken poſſeſſion of by the Britiſh government, be reſtored to Scindia, with a special proviſion that no troops were to be introduced there on the pretence of collecting revenues, or any other pretence whatſoever, viz. Choomargoody Purgunnah, Jamgaun, Raujenjaun; half of Siengaun Purgunnah; five villages in Umber Purgunnah, five villages in Pytan Purgunnah, five villages in Newag Purgunnah, five villages in Kurloh Purgunnah, ſix villages in Poonah Purgunnah, two villages in Wabry Purgunnah, ſix villages in Palwood Purgunnah, five villages in Pandy Purgaum Purgunnah, five villages in Pagoom Purgunnah, two villages in Parnena Purgunnah.

Scindia alſo agreed never to engage in his ſervice any Frenchmen or other Europeans, or natives at war with Great Britain. Theſe treaties were executed in the month of December 1803.

The capture of Surinam * was announced in the Gazette of June 22d. This valuable acquiſition to the Britiſh dominions was made with very little loſs on the part of his Majeſty's troops. Commodore Hood having ſignified, on the ſecond of April, to Major-general Sir Charles Green, that every thing in the naval department was ready, the latter di-

* Surinam is a very fertile country, but extremely unhealthy, on account of its low ſituation, and the number of woods and marſhes in every direction. It produces ſugar, coffee, fruit-trees, medicinal plants, minerals, &c. Iron ore is to be found of a fine quality on the very ſurface of the earth.

The pyrites is very common in almoſt every part. Theſe ſubſtances in their native ſtate are ſolid, weighty, and cryſtallized in different ſtates. Veins of this ſubſtance run very deep in the earth; enormous maſſes of it are found in the mountains, mixed with other metals. There is a ſulphureous ſpecies of it, which is called *fire ſtone*, and another which they call marcaſite. This latter is compounded of iron, copper, ſulphur, and arſenic, in different proportions; it is hard and weighty; the colour is commonly of a bright yellow. Talc has alſo been lately diſcovered in the north-weſt part of this colony. Pounce ſtone is very abundant; it is moſtly of a black colour, and carries with it all the appearance of having been calcined by ſubterraneous fires.

Among the metallic earths there are three ſpecies of ochres; the firſt is iron ochre, the ſecond is yellow, of a ſtraw colour, and the third is inclined to red. It contains likewiſe every ſpecies of argillacious earth, grey, black, green, red, &c.

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rected the final embarkation of the troops, ſtores, &c. and on the 7th of the ſame month the whole fleet ſailed from Barbadoes. On the 25th, his majeſty's ſhip the Centaur came to anchor about ten miles off the mouth of the river Surinam; and during that and the next day the greateſt part of the fleet alſo anchored. On the 26th, a corps, conſiſting of the flank companies of the ſixteenth and ſixty-fourth regiments, made up by detachments from the battalion companies of the ſixteenth, ſixty-fourth, and ſixth Weſt India regiments, to about ſix hundred men, and the firſt brigade of royal artillery, beſides armed ſeamen, was detached in different veſſels under convoy of his majeſty's ſhip Hippomenes, Captain Shipley. This corps was commanded by Brigadier-general Maitland, who was directed to effect a landing at the Warappa Creek, about ten leagues to the eaſtward of the Surinam river. The principal object of this was to facilitate an approach to take poſſeſſion in the rear of Fort New Amſterdam; and alſo with a view to cut off a conſiderable detachment of the enemy ſtationed at Fort Brandwacht, on the Mud Creek. On the ſame day preparations were made for landing a body of troops to take poſſeſſion of Bram's Point, where there was a battery of ſeven eighteen pounders. The Emerald, Pandeur (having the ſixty-fourth regiment on board) and Drake brig of war, got under weigh to attack the battery, when a fire was opened on the ſhips, which, however, was ſoon ſilenced by a few broadſides, and the enemy ſtruck their colours. A detachment of troops, under Brigadier-general Hughes, immediately landed, and took poſſeſſion of Bram's Point. The entrance being thus ſecured, a conſiderable part of the fleet in the courſe of the next day landed in the river. It was then determined that no time ſhould be loſt in endeavouring to make ſome attempt on the enemy's poſts; but as the coaſt of Surinam was very difficult of approach, ſhallow, and full of banks, a landing only could be attempted at the top of the tide, and at particular points, as the coaſt was uncleared; and from wood, and the marſhy nature of the ſoil, it was impoſſible to penetrate into the interior, except by the rivers and the creeks. The ſhores on both ſides of the river Surinam were equally difficult of acceſs, for the ſame cauſes, with the exception of Frederic Battery, and another ſpot on the eaſtern ſhore. The point of attack was therefore confined, and the enemy, by means of their forts, ſhips of war, and other armed veſſels, were completely maſters of the navigation of the river Surinam, above Fort Amſterdam. The defence of the river, after paſſing Bram's Point, were Fort Amſterdam, ſituated on the confluence of the rivers Surinam and Commewyne; upwards of eighty pieces of ordnance were mounted in this fortreſs. Fort Leyden was armed with twelve heavy guns, and ſituated on the right bank of the Surinam, oppoſite to, and commanded by Fort Amſterdam, at the diſtance of about two thouſand yards. The battery Frederici was about two hundred yards lower down, and armed with twelve heavy guns. On the left bank of the river, nearly oppoſite to Fort Amſterdam, was Fort Purmurent, having ten guns mounted, its rear and flanks protected by impracticable marſh and woods. The fire of all theſe batteries and works interſect in the channels for ſhips going up the river. The town of Paramaribo was defended towards the water by a battery of ten guns, mounted in Fort Zealandia, a place otherwiſe of no defence. On the 28th, the ſhips of war and other veſſels proceeded up the river as faſt as the tides would admit of. On the 29th, the troops, led on by Brigadier-general Hughes, landed between ten and eleven at night, at Reſolution, and proceeded through the woods with negro guides to the rear of Forts Leyden and Frederici. A great quantity of rain having recently fallen, it was found that the path, at all times difficult, had become almoſt impaſſable; but no obſtacle could damp the enterprizing ſpirit of our ſeamen and ſoldiers, who, with perſevering courage, after a laborious march of five hours, arrived near the rear of Frederici Battery. General Hughes uſed no delay in moving on to the attack of Fort Leyden; but being under the neceſſity of marching by a narrow road, which was infiladed by four or five guns, received a conſiderable fire of grape ſhot on his march, and of muſketry on his nearer approach, which, however, was ſoon put a ſtop to by a repetition of the ſame impetuous attack on our part: the enemy, after ſome firing, called for quarter, which was inſtantly granted. By the capture of this fort a poſition was ſecured, by which a heavy fire could be brought on Fort New Amſterdam, a communication with the river Commewyne opened, the means of forming a junction with General Maitland's corps eſtabliſhed, and the command of the fineſt part of the colony, abounding with reſources of all kind, obtained. On the 4th of March, Fort New Amſterdam, after a ſlight reſiſtance, ſurrendered to General Maitland; this was immediately followed by the capitulation of the whole colony.—In the articles of capitulation it was ſtipulated that all the ſhips in the ſervice of the colony, with a few exceptions, ſhould be delivered up.

Our Weſt India iſlands were now in ſuch a ſtate of reſpectable defence, that all apprehenſions for their ſafety had ſubſided. The ſubjugation of the iſland of St. Domingo by the *Blacks*, was in itſelf a matter of uneaſineſs, leſt ſome ſparks of inteſtine war, which had raged in that colony, ſhould alight in any of our own; every precaution, however, was taken to extinguiſh them on the ſlighteſt appearance. Dessalines, the negro chief of St. Domingo, availed himſelf of every opportunity to ſpeak in terms

terms of friendſhip of the colonial Engliſh; who, highly to the honour of their humanity, exerted all their influence through the Americans, who traded with the inhabitants, to ſave the lives of the unhappy whites in that devoted ſettlement,—but in vain—they were maſſacred without diſtinction of age or ſex. It could not be expected that any entreaties could make impreſſion on the heart that could dictate the following proclamation, which we inſert as a ſpecimen of the height to which indignation can be carried in words; and which, in point of eloquence, may be compared with any that ever Bonaparte publiſhed.

ST. DOMINGO.

LIBERTY OR DEATH! NATIVE ARMY!

The General in Chief to the People at Hayti.

"CITIZENS! FELLOW CITIZENS!

"I have, in this ſolemn circumſtance, aſſembled the brave ſoldiers who have ſhed their blood for the cauſe of liberty; thoſe generous men, who have guided your efforts againſt tyranny, have not yet done enough for your happineſs. Every thing which here retraces the remembrance of the French name, reminds us of the cruelties of that homicide people. Our laws, our manners, our towns, every thing bears the impreſſion of France. What do I ſay? there ſtill remain Frenchmen in our iſland!

"Victims, alas! during fourteen years, of our own credulity, of our own indulgence, ſubdued, not by the arms of the French, but by the awful eloquence of the proclamations of their agents; when ſhall we, in fine, be tired of breathing the ſame air as they? What affinity do we bear to that ſanguinary people? Their cruelty, compared with our patient moderation; the difference of their colour from ours; the immenſity of ſeas which ſeparate us from them; our vengeful climate; every thing tell us thoſe men are not our brothers; that they will never become ſo; and that, if they find an aſylum among us, they will continue to ſow troubles and diſſenſions here.

"Citizens, inhabitants of Hayti, men, women, girls, children, caſt your eyes upon each of the points of this iſland: ſeek in it you, your wives; you, your huſbands; you, your ſiſters: what do I ſay? ſeek in it your children at the breaſt? what is become of them? they have been the prey of thoſe vultures. In the place of thoſe intereſting victims, your eyes only beheld thoſe aſſaſſins, only tigers, ſtill glutted with their blood, and whoſe frightful preſence upbraids you with your inſenſibility, your ſlowneſs to avenge them. Why delay to appeaſe their manes? Do you hope that your remains can reſt in peace with thoſe of your fathers, as long as you ſhall not have made tyranny diſappear! What! the aſhes of your relations are in the grave, and you have not avenged them! Their bones will puſh away yours with diſdain.

"Learn, citizens, that you have done nothing, if you do not give to nations a terrible but juſt example of the vengeance which ſhould be exerciſed by a brave people, who have recovered their liberty, and who are jealous to maintain it. Let us frighten thoſe who would dare to attempt to raviſh it from us, and let us begin with the French.

(Signed)

"DESSALINES."

The ſquadron under the command of Admiral Duckworth, in the West Indies, was extremely active in picking up ſeveral of the moſt deſperate of the French privateers in that quarter. The Gazette of the 3d of June 1804, announced the following captures in the month of March (1804): L'Hirendelle felucca privateer, of three guns and forty-four men, captured by the Stork; Le Cazar felucca privateer, of one ſix pounder and forty-ſix men, by the Fortunée; Jean Baptiſte felucca privateer, of twenty-eight men, by the Racoon; La Petite Harmonie privateer, from Martinique, mounting two four pound carriage guns, a prize, after a ſmart action, to the Franchiſe, Capt. Murray; the Batavian republic ſchooner, Draak, mounting four four and one three pounder, and fifty men, taken by the Snake, Captain Roberts; the French national tranſport L'Argo, mounting ſix guns, with fifty troops, and twenty officers and ſeamen, bound for France, by the ſloop Racoon, Captain Gordon; who, in the courſe of a few hours after, captured the French felucca privateer L'Aventure, mounting one gun and two ſwivels. From the number of the enemy's privateers daily launched from Guadaloupe, and the deſperate manner with which they fought, it was evident that the French flattered themſelves with the hopes of making up, in ſome meaſure, for the loſs of St. Domingo, by depredations on our trade; but the ſuperior gallantry of our ſeamen ſoon convinced them that the hopes on which they had founded their ſyſtem of piracy, were as unſtable as the waves on which they ſailed.

CHAP. XII.

Change of Miniſtry.—Parliamentary Proceedings.—Captureat Toulon.—Iriſh Militia.—State of the Army at four different Periods.

WE have already, in the courſe of this work, given a candid opinion of Mr. Addington's adminiſtration; it was mild, and conducted on œconomical

œconomical principles; but the critical ſituation of the times imperiouſly demanded a ſyſtem of vigour, that would embrace all the contingencies of the day, and which would require the united wiſdom of all the men of talents in the empire. The nation ſaw the neceſſity of this grand coalition, which could be only cemented by a generous oblivion of all political hoſtilities. Mr. Pitt preſſed the neceſſity of it, which was ſeconded by Mr. Fox with ſuch a weight of argument, that Mr. Addington found himſelf under the neceſſity of reſigning that power which his hand was too feeble to wield; convinced in his own mind, no doubt, of the propriety of the meaſure, as well as that every perſonal ſacrifice ſhould be made for the ſecurity and proſperity of the country. On his reſignation the public looked with anxiety to the formation of an adminiſtration that would include Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville; but the ſenſation of the general diſappointment cannot be expreſſed, when it was found that Mr. Pitt accepted the high and reſponſible office which he had lately held, without the aid of theſe illuſtrious ſtateſmen; and that his colleagues in almoſt every department of the ſtate were men of feeble talents, by no means calculated to inſpire confidence at home, or to damp the ſpirits of the enemy abroad. The conduct of Lord Grenville, and thoſe that were politically attached to him, was candid and manly: he openly avowed that nothing ſhould prevail on him to join the ſtandard of a miniſter who conſulted his own ambition in ſuch a manner. There were ſome, however, whoſe mental eyes were ſo dazzled by the brilliancy of Mr. Pitt's eloquence, that they vainly hoped that he would be able of himſelf to direct the energies of the country; and that this "giant refreſhed," as he was called by the Marquis of Stafford, would make good his claim to the title which Mr. Canning beſtowed on him, "the pilot that weathered the ſtorm." How far theſe hopes were realized will be the ſubject of ſome future remarks.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer having moved to refer the papers relative to Lord Hood's claims to the captures at Toulon, to a committee of ſupply, proceeded to ſtate the grounds on which theſe claims were preferred. It was not his intention, he ſaid, to go into any particular detail with reſpect to the ſurrender of Toulon; it would be recollected that the inhabitants of the ſouthern part of France, weary of the worſt of tyranny that ever degraded the human race, expreſſed a wiſh to be placed under the authority of the legitimate heir of their murdered ſovereign. In conſequence of this Lord Hood poſſeſſed himſelf of the town and harbour of Toulon, and of ſeveral French ſhips, which, by a convention, were to be held in truſt for Louis XVII. to whom they were to be reſtored. During the continuance of the war it was obvious that the nature of the terms agreed upon, precluded Lord Hood from claiming any remuneration for himſelf, and the officers and ſeamen under his command. After the ratification of the definitive treaty of peace, Lord Hood preſented a memorial to his majeſty, claiming a reward for the officers and ſeamen, on account of the French ſhips taken and deſtroyed at Toulon, together with their ordnance and ſtores. His majeſty was pleaſed to refer the memorial to the privy council; a committee of whom took it into conſideration, and reported it as their opinion that it was not expedient to grant any remuneration for the ten ſail of the line and other veſſels which were deſtroyed, becauſe it was not the practice to grant remuneration for ſhips deſtroyed at ſea. It was only in caſe of captures that the captors became entitled to prize money, head money, &c. The committee of privy council, however, recommended that a remuneration ſhould be given for thoſe ſhips which were brought away from Toulon, and afterwards employed in his majeſty's ſervice. It was then referred to the lords of the admiralty, and the maſter general of the ordnance, to eſtimate the value of thoſe ſhips, and their ſtores and ordnance. The value of the ſhips was eſtimated at 236,742*l.* and the value of the ordnance and ſtores at 28,594*l.* On theſe reports being received, the committee of council recommended the granting of a remuneration to Lord Hood, which was approved of by his majeſty in council, and it was upon this recommendation that he ſubmitted the propoſition for remuneration to the committee. He only aſked, that the houſe would not, in this inſtance, take advantage of the want of condemnation, and that they would give the officers and ſeamen employed at Toulon the value of thoſe ſhips which they had taken, and which had been employed in his majeſty's ſervice.

Capt. Pierrepoint bore teſtimony to the high character which Lords Hood and Hotham had obtained upon that occaſion. If theſe gallant officers had loſt their lives in that enterprize, he was ſure the houſe would have no heſitation in voting monuments to their memories. Let it not be ſaid then, continued he, that while thoſe diſtinguiſhed and meritorious officers are living, we withhold from them their bread, the juſt reward of their ſervices, that when dead we only vote them a ſtone.

Mr. Johnſtone conceived that the propoſition might be reduced to a narrow compaſs; namely, whether thoſe ſhips were or were not prizes. As they came into the hands of the officers by a convention, and not by capture, they could not be deemed legal prizes to our navy, who received them by ſurrender; and as we were not able to carry theſe ſhips to Louis XVII. for whoſe uſe they were tranſferred to us, the right of property and diſpoſing of them were veſted, according to law, in his majeſty, and not in thoſe who had taken poſſeſſion of them

in the firſt inſtance. If, however, it ſhould be determined to grant the large ſum ſpecified in the motion, he would put it to the equity of the houſe, whether the land forces engaged in that expedition had not an equal right to prize money with the ſeamen and marines?

Sir Home Popham obſerved that the operations might have been combined, and that intercourſe might have been held with ſome of the factious in Toulon, was very probable; but the predominant feature was certainly military. On the 23d of Auguſt Lord Hood appeared off Toulon, with fourteen ſail of the line, where he found Admiral St. Julien (a creature of the republic) in command of the French fleet of ſeventeen ſail of the line, and who had ſuſpended Admiral Trogoffe from his functions and command, and conſequently all the expected co-operation on the part of Trogoffe was at an end, and the gallant admiral decided to attack the French fleet in the formidable poſition in which it was moored; and, like a great general (having long eſtabliſhed his character as a great admiral) he diſembarked the part of the army ſerving in his fleet with the marines, and took poſſeſſion of Fort La Malgue, with the co-operation of the Britiſh fleet. Theſe preparations, and the name of the noble admiral, and the recollection of the victories that compoſed his glory, had the greateſt effect on St. Julien. The Britiſh admiral's conduct at Baſſe Terre, where he manœuvred the French admiral De Graſſe from his anchorage, and took poſſeſſion of it, was freſh in St. Julien's memory: he knew he had to contend with a man who had been in the habit of turning his countrymen out of their roadſteads, and taking poſſeſſion of them, and that the ſame military talents might be applied here. Theſe were the motives which induced St. Julien to deſert his fleet, accompanied with the crews of ſeven ſhips moſt attached to him, at the very moment the Britiſh admiral was about to enter to attack him. Could this then be called a convention? No, there was no condition, no convention between the contending commanders. And even in that, as well as after Lord Hood had entered Toulon, he was ſeen to act not only as a gallant naval officer, but alſo as a great general, and conſummate ſtateſman; and then whether the fleet ſurrendered, or was taken for Louis XVII. the operation, to all intents and purpoſes, ought to be conſidered as a military operation, and as ſuch entitled to the higheſt praiſe. It was difficult to ſay upon what ground a claim ſo well founded could be objected to. If the idea were to get abroad that the liberality of the houſe were not to ſhew itſelf to ſignal ſervices at the recommendation of his majeſty, what diſcouraging effects might it not produce? The queſtion, in his opinion, was of the firſt importance, and he recommended it to the committee, and would warn them not to permit either ſophiſtry or a quibble of the law to fruſtrate the claims of acknowledged merit to the ſtrongeſt proofs of their liberality.

Mr. Creevy thought it a queſtion that ought to be ſubmitted rather to the admiralty court than to that houſe, as he knew nothing more dangerous on the part of the houſe, than to interfere with whatever belonged to the juriſdiction of the courts of law; on that account he would oppoſe the motion.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer admitted that there was ſomething of the character of a convention about it. He never preſſed the motion as a claim of right; he urged it as an appeal to the liberality of the houſe; and he confeſſed that he felt it to be an appeal to ſomething more than liberality, conſidering all the circumſtances, though he had relied on that chiefly, and he was perſuaded it was to that to which a deſerving Britiſh officer never applied in vain.

Dr. Lawrence wiſhed it to be diſtinctly underſtood that liberality was the only ground upon which this motion reſted. For himſelf he felt no apprehenſion that the rejection of it would damp the ardour of our fleets. He knew the gallant and diſintereſted character of our navy too well to ſuppoſe that any conſideration of gain could ſtimulate them, or any apprehenſion of loſs could reſtrain them from the utmoſt exertion of their duty.

Mr. William Smith ſaid, however much he reſpected the character of the navy, or admired the character of the gallant admirals to whom the motion referred, or however warm his friendſhip for the naval officers who were intereſted in the motion, he could not perſuade himſelf to vote for it under the circumſtances in which it was involved. If the claim was founded on right, the houſe ſhould not uſurp the privilege of the admiralty court by deciding on it. He thought more time ought to be allowed before the houſe ſhould vote away ſuch an immenſe ſum.

Admiral Berkeley was decidedly of opinion that the ſoldiers on board at the time the French ſhips were taken were entitled to their ſhare of prize money.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer thought there was no doubt that ſoldiers in the ſituation deſcribed by Admiral Berkeley, would, in the diſtribution of the prize money, be conſidered as marines.

Sir W. Scott ſtated it as his opinion that ſoldiers ſerving on board the fleetswere entitled to their ſhare of the prize money.—The motion was agreed to.

Mr. Secretary Yorke moved the conſideration of his majeſty's meſſage relative to the offers made by ſeveral regiments of Iriſh militia to extend their ſervices to England.

Sir F. Burdett wiſhed to take the earlieſt opportunity of calling the attention of the houſe to this ſubject, which involved conſtitutional queſtions of the higheſt importance. On a future day it was his intention to deliver his ſentiments on it.

Mr.

Mr. York ſaid, it was in the contemplation of his majeſty's miniſters to introduce ſome meaſures calculated to place the military force of the country on a more extenſive eſtabliſhment. He then proceeded to take a general view of the nature of the improvement propoſed to be introduced. With that view, he thought it would be conſidered important by the houſe to compare what was the actual amount of our military eſtabliſhment at the time he was ſpeaking, and at two preceding periods. The periods to which he referred were October 1801, when the preliminaries were ſigned, the ſtate of the army in the beginning of April, 1803, and on the firſt of March, 1804. At the moment he was addreſſing the houſe, the force of the country amounted to two hundred and fifty-two thouſand eight hundred and forty-one men, compoſed of regular cavalry, of regiments of the line, and of militia. The amount of the artillery was about fourteen thouſand. He next adverted to what was the ſtate of our military force in the beginning of October, 1801. In one caſe it was to be conſidered that there was a renewal of hoſtilities not exceeding ten months; whereas in the other the war had continued more than nine years. In the firſt period, after a war of nine years, the total amount of our military force of every deſcription did not exceed two hundred and ſixty thouſand eight hundred and ninety-five men; ſo that the total difference in that period, and at the beginning of March, was not more than fourteen thouſand, on the whole view of our military eſtabliſhment. Our military force at this laſt period included twenty-five thouſand fencibles, a deſcription of force which was not at that time in exiſtence. He next alluded to the ſtate of the army in April, 1803, a month previous to the declaration of hoſtilities. The whole amount of the regular cavalry, infantry, and militia in England and Ireland, was upwards of one hundred and twenty-four thouſand men. There was nothing fure in this ſtatement which ſhewed that the government had ſuffered the military eſtabliſhment to fall lower than the circumſtances of the country required; but in October, 1801, after a war of nine years, the force in exiſtence in Great Britain and Ireland was more than thirty thouſand below what it was in March, 1804; and in March, 1804, the force was ſixty thouſand more than what it was in 1803. As to the number of regular infantry in Ireland, he wiſhed to put the houſe in poſſeſſion of the real ſtate of facts.

In 1804, the number of regular infantry in that part of the united kingdom was about twelve thouſand; the number of fencibles was twenty thouſand. But how did the matter ſtand at that inſtant? there were at that moment upwards of twenty-eight thouſand of the fineſt and beſt diſciplined regular infantry that ever belonged to the Britiſh empire; beſides twenty thouſand good militia. In Great Britain and Ireland, at the time he was addreſſing the houſe, our regular infantry was no leſs than ninety thouſand; whereas, in 1801, it was not above fifty thouſand. This, upon the whole, was a degree of force which, he conceived, muſt ſhow that no exertion had been ſpared to make adequate proviſion for our defenſive ſyſtem. Formidable as were the dangers which threatened the country, they were, he was convinced, not by any means ſo alarming as thoſe which hung over the empire during the time of the exiſtence of the northern confederacy. If that confederacy had not been put down by the bravery of our naval defenders, and if it had not pleaſed Providence to cut off the late emperor of Ruſſia, the conſequences might have been alarming in the higheſt degree. He then went over the different deſcriptions of force raiſed in the courſe of fourteen months, from December, 1802, to February, 1804: the reſult of which he ſtated to be a total of no leſs than a hundred and ninety-two thouſand one hundred and ſixty-nine men. He contended that the collection of ſuch a force in ſo ſhort a period was the moſt ſatisfactory evidence againſt any charge that a proper degree of vigilance had not been employed on the part of his Majeſty's government. The circumſtances under which this vaſt augmentation to the national force had been procured, were alſo another evidence which diſproved any want of proper exertion to provide for the ſecurity of the empire. The powers of the continent, bent under the iron yoke of France, might be enabled to raiſe up their heads againſt their oppreſſor; and what then could be more important than for Britain to have the means of acting offenſively in a conteſt in which the liberties of all nations were ſo materially involved? With a view then to ſuch operations, his majeſty's miniſters had looked forward to the means of augmenting our diſpoſable force.

He then proceeded to ſtate the outline of the plan which government had drawn out for this purpoſe. It was determined that an augmentation of the cavalry, to the amount of thirty-five thouſand, ſhould take place. The guards were alſo to be augmented to the amount of two thouſand, to be incorporated with the ſeveral battalions. Eight new regiments of infantry, conſiſting each of a thouſand men, were to be raiſed, and ten battalions to be attached to old regiments to be formed, which, with ſome other inferior augmentations, would make up a force of twenty-five thouſand men. It was alſo propoſed that the foreign corps ſhould, as far as poſſible, be encouraged. From the troops to be ſo raiſed, and the corps to be employed as levies for America and the Weſt Indies, the whole additional force would not be ſhort of forty thouſand men. The next queſtion came to be, by what mode this great augmentation to our regular force could be moſt eaſily and moſt conveniently obtained. What miniſters had

above

above all to conſider was, how, in the ſhorteſt given ſpace, the defenſive ſyſtem, which an extraordinary danger called for, could be moſt ſpeedily completed. The militia and the army of reſerve, therefore, firſt engaged their attention, and to their completion the whole energies of government were directed. At that moment the whole militia of England was within five thouſand of being filled up, whereas laſt year the whole of it was to be levied and enrolled. After a few more obſervations, he adverted to the lateſt returns of the numbers and efficiency of the yeomanry and volunteers. By theſe it appeared that the number of cavalry amounted to twenty-ſeven thouſand, of artillery upwards of four thouſand, and of infantry, rank and file, upwards of three hundred thouſand. The artillery were fully provided for ſervice, and of the infantry, about two hundred and fifty thouſand were armed with firelocks; thoſe who could not have firelocks immediately aſſigned them, would be furniſhed with pikes to an unlimited number. After an eulogium on the ſea fencibles, he moved an addreſs to his majeſty.

Mr. Pitt confeſſed himſelf ſatisfied with the magnitude of our force, nor did he apprehend any deficiency of zeal or energy: the great object, however, ſhould be to render our force efficient, which could be only done by diſcipline, the neceſſity of which he enforced by arguments drawn from experience.

Mr. Windham contended that to accept the offer of the Iriſh militia was a departure from good faith; it was not a breach of good faith, but it was a ſort of ſuſpenſion of good faith, for though the leading part of ſuch ſervice as that might be voluntary, and the offer ſpontaneous; yet as to the remainder it might be abſolutely compulſory; if a part of a large military body made the offer, how was the remainder to refuſe it? He ſhould like to aſk gentlemen who went to Ireland with our militia, what paſſed on the way, whether they did not hear ſome things that were utterly ſubverſive of diſcipline. If the offer could be called a favour, it could not be free from danger; this favour inſtead of a command would have a bad effect, it would introduce among our military a ſpecies of *ſaturnalia*, which in the end might prove extremely dangerous.

Lord Caſtlereagh ſaid, as to the apprehenſion that ſome of the Iriſh militia might propoſe to come to this country, while others might be unwilling, he could remove all alarm on that head, by the moſt ſolemn aſſurance, that to his knowledge every man in the Iriſh militia was ready to join in the offer made on that occaſion.

Dr. Lawrence thought the ſituation of Ireland was ſuch that it would not be ſafe to draw ſuch a number of men out of that country.

Colonel Hutchinſon inſiſted on the impolicy of drawing ten thouſand of as fine peaſantry as any in the world from their native country, at an inſtant when it was threatened with an invaſion, and to bring along with them the gentlemen of the firſt reſpectability in wealth or influence within that kingdom, from the aſſiſtance which they could otherwiſe afford it by their wiſdom, their power, and connections.

Mr. Banks deprecated any ſyſtem tending to weaken the force of Ireland, which was much more vulnerable than this country.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer ſaid that the propoſed plan would ſtrip Ireland of ten thouſand men, but that number could be replaced out of the army of reſerve.

Sir John Newport exulted, that the loyalty of the great body of the people of Ireland ſtood vindicated in the eyes of his majeſty's miniſters.

Colonel Calcraft was not quite ſo ſanguine as to the extinction of diſaffection in Ireland.

Mr. Archdall pronounced an eulogy on the Iriſh militia. They gave rebellion in that country a mortal blow; they gave repeated blows to their enemy, and were ready to repeat them.

Lord De Blaquiere approved of the meaſure, but reprobated the idea of any thing being done on the ground of ſtipulation. The addreſs was carried without a diviſion.

In the courſe of a few days the ſecretary at war brought in a bill to empower his majeſty to accept of the voluntary offer of ſervice of the Iriſh militia in England. The bill was read a firſt and ſecond time.

Upon the report of the committee of ſupply, reſpecting the compenſation to Lord Hood, and the officers and men under his command, for the value of the ſhips taken at Toulon in the laſt war; Mr. Calcraft thought it would not be right to vote away the public money upon claims of liberality only.

The advocate general (Sir John Nicholl) obſerved, that all property acquired in war, in the nature of booty, belonged either to the crown itſelf, or to the captors, as grants of the crown, and not to the public; thoſe ſhips then had been applied to the uſe of the public, and the public was in juſtice bound to pay for them.

Colonel Wood reſiſted the propoſition, and inſiſted that the ſhips in queſtion did not fall under the title of a common capture; they were taken in truſt for the royal family of France.

Mr. Jones thought the achievement of that action one of the moſt brilliant in the courſe of the laſt war, as it ſealed the deſtruction of the French navy.

Mr. Sheridan confeſſed that the conflagration of the ſhips was the only brilliancy he ſaw in the action. The deſtruction of the French navy had been ſaid to be ſealed at that time, and yet he could ſee that it was ſealed again at Aboukir, in five years afterwards; and again, in two years after that, another ſeal

was put upon it at the Helder. Upon the whole view of the ſubject, he thought that Lord Hood was to blame in that tranſaction, and he had refuſed him the thanks of the houſe on that account. If any honour was to be claimed in the buſineſs, Sir Sidney Smith was entitled to it.

The attorney general knew of no inſtance, ſince the reign of Queen Anne, where a liberal remuneration had not been given in ſuch caſes.

The chancellor of the exchequer ſupported the queſtion on the grounds of liberality and juſtice.

Mr. Johnſtone could not admit that there was any thing on the part of Lord Hood which entitled him to ſo large remuneration as thirty thouſand pounds.

Dr. Lawrence aſked when it was that due reward was not given to thoſe that merited it.

The maſter of the rolls remarked, that from the reign of Queen Anne to that moment, the country had never derived advantage from captures without remunerating the captors.

The queſtion was put, that a ſum not exceeding 265,336*l.* be granted, &c. which was carried.

In the houſe of lords the Earl of Suffolk moved, that a committee be appointed to provide for the defence of the country, and for inquiring into the preparations which had been made to meet the menaced danger. His lordſhip ſpoke in favour of the volunteer ſyſtem, but thought a limitation ought to be put to it. He alſo recommended a central depôt, and the conſtruction of martello towers, and illuſtrated the immenſe advantages of ſuch a mode of fortification, by the circumſtance that a ſerjeant and twelve men working a ſingle gun in one of them, beat off an Engliſh ſhip of the line, and a forty-four gun frigate.

Lord Hawkeſbury inſiſted that the noble mover had made out no caſe to induce the houſe to accede to his motion, which was put and negatived.

On the motion for the commitment of the Iriſh Militia voluntary Offer Bill, Mr. W. Elliot remembered that one of the objections againſt the Union had been, that it would increaſe the number of Iriſh abſentees; and he was convinced it would neither be politic nor juſt to bring over ſo great a proportion of magiſtrates and gentlemen of Ireland, as compoſed the officers of ſuch a number of militia regiments.

The ſecretary at war repeated nearly the ſame arguments which he had urged in ſupport of the addreſs on the meaſure in queſtion.

Mr. Calcraft was convinced that the queſtion was not juſtifiable on conſtitutional grounds, nor on grounds of policy or expediency.

Mr. Alexander thought that the offers of the Iriſh militia ought to be accepted.

Mr. Banks conſidered the meaſure as a direct infringement of the militia ſyſtem, and reſorted to without any neceſſity. As to the offer, if it came from the officers, it might have been ſuggeſted by ambitious views; if it came from the men, the danger was incalculable.

Colonel Hutchinſon ſupported the bill, as he was convinced the community of Ireland would be benefited by it. The manufacturers and agricultural peaſants of Ireland would, by coming into this country, have an opportunity of contemplating the happineſs which prevailed among the lower orders, and would be prompted to emulate and to cultivate thoſe habits, from which this happineſs and comfort proceeded. The advantages ariſing from the union of public ſentiment would not fail to excite their attention; and from the compariſon which would ariſe in their minds, it was natural to anticipate the moſt important alteration of public opinion on their return to their native land. Reſpect for the people of this country would naturally be created, and a degree of affection would be contracted, which, under the circumſtances of the time he was ſpeaking, could not poſſibly exiſt. It would be ſeen that they came into a country where they were received as fellow-citizens, as ſharers of the ſame conſtitutional privileges and political rights.

Mr. Canning conceived the bill inadequate to any great object. Miniſters had nothing conſiſtent or uniform in their views, they knew not what they propoſed, and they took no effectual means of carrying any of their plans into effect. They were ſubject to eternal variations of opinion. They never advanced boldly to any object. "They lightly waddled to the end in view."

Colonel Baſtard diſapproved of the meaſure, as it would tend to injure, and perhaps finally deſtroy that old and military force, the militia, the beſt ſafeguard of our conſtitution, and therefore he ſhould reſiſt every attempt to convert them into regulars.

Mr. Pytches could not ſee any one benefit that could reſult from the meaſure; it would not even have the effect of promoting intermarriages, becauſe the ſtrong attachment of Iriſhmen to celibacy, and the chaſtity of Engliſh women, would prevent any thing of the kind taking place.

Colonel Vereker ſaid, if the menaced invaſion of Ireland was out of the queſtion, he ſhould be one of the firſt to offer his ſervices at the head of his regiment to come to England; but he could not forget the old ſaying, "Chriſten your own child firſt."

Mr. Windham oppoſed the bill on conſtitutional grounds, and above all in converting the military into a deliberative body.

Lord Caſtlereagh contended that ſoldiers were frequently put into a deliberative capacity, particularly when called upon to volunteer in a ſtorming party, or in a forlorn hope, or any other ſervice of extraordinary danger.

Mr. T. Grenville was ready to acknowledge that the

the volunteer ſpirit of the army for the formation of ſtorming parties and forlorn hopes was giving them a deliberative power; but it was a deliberation to be decided on the impulſe of the moment, in which Britons would never be wanting. It was widely diſtinct from a cold deliberation, like that of the meaſure in debate.

The houſe divided,

For the ſpeaker's leaving the chair -	124
Againſt it - - - - - -	54
Majority -	70

The bill paſſed the committee.

The bill alſo for augmenting the militia was committed.

Colonel Craufurd objected to any extenſion of the militia, becauſe he did not think it an eligible branch of the public force; in which opinion he was ſeconded by Sir R. Wrotteſley, who, adverting, in the courſe of his ſpeech, to the ſituation of our home affairs, obſerved, that through the incapacity of miniſters, we were reduced to a dilemma unparalleled in the hiſtory of any nation; we were driven by them out of a peace which they made, and did not know how to keep, but which they acknowledged to be unbearable; into a war which they knew not how to conduct, in which we were left without an ally in the world: we were carrying on that war by the moſt ruinous and inefficacious ſyſtem on earth—that of a blockade, in which we were wearing out our navy, and exhauſting the ſpirits, the patience, the vigour of our men, and the treaſure of our country. Such a ſyſtem he conſidered as inevitably ruinous to all means of defence, and thought it abſolutely neceſſary to proceed immediately to ſome active operation, and to ſtrike ſome blow which might at once give activity to the native gallantry of our troops and ſeamen. He would call upon miniſters in the language of a brave and experienced ſtateſman of former times, "*Si ſtas, ingredere, ſi ingrederis, curri, ſi curris, advola.*"

Sir John Newport proteſted that if no proportion of the Engliſh militia was to be exchanged for the militia who had volunteered their ſervices to England, he ſhould, on a future ſtage of the ſame bill, feel himſelf perfectly at liberty to oppoſe the progreſs of it.

General Maitland ſupported the bill: he recapitulated all the arguments that had been advanced *pro* and *con*, the reſult of which was, that in his opinion the adoption of the meaſure in queſtion would leave a diſpoſable force of ten thouſand regular troops for any general purpoſe.

Mr. Fox obſerved that Colonel Hutchinſon had talked a good deal of the beneficial conſequences which would reſult from the introduction of the Iriſh militia into England, and the new habits and opinions which ſuch a meaſure would inſpire. He could not help ſaying that he thought that was rather a romantic view of the ſubject: he had never heard it urged as one of the benefits that would reſult from the union. Hitherto he had not diſcovered any benefit that reſulted from that act by which the kingdom of Ireland had been deprived of her local legiſlature. He was ready at the ſame time to acknowledge that he did not think many of the acts of that legiſlature very laudable, but he truſted that he would be permitted in candour to ſay, that hitherto the meaſure of the union had not received a fair trial. He obſerved, that till a ſubſtitute was found for the militia who were to volunteer their ſervices to this country, the meaſure in debate could not be entertained. But miniſters had thought proper to proceed on another principle; and before they had made the leaſt proviſion for ſupplying the deficiency created by the voluntary offers of extended ſervice, they hurried on the diſcuſſion of the acceptance of theſe offers. He conjured the houſe not to liſten to the idea of reciprocal ſervice in the militia till a ſolemn deciſion of the legiſlature was obtained. He deprecated any attempt to entrap the houſe in their deciſion on the general principle, and therefore would reſiſt the partial meaſure calculated to interfere with a general principle. He ſaid he could not ſit down till he had noticed the imbecility of miniſters, ſuch it was that they could neither maintain peace nor put the country in an attitude for war. The nation was reduced to ſuch a ſituation, that all the abilities of the country were inadequate to bring the war to a fortunate iſſue. As to miniſters, he could ſay that he was not in the habit of arraigning their want of ability, as it was a point on which they ſeemed very touchy on all occaſions. This irritability put him in mind of the conduct of Grildrig at the court of Brobdignag: the little gentleman felt himſelf rather conſidered in a contemptuous light by the mighty courtiers by whom he was ſurrounded. He, however, determined to get the better of them by ſtratagem; he accordingly informed his majeſty, that though ſmall in ſtature, he was able in his own country to do as much miſchief as the largeſt of all his majeſty's courtiers.

Dr. Lawrence contended that the militia of Ireland were ſworn particularly for the defence of that country.——On a diviſion there appeared,

Ayes -	94
Noes -	37
Majority	57

On the motion for the third reading of the bill,

Sir John Newport truſted that if any part of the militia of Ireland was to be called out of that country, they would not be replaced by foreigners.

Mr. Fox ſaid it was true the act of union declared the two countries to be joined as one; but it was not by acts of parliament, but by habits that men felt; it

it was not by the 6th of Anne, or the 40th of George that men regulated their feelings; theſe were not the rules by which we diſtinguiſhed between an Engliſhman and a Scotchman, or between either of them and an Iriſhman, nor could they change a man's preference for the county of Suſſex to that of Kent. Thoſe things depended on habits which could not be haſtily done away. If we brought into England ten thouſand Iriſh militia, we ſhould have among them a great number of catholics; they were all under the diſcipline of the mutiny bill, and chiefly, if not wholly, proteſtant officers. It was a part of military diſcipline to oblige men to go to church. One would not think that this power would be uſed for the purpoſe of oppreſſion, and he hoped not; but he ſubmitted that either a clauſe ſhould be introduced into the bill, or elſe a new bill ſhould be brought in, in which a proviſion ſhould be made, by which thoſe catholics ſhould not be compelled to follow the proteſtant form of worſhip againſt their ſcruples of conſcience.——The houſe divided:

For the bill -	100
Againſt it - -	42
Majority - -	58

The bill was then read a third time and paſſed.

The Iriſh militia augmentation bill grew ſo immediately out of the principles of the bill juſt agreed to, that it called for only a few obſervations on the mode of carrying the increaſe of that body into execution. On the motion for the third reading of it, the diviſion was,—Ayes - 128

Noes - 107

Majority 21

CHAP. XIII.

Obſervations.—Eaſt Indies.—Account of the Riſe, Progreſs, &c. of the Colony at Sierra Leone.—Report of the Committee of the Houſe of Commons on the State of that Settlement.—Intereſting Letter of Mr. Granville Sharpe, on the Riſe and Progreſs of that Community.—Reflections thereon.

THE weight and importance of the Britiſh empire in the ſcale of nations may in ſome meaſure be calculated from thoſe circumſtances,—that our politics are connected not only with thoſe of the courts of Europe, but even with ſtates that have not yet emerged from barbariſm. Our flag is hailed in the moſt diſtant ſeas, and our manufactures carry off the prize in markets that were ſcarcely known ſixty years ago to the moſt enlightened merchants and ſcientific geographers; ſo that ſcarce any event can occur on any one part of the globe that does not intereſt us in ſome meaſure in the reſult of it. It is this that renders the Hiſtory of England ſo inſtructive to thoſe who wiſh to add the experience of day to day, ſo as to furniſh the mind with materials for thought, converſation, and reflection.

We now enter on the month of July, 1804. We have already mentioned the ſucceſſes of our arms in the Eaſt Indies, which in the firſt place were attended with this advantage, that the native powers were obliged by treaties, which we did not leave it in their power to violate, to renounce all connection with France, and to interdict the introduction of French officers into their armies. The governor-general (the marquis Welleſley) made a very extenſive tour through that country, in hopes that by his preſence he would be able to conciliate the good opinion of thoſe warlike chieftains, who were ever ready on the ſlighteſt commotion to haraſs one another, or to unite againſt the Engliſh government in that quarter. Great expectations were entertained of the advantages that would ariſe from this journey, as experience had taught us that as much at leaſt, if not more, might be done by conciliation than arms.

In ſpeaking of our poſſeſſions in different parts of the world, there is one that ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence, the ſettlement of Sierra Leone, a ſettlement founded on the pureſt principles of humanity, under the auſpices of Mr. Granville Sharpe.* The eſtabliſhment of the Britiſh colony of Sierra Leone, as Mr. Fox one night obſerved in the Houſe of Commons, will reflect immortal credit on the names of thoſe that planned it. The object was the civilization of the natives of Africa.†

The amiable characters who at firſt united in a ſcheme the moſt glorious of all others, namely, to emancipate the human mind from the trammels of error and ſuperſtition, and the body from chains, found in a ſhort time that they had to contend with unforeſeen difficulties, which, however, did not abate their zeal and activity. The laſt and preſent was having ſubjected the ſhips and cargoes of the Sierra

* Mr. Granville Sharpe is the great-grandſon of the pious, learned, and patriotic Dr. Sharpe, archbiſhop of York, whoſe virtues ſhed luſtre on the mitre, and have deſcended unimpaired through the different branches of his family. Mr. G. Sharpe's father was dean of Durham, and his brother, the celebrated ſurgeon of that name. He may be called the mere ſteward of his patrimonial eſtate, for it is the poor, the widow, and the orphan that have enjoyed the principal proceeds of it. There is not a charitable foundation that does not taſte of his unaffected benevolence, particularly the Philanthropic Society. In learning he is ſecond to none, eſpecially in the Hebrew and old Saxon tongues. He has written many tracts in the cauſe of rational liberty, and the ſound principles of Chriſtianity. Simple in his manners, abſtemious in his diet, plain in his dreſs, and eaſy of acceſs to all that wiſh to approach him—in ſhort, every quality that Pope has juſtly given to the "Man of Roſs" will be found in him.

† The mountain which gives name to this kingdom reſembles a lion; hence it is called in the Spaniſh *Sierra Leona*. It was anciently called, according to Ptolomy, "the chariot of the gods."

Sierra Leone company to capture, increaſed theſe difficulties. It is well known that the French throughout the whole of the revolution, and even in the beginning of their conſular government, inveighed in the warmeſt and ſtrongeſt language againſt the ſlave-trade; yet, notwithſtanding all their affected ſentiments of humanity, they invaded, like ſo many wolves, this defenceleſs fold, and ravaged it with a wanton barbarity, though they well knew the principles on which it was founded, and the care that was taken to foſter it, both of which they often applauded in their ſpeeches in the national aſſembly and the ſenate. The next enemy this infant colony experienced, though in an indirect way, were thoſe that trafficked in human blood on the coaſt of Africa, becauſe they ſaw that, if attended with ſucceſs, it would evince that the new race were ſuſceptible of inſtruction, and could be imbued with a ſpirit of induſtry, and rendered ſenſible of the bleſſings of liberty; in ſhort, that they were human beings as well as ourſelves. There was another claſs whoſe views were hoſtile to the progreſs of civilization, the African princes, who lived by the ſale of their captives in war, and even by ſelling their own ſubjects. The original capital of the company was 230,000*l.* ſterling. In the firſt inſtance their object was confined to the eſtabliſhment of a factory for a peaceable and honeſt trade with the native Africans, in articles of mere neceſſity and convenience, ſuch as would impreſs their minds, however groſs, with a juſt ſenſe of the real object of the inſtitution. They were led, however, to offer ſettlements at the ſame place to about twelve hundred free blacks from Nova Scotia, who had taken part with England during the American war, and who had been granted their liberty on that account. They landed at Sierra Leone in 1792, but the epidemic ſickneſs and periodic rains thinned their numbers conſiderably; the idleneſs and turbulent diſpoſition of the ſurvivors, gave great uneaſineſs to all the induſtrious and well-diſpoſed. They neglected to cultivate the lots of ground which had been aſſigned to them, and even example, in the end, loſt all its influence on them, though they could not ſhut their eyes to the pleaſing progreſs of cultivation, particularly in a plantation which the company had reſerved to itſelf, and a garden of experiments, in which the chief object was to provide ſeeds and plants for the ſettlers.

In 1794 they opened a communication with the Foulahs, an inland tribe, advanced in ſome meaſure in civilization, with a view to a future commercial intercourſe with that people. They endeavoured to eſtabliſh a factory on the higher part of the mountain, which they were afterwards obliged to abandon. In that year the French ravaged the ſettlement, by which the company loſt 52,000*l.*

In 1798, a town called Free-town was erected, it conſiſted of about three hundred houſes with ſome public buildings, and three wharfs. The government houſe was ſeated ſo as to command the town and harbour, and was protected by a paliſadoe and ſix pieces of cannon. The inhabitants of the colony amounted to about twelve hundred, of theſe, fifteen were ſhopkeepers, twenty or twenty-five fiſhermen, ten or fifteen trading ſhip-maſters, owners of ſmall veſſels, twelve or fifteen ſeamen, twenty labourers employed by the company, and four ſchool-maſters; about one half of the whole population ſmall farmers, and the reſt mechanics. The number of Europeans reſident in the colony was from twenty to thirty; about three hundred free natives worked as labourers for wages on the different farms; and it is highly to their praiſe that they expended very little of their earnings in ſpirituous liquors. Between one and two hundred of the natives came daily to Free-town to exchange articles of African produce for Britiſh manufactures, many of them came in canoes from a diſtance of one hundred miles.

In 1800 it was found neceſſary, in order to repreſs the turbulence of the blacks from Nova Scotia, to obtain a charter of juſtice, and a ſmall military force drawn from Goree was ſtationed in Sierra Leone.—Parliament voted 7000*l.* to the company for the erection of a fort, and 8000*l.* more were promiſed for the ſame uſe. Government alſo paid 10,000*l.* to the company as a remuneration for what they had expended in ſettling the blacks from Nova Scotia, and 4000*l.* were alſo voted for the civil eſtabliſhment of the ſettlement.

The directors of the company acceded to a propoſition made by the duke of Portland, then ſecretary of ſtate, to receive into the colony a body of the Maroon Indians from Jamaica, in conſideration of a certain ſum. The Maroons arrived in 1800, and aſſiſted in quelling an inſurrection of the blacks of Nova Scotia, who were in the act of ſeizing on the government of the colony. Three of the inſurgents fell in the conteſt, three were brought to trial, condemned to death, and executed; many were baniſhed, and ſome of the ringleaders eſcaped into the interior of the country. Theſe run-away inſurgents, and the dealers in the ſlave-trade ſpread ſuch unfavourable reports of the coloniſts that, on the 18th of November 1801, a body of the natives of the Troncmany, led on by two of the inſurgents, made an attack about day-break on the unfiniſhed fort in which the

gods." The whole country is well watered, particularly towards the ſouth, and diverſified with hill and dale. The air is rather unhealthy on ſome parts of the coaſt, but in the interior the inhabitants enjoy a good ſtate of health, and live to a good old age. The ſoil is fertile, and with little cultivation produces abundance of rice, millet, &c. Grapes and figs grow wild in the woods. The inhabitants are gentle, docile, and addicted to induſtry; they live on rice, millet, beans, &c. and are extremely fond of their children and grateful to their benefactors.

governor's

governor's houſe was ſituated. They were repulſed with the loſs of lives on both ſides. A truce was concluded, but apprehenſive that the Tronemany chiefs would recruit their forces, and return perhaps when leaſt expected, ſixty-five ſoldiers were brought from Goree, and a ſhip of war anchored in the river. Theſe circumſtances put almoſt a total ſtop to trade and cultivation.

In 1802, parliament again voted 10,000*l.* to the company for the annual expences of the governvernment. In February 1803, it was intimated to the directors, as the opinion of Lord Hobart, that it would be for the advantage of the colony that the civil and military power ſhould be transferred to the hands of government, which was agreed to. The company were allowed ſome time to take this propoſition into conſideration. In the mean time Capt. Day arrived from England, February 1803, to aſſume by the company's appointment, the direction of the affairs of the colony. He immediately formed a militia of two hundred and ſeventy men, erected block houſes for temporary defence; began a ſtone wall, as a barrier againſt any ſudden attempts of the natives, and even to reſiſt cannon if pointed againſt it from the ſea; raiſed a battery of eight guns on a point of land commanding the bay and the ſhipping in the harbour; and ſo re-animated the ſpirit of the coloniſts, that cultivation once more reſumed its courſe. The Britiſh government ſent out Capt. Hallowell to examine the ſtate of affairs, and to report his opinion accordingly. Having arrived at Sierra Leone on the 12th of January 1804, he found the colony in a very deplorable ſituation. He loſt no time in executing the orders with which he had been charged. He reported to government on his return, that the Maroons were diſſatisfied with their ſituation, as one in which they could not poſſibly find ſubſiſtence; that they could not raiſe yams or corn, on account of the ravages of an inſect which they called buza-bug; that proviſions of all ſorts were exceſſively ſcarce and dear; that there were few veſtiges of cultivation in the very environs of Free-town; that its inhabitants, and all the colony, lived in almoſt hourly terror and danger from the hoſtilities of the natives; that the whole body of the coloniſts lived in extreme deſpondency, as to their ſituation, and expected that it would be ſoon entirely abandoned. His repreſentations as to the poſſibility of trade, fortification, and culture, tended all to an opinion that the ſettlement ought to be deſerted.

The committee of the houſe of commons, to whom the petition of of the court of directors of the Sierra Leone company was referred, made the following report on the 7th of July 1804.

"The attention of your committee has been principally directed to aſcertain the following points:

"1ſt. The alterations which have taken place in the colony ſince the report of the laſt committee.

"2d. The preſent ſtate of the colony.

"3d. The objections to maintaining the colony in its preſent ſituation, and thoſe which would ariſe to its evacuation.

"4th. The expectation which may be entertained of the future advancement of the colony.

"5th. The means by which that advancement may be the moſt eaſily and effectually promoted."

"In the proſecuting the firſt head of their enquiry, your committee have, in the firſt inſtance, adverted to the progreſs made in the extenſion of civilization, cultivation, and trade, in the native produce of Africa, as the objects for which the colony was inſtituted; and, in the ſecond, to the internal adminiſtration, ſecurity, health, and population of the colony, as neceſſarily connected with the ſucceſsful purſuit of theſe objects.

"Trade and civilization appear hitherto to have made but little progreſs; and the advantages poſſeſſed by the ſlave dealer over the ſettlers of the colony, ariſing from the ſuperior profits they obtain, and the partiality of the native chiefs to that ſpecies of commerce, preſent an obſtacle, which, while that traffic is ſuffered to continue on the coaſt, no effort on the part of the coloniſts for the extenſion of their trade, however, perſevering, can be expected wholly to ſurmount. In addition to this permanent diſadvantage, the war with the natives, occaſioned principally by the inadequate ſtate of defence in which the colony has been left, has for a conſiderable part of the time which has elapſed ſince the laſt report, ſuſpended the intercourſe with the neighbouring nations, and reſtrained even that ſmall extent of trade which might otherwiſe have been expected to take place, while theſe natives, who had repaired to the colony for employment, and had in ſome degree been domeſticated in its territory, have been induced to fly from the colony, chiefly from the apprehenſion they entertained of being left expoſed to the reſentment of its enemies. Theſe inconveniencies, however, appear latterly to have diminiſhed, in conſequence of the meaſures taken to improve the ſecurity of the colony. The native chiefs begin to entertain a greater reſpect for its power, and the native labourers have ſhewn a diſpoſition to return and enter upon their former occupations.

"The prevalence of war, as well as an apprehenſion which has exiſted in the colony of the probability of its being finally abandoned, appear alſo for a conſiderable time to have ſuſpended the progreſs of cultivation; but when the return of the native labourers afforded the coloniſts the means of availing themſelves of their induſtry, it was again in ſome degree reſumed; and by the laſt accounts

from the colony, yams and plaintains, which are amongſt the principal productions of the ſoil, appear to have been raiſed in abundance; and the produce of the colony is generally ſtated to be increaſing.

"Your committee have had the moſt ſatisfactory proof of the progreſſive improvement in the internal adminiſtration of the colony; ariſing as well from the additional powers conferred on the company by the charter of juſtice, as from the increaſed vigilance and exertions of the company's ſervants. The general conduct of the coloniſts has of late been very exemplary; no acts of violence, except in a ſingle inſtance hereafter alluded to, appear for ſome time to have occurred; and the number of thefts and petty offences have been trifling. The Maroons, in conſequence of laws paſſed for that purpoſe, have, in a great meaſure, abandoned ſome pernicious habits they had long indulged, and have, by their peaceable demeanour, as well as by their ſteady attachment to the colony, merited the approbation of the government. Their ſubmiſſion to the laws, even when enforced to capital puniſhment upon two of their own body, has been proved by a remarkable inſtance, related in a letter from the governor and council, an extract of which is inſerted in the Appendix.

"Some material inconvenience, which appears to have ariſen from the practice of iſſuing paper money, which could only be received in payment for goods from the company's ſtores, has been remedied by the more judicious mode latterly adopted by the court of directors of making the paper exchangeable for bills upon England.

"The progreſs made in the erection of works (the favourable effects of which has been before noticed) has been conſiderable; by means of the wall and other fortifications recently conſtructed, the colony may be conſidered in a ſtate of ſufficient ſecurity againſt the attack of any native power; and additional works have been projected, the completion of which, in the opinion of both the able officers examined by your committee, would enable it to reſiſt that of a conſiderable European force. A body of volunteers have been raiſed in the colony, the fidelity and attachment of which has been tried by experience, and with whoſe aſſiſtance a very ſmall number of European troops (not exceeding twenty artillerymen) is ſtated by the governor to be ſufficient for the defence of the ſettlement.

"The general health of the coloniſts does not appear of late materially to have ſuffered. The ſickneſs and mortality which for ſome time exiſted (principally among the military) has in a great degree ſubſided; and there ſeems reaſon to believe, that it aroſe rather from the condition of the troops when they entered the colony, their habits of intemperance, and the imperfect accommodation which could be afforded them, than from any diſorder neceſſarily connected with their reſidence in that ſituation. Although complaints have been made of the climate of Sierra Leone, and temporary bad effects have occaſionally been experienced from it, it does not appear, upon the whole, to have been found inferior in ſalubrity to that of moſt of the Weſt India iſlands; and, when compared to that of many other ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, ſeems decidedly preferable. The number of births, which has for ſome time exceeded that of deaths in the colony, affords a ſatisfactory proof that it is not unfriendly to population.

"The preſent ſtate of the colony may therefore be conſidered as preſenting, in ſeveral reſpects, a more favourable aſpect than heretofore: it is already rendered ſecure againſt the only enemies whoſe hoſtility it has immediately to apprehend; its reſources are encreaſed, its cultivation reviving; and it is in the poſſeſſion of every advantage that can ariſe from the enjoyment of internal tranquillity and order.

"Having laid before the houſe the recent progreſs of the colony, and its preſent ſituation, it becomes the duty of your committee to ſtate the objections to which, under ſuch circumſtances, a determination to ſupport the colony on one hand, or to evacuate it on the other, would be liable.

"The principal objection which muſt attend the maintenance of the ſettlement, ariſes from the total inadequacy of the company's funds to diſcharge, or even contribute to that expenditure which is neceſſary for its preſervation. It is ſufficiently manifeſt from the inconveniencies already experienced in the colony, that during its continuance, it will be eſſentially neceſſary to ſupport a local government capable of maintaining order amongſt its inhabitants, and affording them protection. The expences of the civil eſtabliſhment for ſome years to come cannot be eſtimated at leſs than 10,000*l. per annum*; that of completing the propoſed works has been eſtimated at 8000*l.* It alſo appears, that the defence of the colony will require the preſent volunteer force to be permanently kept up, the expence of which has been eſtimated at about 4,000*l. per annum*; or, if that eſtabliſhment ſhould be diſcontinued, a regular garriſon muſt be maintained at the conſtant eſtabliſhment of one hundred effective men, excluſive of the proportion of artillerymen before mentioned, which, conſidering the numerous caſualties in that climate, and great expence of ſupporting them, would exceed the ſum above ſtated.

"It not only appears that theſe future charges, which muſt be conſidered as indiſpenſible, cannot be defrayed by the Sierra Leone Company in the preſent ſtate of their funds; but that ſome of the meaſures

measures recently adopted, and expences conſequently occurred, have been proceeded on in the confident expectation that the parliamentary aid of 10,000*l.* in the year 1802, would be annually renewed.

"Your committee cannot, however, ſtate the charges to which the ſupport of the colony may in future ſubject this country, as objections to the grant now propoſed, without, at the ſame time, adverting to the obligations of government towards the Maroons and Nova Scotians, eſtabliſhed there under its authority. That the Britiſh government is bound by every conſideration of juſtice and good faith, to continue its protection and ſupport to this numerous deſcription of coloniſts, does not admit of doubt; and it appears difficult to calculate the inconvenience and expence which would attend their removal; to which muſt be added that of affording them ſuch a compenſation, as might be deemed equitable for the houſes and lands they would be compelled to abandon; nor has any ſituation been ſuggeſted to your committee where they could be maintained with greater facility, and in a manner equally conſiſtent with their former habits and occupations. It may be conſidered therefore as doubtful, in the peculiar circumſtances under which the colony is placed, whether its evacuation may not lead to expence, it may be thought reaſonable to prefer that ſyſtem, the foundation of which is already laid, and connected with the purſuit of a diſtinct and important object.

"It remains for your committee to ſtate, as far as they are enabled from the evidence before them, the future proſpects of the colony, and the degree to which may be expected that the objects of its inſtitution will be attained, ſhould it receive the neceſſary ſupport.

"There appears little room to doubt that the colony, when placed in a reſpectable ſtate of defence, may, by ſetting an example of induſtry, and diſplaying the advantages of law and juſtice, as well as by the aſcendancy which its government may obtain over the minds of the neighbouring chiefs, exert a conſiderable and beneficial influence over the manners and habits of many of the ſurrounding nations. From the diſpoſition to induſtry, evinced by her coloniſts, it may reaſonably be hoped, that when ſecurity is eſtabliſhed, cultivation will be gradually extended throughout the greateſt part of the territory of Sierra Leone. The facility with which free native labourers have been induced to ſeek employment in the colony, and the ſatisfaction they appear generally to have given to their employers, forms a leading and intereſting feature in the hiſtory of the colony; and there is reaſon to believe, that to whatever extent cultivation may be carried, this demand will always be ſupplied. The amount of labourers of this deſcription admitted into the colony, has already, at one period, exceeded three hundred; and a greater number than that required have generally been found to offer themſelves for ſervice.

"It appears, notwithſtanding, that while the traffic in ſlaves is continued on the coaſt of Africa, however beneficial the effects produced by the colony of Sierra Leone are to its own immediate neighbourhood, its influence cannot be expected to extend far beyond the limits of its own territory; at the ſame time a foundation will be laid from which, ſhould events lead to any material change in the ſyſtem of African commerce, that influence may be more widely and ſucceſsfully diffuſed.

"Upon the whole, your committee, from a full conſideration of the ſtate of the company's funds—of the neceſſity of ſupplying their deficiency—of the uncertainty of attending the conſtant renewal of the parliamentary grants which may hereafter be found neceſſary—and of the intereſt of the Britiſh government in the colony, as connected with the maintenance of the Maroons and Nova Scotians, who are its inhabitants, have been led to conclude, that the objects for which the colony was inſtituted, may be more eaſily and effectually attained, by transferring the civil and military authority to the crown, for which purpoſe it may be reaſonably expected, that a partial ſurrender of the rights of the company may be obtained from the proprietors, provided ſecurity is given for the proſecution of the objects originally propoſed.

"Unleſs ſuch a tranſfer ſhould be effected, and until it takes place, there does not appear to your committee to be any better means of diſcharging the obligations of government towards the Nova Scotians and Maroons, or of obtaining the other beneficial purpoſes propoſed by the inſtitution of the colony, than by ſupporting the company's government as now eſtabliſhed."

This document bears ſufficient evidence of the talents and patient inquiries of thoſe that drew it up. They have candidly and judiciouſly brought into view all that could be ſaid in favour of the continuation of the colony, and what on the other ſide might be urged in ſupport of the abandonment of it. To this valuable paper we ſhall add another, a letter written by the father of this infant community to a friend, in which the amiable writer developes the views that firſt led to the eſtabliſhment of the ſettlement in queſtion, with the ſituation, climate, natural productions, &c. "of the moſt eligible ſpot in all Africa." This relation will not be thought too long by thoſe who are intereſted in the gradual abolition of the Slave Trade, who can participate in the triumphs of humanity over that ſordid intereſt which would extinguiſh all thoſe fine

feelings

feelings of the human heart, which exalt the thinking race, and render man really worthy of the title of the Lord of the Creation.

There is another inducement to the inſertion of this letter; numbers have lamented the paucity of papers relative to the firſt ſettlers in diſtant parts, many of which have periſhed through the injuries of time, and the indifference of ſome to what poſterity ſhould ſay of them. This communication will remove that complaint; and as it has not heretofore appeared in print, we conceived it a duty to the reader to give it at full length, and truſt that the information it contains will repay the peruſal.

An Account of a Free Settlement of Negroes at Sierra Leone, in Africa.

"DEAR SIR,

"Your kind communication of a ſenſible letter from Dr. Thornton, at Philadelphia, has devolved on me an indiſpenſible duty to give you the fulleſt information in my power reſpecting the new ſettlement at Sierra Leone, becauſe your friend ſeems to be heartily deſirous to promote it. The opinion which he has adopted of my late worthy friend Dr. Fothergill, that the eſtabliſhment of a *Free Settlement* on the coaſt of Africa, for *honourable trade*, would be the moſt effectual means of deſtroying the *Slave Trade*, ſo far has been always my own opinion, that it induced me to advance much more money than a private perſon in my ſituation ought to have done among the firſt ſettlers, to encourage their embarkation laſt year: for many of them had pawned their cloaths, and other effects, and refuſed to go on board, unleſs they could redeem ſome part at leaſt of their effects out of pawn. Several other circumſtances concurred to injure this firſt attempt, though the expence of tranſports and ſubſiſtence, as alſo of tools, arms, &c. was defrayed by government. Many of the black poor were embarked in the river Thames before Chriſtmas 1786, and by living entirely on ſalt proviſions, they began to be ſickly even before they left the river. Others delayed being on board till January and February 1787, being deterred by a jealouſy which prevailed amongſt them, that government intended to ſend them to Botany Bay, as the tranſports for that expedition were then waiting at Portſmouth, where the ſhips for Sierra Leone were alſo to wait for orders. On the 20th of February 1787, inſtead of near ſeven hundred black poor, who had offered themſelves to go to the propoſed ſettlement, there were only four hundred and thirty-nine, or four hundred and forty-one (for the accounts differ) that embarked on board the three tranſports appointed for them, viz. the Belliſarius, Atlantic, and Vernon, which by that time were all arrived at Portſmouth. On the 22d of February 1787, they ſailed from Portſmouth, under the command of Capt. Thompſon, of his majeſty's ſloop Nautilus; but meeting with ſtormy weather, they were ſeparated, and it was the 19th of March before they were all collected in Plymouth Sound. Thus the better part of the ſeaſon was loſt, and many of the people had been on board above three months, and were become very ſickly. Unhappily, the allowance of rum granted with the moſt benevolent intention for the comfort of the poor people, really proved their greateſt bane; many of them, it is ſaid, drank up their whole day's allowance at once, and got drunk with it; and this irregularity, together with a diet of ſalt proviſions, and being rather too much crowded between decks, increaſed the ſickneſs, and occaſioned the loſs of more than fifty lives, it is ſaid, even before they reached Plymouth. Other bad conſequences of the rum were diſagreements, and mutinous behaviour, for which twenty-four were diſcharged, and twenty-three ran away. Nevertheleſs, by an account before me, four hundred and eleven ſettlers ſailed from Plymouth, on the 9th of April 1788; ſo that they muſt have had ſome recruits, though they are not mentioned in the liſts. Of theſe four hundred and eleven perſons who ſailed from Plymouth, thirty-four died in April and May, before they had made any ſettlement on the coaſt (ſo that the climate of Sierra Leone is not to be blamed for their deaths) and fifteen were diſcharged, or ran away: and, on the 16th of September, when his majeſty's ſloop Nautilus left the ſettlement, there remained in all two hundred and ſeventy-ſix perſons; ſo that ninety-ſix muſt have died at Sierra Leone in June, July, Auguſt, and September. But this mortality, though on the coaſt, is not to be attributed to the climate, for moſt of the people ſtill continued intemperate, and they had not yet any freſh proviſions, ſo that many of the ſick did not recover of the diſtempers they carried with them; and the rainy ſeaſon ſet in before they could finiſh their huts, ſo that they were neither wood nor water tight, which bad accommodation certainly increaſed the mortality.

"I am obliged to be very prolix in my account, leſt the misfortune ſhould be attributed to the climate and country, inſtead of the true cauſes; however, a fine tract of mountainous country, covered with beautiful trees of all kinds, and in perpetual verdure, was purchaſed at a trifling expence from the negro chief, called *King Tom*, extending from the watering place in Frenchman's Bay, (ſince called St. George's Bay) up to Gambia Iſland, which is above nineteen miles of the ſouthern banks of the Sierra Leone river, and twenty miles back all the way, which reaches almoſt acroſs the promontory, by the Sherbro river; the ſituation between two great rivers renders the air particularly temperate for that climate, and the advantage for trade will

will certainly be very great. Capt. Thompſon fixed upon a beautiful eminence, riſing from the ſide of a high mountain, for the ſite of a new townſhip; having a fine brook of freſh water on three ſides of it, above three hundred and ſixty town lots of one acre each were marked out in ſtreets, and the lots were drawn and appropriated on the 12th of June 1788; but the death of Mr. Irwin, the agent and conductor; as alſo of Mr. Geſau, the town major (to whom I had given particular inſtructions and drawings for temporary works of defence and accommodation, as he was a good engineer and draftſman) and of Mr. Riccards, the gardener (on whoſe ſkill for the cultivation of vines, and other uſeful produce, I had great expectations of public profit) and the deſertion of many others, who had previouſly ſold their muſkets and other arms for rum, occaſioned great diſcouragement to thoſe that remained. The ſickneſs alſo of the Rev. Mr. Frazer, the chaplain, was alſo another great misfortune to the ſettlement: his weak ſtate of health obliged him to go to Bauſe Iſland, about thirty miles diſtant, as he was afraid of the want of accommodation in the new ſettlement. His diſorder, however, encreaſed, ſo that he came home in March laſt, ſeemingly in a deep conſumption, which, however, is not to be attributed to the climate of the ſettlement, as he did not reſide in it; and it is remarkable that when he called there, juſt before his return to England, he found that he himſelf was the only unhealthy perſon in the ſettlement, which he acknowledged in a letter to a friend of mine. The number of ſettlers were then, as he told me, only one hundred and thirty perſons in all, which reduction he did not attribute to ſickneſs, but merely to emigration; for the people were too poor, it ſeems, to purchaſe live ſtock of the natives, without which even the beſt land becomes almoſt uſeleſs, and affords but a ſcanty ſubſiſtence.

"On receiving this account, I was apprehenſive that a total deſertion was probable, and that all the public and private expence that had been beſtowed on this undertaking was in danger of being loſt, together with that beautiful tract of land, and the opportunity of forming upon it, a *free ſettlement*, as an aſylum for the poor, and the moſt eligible ſpot in all Africa. Impreſſed with this idea, I began to entertain thoughts of ſending out even at my own expence ſome more poor people, both white and black, with money to purchaſe at the Cape de Verd iſlands, ſome live ſtock, the want of which, I believe, was the principal cauſe of deſertion; but I was deterred for ſome time by the fear of ſo expenſive an undertaking, until I received one hundred guineas on the 21ſt of March laſt from a generous friend towards the ſupport of the ſettlement, which fixed my determination to charter the Mira brig, about one hundred tons, Capt. Taylor owner and commander, with whom I had before treated. I then provided cloathing, bedding, arms, and proviſions for fifty people; for though there was ſufficient room in the brig for ſeventy, yet I remembered the bad conſequences of crowding the former tranſports, and therefore wiſhed to ſend rather too few than too many; and I was careful to furniſh them with freſh proviſions, bread and ſpruce beer, all the time the ſhip lay in the river, and alſo with live ſwine, to kill upon their voyage, after I had refuſed many paſſengers, for fear of crowding the veſſel too much. Several of thoſe that had been admitted, deſerted the veſſel, juſt as ſhe was ready to ſail, when it was too late for me to make up the complement, whereby only thirty-nine paſſengers (inſtead of fifty, the intended number) actually ſet out; among theſe there were ſeveral intelligent men, two of them ſurgeons of reſpectable abilities; Mr. Tacitus, and Mr. Peal; and alſo Mr. Irwin, ſon of the late agent conductor. I gave them dollars to purchaſe one thouſand fowls, and fifty head of ſmall breeding cattle, (goats, ſheep, and ſwine) at the Cape de Verd iſlands. All theſe preparations, and the money I was obliged to advance, coſt me above nine hundred pounds to my own ſhare, beſides the hundred guineas before mentioned, which I ſecured towards the expence; and alſo fifty guineas more, given by the ſame generous friend. Afterwards I obtained from government two hundred pounds, towards furniſhing more live ſtock; as the Mira was ſtill in the river, I was enabled to make a ſecond contract with Capt. Taylor for four hundred head of ſmall breeding cattle, five hundred fowls, twelve cows, and two bulls, to be for our receiving account of delivery from the ſettlement. This ſecond contract amounted to 250*l.* *viz.* fifty pounds more than I received at the Treaſury. In addition to my former expences, however, I conſidered this buſineſs as a great national concern, and that it was my duty to uſe my utmoſt exertions, without weighing my own inconvenience. This veſſel ſailed from the Downs with a ſtrong gale of wind, but perfectly fair for her on the 7th of June laſt; and, to my great anxiety, I have heard nothing of her ſince.

"Before the end of June, I received a very alarming account of the ſettlement from Mr. Richard Weaver, the chief magiſtrate, dated the 23d of April 1788, informing me that the greateſt part of the people had emigrated, ſome to the neighbouring ſlave factories, and ſome on board ſlave ſhips, and that *King Tom*, of whom the land was purchaſed, preſuming on the weakneſs of the remainder, had ſold two of the ſettlers for ſlaves, and threatened to ſell more of them. This was the more mortifying to me, becauſe I had hoped to ſecure not only the privileges, but the title alſo of the *Province of Freedom*, to the new ſettlement. All the ſurgeons,

and other white people who went laſt year, and ſurvived the ſickneſs, proved wicked enough to enter into the ſervice of the ſlave merchants at the ſeveral factories, being bought over by the lure of large ſalaries.

"I immediately wrote to Mr. Pitt, informed him of thoſe particulars, and requeſted that immediate directions might be given to the captain of the man of war, then under orders for the coaſt, to repreſent to *King Tom*, the impropriety of his behaviour, and to ſecure the people from further moleſtation. Mr. Weaver did not inform me what number of people remained at the ſettlement the time he wrote, viz. the 23d of April; but I hope the Mira brig, by God's providence, might arrive juſt in time to ſave the total diſperſion of the ſettlers. This is all the information I am able at preſent to give of the ſtate of the ſettlement; and having done the utmoſt in my power at this time to ſave it, I muſt now leave the ſupport of this infant community to perſons whoſe incomes are not ſo ſlender and inſufficient for ſuch public exertions as my own.

"Twelve Swediſh gentlemen, men of ſcience and abilities, have ſignified their intention to join this ſettlement, and I have ſent their names to the people, requeſting that they may be admitted to free lots, gratis, whenever they arrive. My friend, Mr. Henry Gaudy, of Briſtol, is alſo earneſtly deſirous to promote the ſending out a veſſel from that port, to give farther ſtrength to the ſettlement. A Mr. Faucon-bridge, a ſurgeon well acquainted with the coaſt, and who has proved his integrity and abilities by a ſenſible and well written publication againſt the ſlave trade, and alſo Mr. Arnold, another very intelligent man of the ſame profeſſion, with ſeveral other perſons at Briſtol, are willing to join the new community, if they can procure ſome aſſiſtance in addition to their own ſmall fortunes, which are not ſufficient to enable them to charter a veſſel. As to myſelf, I cannot afford any further expence at preſent; however, I have given them a letter to the ſettlers, requeſting that they and all the people that ſhall embark in their ſhip, may be admitted to equal lots of land, and a joint ſhare in the ſettlement with themſelves, without paying any thing for this privilege; and I have ſince recommended that they ſhould declare that they will admit ſettlers gratis, until the numbers increaſe to ſix or ſeven hundred families, in order to invite new comers, for their mutual ſafety.

"The accounts I have heard and read of the climate and country are much more favourable than the ſtate I have now given of the ſettlement itſelf. Sir George Young, of the navy, aſſured me before the black poor failed laſt year, that the Frenchman's Bay, (now called St. George's Bay) in which the firſt townſhip is formed, is, without exception, as fine a harbour as any in the world; that the mountains abound with brooks of freſh water, and are covered with the moſt noble foreſts of all kinds of timber, with perpetual verdure; that when he aſcended thoſe mountains, he looked about him; he had never been ſo agreeably ſtruck before with beautiful views of wood and water; that he found the air ſo cool upon the mountains, that he could have borne his great coat with pleaſure; and he gave particular directions to captain Thompſon, of his majeſty's ſloop Nautilus, where to find this particular ſpot for the principal town. If your friend wants more information concerning the country and climate, he muſt read the account publiſhed by lieutenant Matthews of the navy, who lived at a negro town on the peninſula about three years, being employed indeed in the ſlave trade, for which he is an advocate; thoſe arguments do more harm to his cauſe than good, but in other reſpects he is a perſon of credit, and was highly recommended to me by Mr. Juſtice Barrington, as being capable of giving me intelligence of the coaſt and climate, both ample and unqueſtionable. The natural products are equal to the ſanguine hopes of gain; fine cotton, the beſt indigo in the world, ſugar canes, green copal, caſtor roots for oil, a variety of ſpices, grow wild upon the mountains as well as the fineſt timber for every purpoſe. The ſeas abound with moſt excellent fiſh, three kinds of turtle, prodigious quantities of oyſters, prawns, &c. Nothing was wanting but breeding cattle and tame fowl to render them comfortable, and I truſt in God's mercy that my poor endeavours will before this time have happily ſupplied that deficiency.

"I have but one other point to mention; your friend diſlikes the name of a colony, and wiſhes to promote a *free ſettlement*. I am as zealous for freedom and all the rights of humanity as he can be, and therefore have adopted the ancient Engliſh *Frank Pledge*, as the baſis of all the regulations I propoſed for the new ſettlement, being thoroughly perſuaded, that every place muſt of courſe be a *free ſettlement*, wherever *Frank Pledge* (and more eſpecially that eſſential branch of it, a conſtant *watch* and *ward* by a regular rotation of all the males from ſixteen to ſixty, with their arms in their *own* hands *arma pacis et defenſionis)* is properly maintained; and that colonies, and even kingdoms and monarchies, may be rendered free and happy by this glorious patriarchal ſyſtem of *Frank Pledge*, which is the only effectual antidote to unlimited or illegal government of any kind, whether under monarchial, ariſtocratical, or democratical forms; for by this, ſuch an effectual balance of power may be with certainty maintained, that the whole body of the people can act as one man, though every ſeparate family will ſtill enjoy its due ſhare of power, as far as is conſiſtent with the ſentiments and rights of the majority. The arbitrary councils of any great kingdom will always find extreme difficulty in attempting to take away the rights of a diſtant colony thus inveſted, armed and exerciſed

exercised in *Frank Pledge*, and had there not been some small remains of the old English form of a free militia existing in New England, and other places in America at the commencement of the late troubles, there would have soon been an extinction of all their free settlements.

"When I return to town I will send you a copy of the regulations of the new settlement, wherein your friend will find a plan for a paper currency, which cannot depreciate in value, because ordinary labour in tilling the ground is appointed the medium of traffic instead of money, the value of the notes being a tax of labour laid equally on individuals, which even the poorest can well afford to pay. I propose also to send you a larger tract of *Frank Pledge* or, *Congregational Courts*, on which the said regulations are formed.

I remain, with great esteem,
Dear Sir,
Your obliged humble servant,
GRANVILLE SHARP."

We have now laid two authentic papers before the reader relative to Sierra Leone, that will undoubtedly interest his feelings, and draw his attention to the future progress of that colony. It will also place the slave trade in a more reprehensible point of view than ever. The advocates for that detestable branch of traffic, have repeatedly declared that they earnestly wished for a gradual abolition of that trade; and yet when the most eligible plan that can be digested to carry that wish into effect was attempted to be put into execution, instead of promoting it, they resorted to every artifice that could tend to counteract the benevolent views of those that set that plantation on foot. Government, however, have taken the management of this settlement into their own hands, and it is hoped that under their fostering care, it will yet answer the end for which it was originally instituted. The experiments which have been already made sufficiently prove, notwithstanding all the assertions to the contrary, that the Africans are docile, grateful, and disposed to industry, when excited by due rewards.

CHAP. XIV.

Botany Bay.—Insurrection in that Colony.—Reflections.—West Indies.—Naval Enterprize there.—Naval Actions.—Extracts from a scarce and invaluable Paper written by Sir John Sinclair on the Naval Superiority of Great Britain.—Thomas Pain's Letter on the Invasion.—English Prisoners in France.—Mr. Forbes's Letter to Carnot, the French Minister.

THE colony of Botany Bay * will one day, in all probability, form an interesting appendage to the history of this country, as well as to that of the East Indies. Philosophic curiosity will be gratified in tracing the morality and pursuits of the descendants of the outcasts of society, or what Tacitus calls the *urbium purgamenta*. The colonization of this distant part of the world has cost this country immense sums of money, and it may be now hoped that the time is not very remote when some return will be made, at least in the production of the soil, which the ingenuity of our manufacturers may turn to good account. These hopes, however, bid fair to be nipped in the bud by an insurrection in that settlement, the particulars of which were detailed in the Sydney Gazette, the official paper of that colony, from which we have taken the following extracts.

"At half past eleven o'clock on Sunday night (March 11, 1804,) an express was received by his excellency from captain Sydney, commanding officer at Parramatta, with intelligence that the prisoners at public labour at Castle-hill, and the settlers men, were in a state of insurrection, and had already committed many daring outrages. Sydney was instantaneously alarmed, the military and the inhabitants were under arms, and the captain, officers, marines, and ship's company of his majesty's ship Calcutta, came on shore in ten minutes after the alarm was given, and by the governor's orders all horses throughout the town were held in requisition.

"The governor, mounted on horse-back, with a small retinue arrived at Paramatta at four o'clock in

* The flourishing condition of Botany Bay has exceeded even the most sanguine calculations of those that first projected the colonization of it. This may be attributed to many causes, the fertility of the soil, the salubrity of the air, and the wisdom and prudent conduct of its successive governors. It will be some time, however, before that immense tract of country will be sufficiently explored, so as to furnish a satisfactory account of its natural productions in the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms. The ground is rich and loamy; where pits have been dug it has been found to consist of different *strata*, superior in quality to any of the kind in Europe. A specimen of some of these earths was some time since transmitted to that able mineralogist Mr. Hatchet, who analyzed them, wrote a paper on the result of his experiments, which was read before the Royal Society, and published in the Transactions of that learned body. In the southern part of the country, "Nature may be said to sport as in her virgin prime." Forests of the finest trees are found even on the tops of the loftiest mountains, which may yet be converted into a productive article of commerce. Some of this timber has been already imported into this country, particularly what is called the Botany Bay oak. It has all the appearance of that wood in the grain, but the colour is of a high red, and brighter than mahogany. It has two peculiar qualities, the blotches are of a deeper colour than the rest of the wood, and notwithstanding its ponderosity, it is exceedingly tough. The texture is extremely close, and sufficiently delicate for cabinet work, but it has no flower. When it comes out of the lathe it has a polish like ebony. There are several other articles in pekry, a kind of fuller's earth, that may yet form considerable articles of commerce.

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the morning, where he received information from Captain Abbot, that a great body of insurgents, all armed, were at Park-gate, at the west entrance of Parramatta. Major Johnston with a detachment arrived at Parramatta barracks at five o'clock; and after himself, officers and soldiers, had taken a hasty refreshment, they proceeded to the government house for orders. The governor without loss of time proclaimed martial law. As information was received that the insurgents had divided themselves into different bodies, major Johnston with quarter-master Laycock and seventy-five non-commissioned officers and privates of the New South Wales corps, accompanied by a trooper and several of the constables and inhabitants, at half past six proceeded by the way of Toongabec; lieutenant Davis, with an equal number of soldiers proceeded along the Castle-hill road, that place being appointed for the rendezvous in case nothing should occur to make these officers alter the directions they were under. Major Johnston, on arriving at Toongabec, received information that a considerable number were on their way to the Hawkesbury. Notwithstanding the fatigue of his small detachment in marching up from the Sydney, and the distance they had gone since, they immediately ran in good order, with their followers, and after a pursuit of seven miles farther, major Johnston and a trooper, who had preceded the detachment, came up with the rear of the insurgents about eleven o'clock, whose numbers have since been ascertained to be two hundred and thirty-eight men, armed with musquets, pistols, swords, &c. and a number of followers which they had taken from the settlers. After calling to them repeatedly, they halted, and formed on the rise of a hill; the major and trooper advanced within pistol shot, and endeavoured to persuade them to submit to the mercy that was offered them by the proclamation, which they refused. The major desired to see their chiefs, who, after some deliberation, met them half way between the detachments, and the insurgents, when, by a great presence of mind and address, the major presented his pistol at the head of the principal leader (Philip Cunningham) and the trooper following his motions, presented his pistol also at the other leader's head (William Johnston), and drove them into the detachment, without the least opposition from the body of the insurgents. Major Johnston immediately ordered quarter-master Laycock to advance with the detachment, &c. and cut the body to pieces, which immediately filed off, and fled in all directions, pursued by the detachment and followers. Several shots were fired by the insurgents without effect. As the pursuit was along the road and on each side in the woods, a number were overtaken and made prisoners, among whom was the leader (Philip Cunningham) who was to all appearance left dead on the road. The pursuit continued on to the Hawkesbury, where the detachment arrived at four o'clock in the afternoon with several prisoners, after a forced march, or rather running thirty-five miles. Philip Cunningham was immediately executed on the stair case of the public store, which he had boasted in his march he was going to plunder.

"Upwards of three hundred of the insurgents were taken or gave themselves up, most of whom were dismissed or sent to their public labour with a caution and reprimand. Ten of those who were selected from upwards of two hundred, as being the most desperate, including the two remaining leaders (Johnston and Keenes) were tried at Parramatta by a general court martial, and sentenced to be hanged and hung in chains; the sentence was put in execution. In their last moments they acknowledged the justice of their sentence. The rest were executed a few days afterwards

"The alarm began on Sunday night, at eight o'clock, at Castle-hill, where there were upwards of two hundred Irish prisoners (transported for seditious practices in Ireland) by setting a house on fire, and ringing the bell, when Cunningham appeared as the avowed leader, vociferating the cries of "Liberty or death," and assuring those who were joining him that their force would soon amount to eleven hundred men, which would soon secure to them the entire possession of the whole settlement."

It is not easy to say what would have been the result, if the insurgents had succeeded; the governor, and the friends of good order, in all probability, would in the first instance have fallen a sacrifice to their unbridled fury; this would be succeeded by a struggle for power, every step of which would have been marked with blood, to the extinction almost of the population. The conduct of the government on that occasion is highly praise-worthy, cool, collected, active, and determined, their clemency to those who had forfeited their lives was not less political than humane, and will serve to shew that the judicious exercise of that virtue will always be attended by the happiest effects, and that those who can only be driven by force may be drawn by lenity, under peculiar circumstances.

If Great Britain should retain the Cape of Good Hope, it would contribute very much in a commercial point of view at least, to the prosperity of this colony. It is to be lamented, however, that the introduction and frequent use of ardent spirits amongst the colonists, has tended to propagate that depravity of morals which the first settlers imported with them; surely some measures ought to be adopted to lessen the consumption of an article that is found in our own country to be so destructive of the health, morality, and even to paralyse the hand of industry.

In the West Indies we find little in the course of this month worthy of historical record. The French government having grown desperate, in consequence of

of the loſs of that invaluable colony Saint Domingo, vainly hoped to repair that loſs by launching a number of ſmall privateers out of the ports of Guadaloupe and Martinique; our cruiſers, however, picked them up or deſtroyed them almoſt as ſoon as they ventured to ſea. The following enterprize, in juſtice to our brave tars, ought not to be paſſed over; the particulars of it was detailed in the London Gazette of the 24th of July. Captain George Morris, commander of the Penguin ſloop of war, cruizing off Senegal on the 17th of March, 1804, a French privateer ſchooner in endeavouring to avoid his majeſty's brig under captain Morris's command, ran aſhore on Senegal bar; as the ſurf ran high, there was good reaſon to hope ſhe would have been deſtroyed, but as this was not the caſe, and as the ſurf continued to run high, this gallant officer had no opportunity of deſtroying her till the 24th following. On the 23d in the evening, two armed ſchooners were obſerved to drop down to the mouth of the river; and on the morning of the 24th, from the one on ſhore having ſhifted her poſition, there was reaſon to believe they were endeavouring to get her off.—Captain Morris ſtood as cloſe in ſhore as the nature of the coaſt would admit, and commenced an attack on them, in hopes of driving them up the river, and eventually to burn the one on ſhore. Shot was exchanged for an hour and a half, when our veſſel finding ſhe could not get ſufficiently cloſe to effect her purpoſe, ſtood off. Lieutenants Williams and Rayley, with many of the crew, having volunteered their ſervice, and notwithſtanding the armed ſchooners were within two cables' length of her, they ſucceeded in ſetting her completely on fire. The cool and ſteady manner in which they conducted this daring enterprize, ſays captain Morris, cannot be too highly praiſed. The name of the veſſel deſtroyed was the Renommée, a veſſel of large dimenſions, commanded by citizen Renaud, mounting twelve ſix pounders, and two nines, manned with eighty-ſeven men belonging to Senegal, from Cayenne, laſt from Goree.

The official accounts of our naval enterprizes at home, in the courſe of this month, encreaſed the confidence, if it were poſſible, which the country repoſed in the vigilance and unappalled bravery of her marines. The Gazette of the 21ſt of July contained a letter from Lord Nelſon, dated Victory at ſea, May 19, including one from captain Pellet of the Termagant, ſtating his having captured the French privateer Feliceté of two long guns, and ſix braſs ſwivels, and ſixty men, off Port Favoona, in Corſica; the enemy eſcaped on ſhore, and ſhe ſunk as our people were carrying her to ſea. Lord Nelſon, in his letter ſaid, "I am very much pleaſed with captain Pellet's exertions in having deſtroyed this veſſel, as ſhe was one of the fineſt privateers in France, and had captured two of our merchant men laſt year off Tunis." Almoſt every day added ſome freſh laurels to the intrepid crew of his majeſty's ſhip Immortalité. On the 23d of July forty-five French brigs and forty-three luggers in the road of Boulogne felt the effect of her well directed fires. In this ſervice the Immortalité was joined by the Harpy, Bloodhound and Archer, who continued to fire from time to time, on ſuch of the enemy's veſſels as gave them an opportunity. The number of the French brigs and luggers deſtroyed on this occaſion could not be aſcertained, but it is ſuppoſed they muſt have ſuffered conſiderably, as it could be perceived that ſeveral in attempting to make their eſcape were ſtranded on the beach weſt of the harbour, and on the rocks near the village of Portee. On the 24th of July, captain R. D. Oliver, of the Melpomene, off Havre, in a letter to the lords of the Admiralty, ſtated that he had ſtood in the day before with the ſquadron, and at eleven made the ſignal for the bombs to try their range; they placed themſelves with the utmoſt preciſion off the pier heads, and at a quarter paſt eleven began a moſt tremendous fire of ſhells and carcaſes, which was continued without intermiſſion for an hour and a half; in a few minutes the town was obſerved to be on fire, and as the pier was very full of veſſels, they of courſe muſt have ſuffered conſiderably, as captain Oliver in his communication remarked, "the fire from the bombs was as great as, I will venture to ſay, was ever experienced." On the next day (July 24) captain Oliver renewed the attack at half paſt ſeven, P. M.

The ſquadron (Melpomene, Ariadne, Truſty, Magnanime and Favourite, with the bombs Hecla, Meteor, Exploſion, and Zebra) were well placed off the pier heads, when they began a well directed fire, which was kept up with great ſpirit an hour and a half. The town was very ſoon obſerved to be on fire in two places, and ſeven brigs which were on the outſide of the pier, found it neceſſary to move, and one loſt her mainmaſt. As the wind came more off the land, and a ſtrong ebb-tide having ſet out, the captain ordered the bombs to diſcontinue firing. At half paſt nine they anchored with the ſquadron about five miles from the light-houſes, and about half paſt five the morning following they got under weigh, and ſtood in with the ſquadron again. Before eight the bombs took up their poſition near the pier heads, and kept up a conſtant fire for near three hours with bombs and carcaſes; ſo many ſhells burſt in and about the piers, that the enemy's fire was obſerved latterly to ſlacken conſiderably, and it was evident they were in the greateſt confuſion; ſome brigs and luggers, however, got under weigh, and came out to endeavour to annoy the bombs, but all the other ſhips and veſſels of the ſquadron were ſo well placed as to give chaſe to them immediately; and it was only by cutting away their boats, which were aſtern, and retreating very ſpeedily into ſhoal water, that they

they eſcaped, but not before they had run the gauntlet of all the ſhips and cutters, and were cloſely engaged for a conſiderable time by the Merlin and Favourite. In all this deſperate conflict, aſtoniſhing to relate, not a life was loſt on our ſide. It was calculated that not leſs than five hundred ſhells and carcaſes were thrown into the town and baſon during the evening and the morning; ſo that the damage muſt have been immenſe. Captain George Wolfe of his majeſty's ſhip the Aigle, on the 12th of July, fell in with two French national corvettes, which he drove on ſhore near Bourdeaux, and burnt; having firſt uſed every means without effect, to get them afloat. It is a circumſtance which Engliſhmen will no doubt repeat hereafter with pride, that in the very period, the events of which now engages our pen, when Bonaparte, the new emperor of France threatened this country with invaſion, our ſquadrons, in conſequence of the blockading ſyſtem, might be ſaid to have thrown a chain about the one half of Europe, namely, from the coaſt of Denmark to the gulph of Genoa.

Much about this time a new edition of a work, with notes, written by count Boulainvilliers, was republiſhed in France, and diffeminated over that kingdom. The object of the writer was to point out the maritime pre-eminences of France over England, in which he aſſerts "that ſhe always was, and muſt be ſuperior to England when the French bent their whole attention to that particular department." Sir John Sinclair publiſhed an anſwer to this publication, and as this invaluable paper is in the hands of few, we ſhall inſert ſome extracts from it, under this conviction, that whatever relates to our navy muſt be intereſting to our readers. "Firſt," ſays Sir John, "that nation is moſt likely to be powerful at ſea which has the greateſt extent of coaſt; and, conſequently, a greater proportion of whoſe inhabitants muſt have a natural predilection for the ſea. In this reſpect Great Britain claims a preference over every other ſtate in Europe. The ſea line of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of the adjacent iſlands, is calculated by Sir William Petty to extend to three thouſand eight hundred miles, and is probably more; whereas France, whoſe coaſt contains but about one thouſand miles of ſea line, is in this important article greatly inferior.

"Secondly, The coaſt of Great Britain and Ireland is not only more extenſive than that of any other power of Europe, but is alſo every where interſected by admirable harbours. Indeed, the frequency and violence of the weſterly winds, which occaſions thoſe heaps of ſands by which the Dutch ports are blocked up, are the reaſons that ſo many deep and commodious harbours are formed upon the Engliſh ſide of the channel, and ſo few upon the French and Dutch; an advantage given us by nature, which can never be equalled by any art or expence of our neighbours. Nay, in reſpect of extent of coaſt and number of havens, France is not only inferior to Spain, but can ſcarcely ſtand a competition with Italy itſelf.

"Thirdly, It is alſo a great advantage that Great Britain enjoys, that its harbours are all contiguous to each other, and are not divided, like thoſe of France, by the territories of other powers. This renders it eaſy for Great Britain to aſſemble her naval forces upon the ſhorteſt notice, and enables her to exert her whole maritime force with united vigour againſt any power with whom ſhe may be at war.—Hence the diſtance between the ports of Toulon and Breſt is no inconſiderable addition to the many other maritime diſadvantages to which France is ſubjected.

"Fourthly, But had we fewer harbours, our bays alone would, in general, anſwer the purpoſes of commerce and of war, whilſt the weſterly winds blow, which is generally the caſe above half the year, our ſhips may ride at anchor with perfect ſecurity in our roads. Beſides, our anchor-hold is much better than our neighbours can boaſt of; for our ſhores generally conſiſt of a ſtiff clay, chalk, or hard gravel; whilſt the French and Dutch have nothing but rocks, and looſe ſand to anchor on.

"Fifthly, The ſituation of Great Britain is alſo extremely favourable to maritime power. It is an iſland, not confined, as Sicily, to the range of one particular ſea, but unimmured by ſtraits, finds no obſtruction in ſending forth her fleets to either hemiſphere. It is alſo fortunately placed in the very center of Europe, and along its coaſt above one half of the trade of Europe muſt paſs. This natural advantage the great De Witt conſidered to be of the moſt eſſential importance.

Sixthly, The great advantage which nature has given us for maritime power, in conſequence of the great variety of fiſh with which our ſeas abound, need not be ſtrongly inſiſted on. It is indeed univerſally acknowledged, that there is no part in the world where ſuch quantities are to be met with in all ſeaſons of the year, better calculated either for the purpoſes of maintaining the inhabitants of the kingdom, or of ſerving as a lucrative branch of commerce with other powers, or for raiſing a valuable addition to the number of our ſeamen.

"Seventhly, Foreign commerce is undoubtedly a great ſource of naval ſtrength; and Great Britain, it is certain, enjoys that advantage to as great, if not greater extent, than any other power in Europe. But the trade carried on along the coaſts of the iſland is of a more permanent and laſting nature, neither depending upon the fancy of foreigners, nor ſtanding in any dread of competition. Such commerce, therefore, muſt be accounted the only ſure and ſubſtantial foundation of naval power. It has been calculated, the coaſting trade itſelf employs one hundred thouſand ſailors; but though that account be exaggerated,

exaggerated, without doubt it breeds a greater number of excellent ſeamen than any other nation of Europe can boaſt of.

"Eighthly, It is alſo a ſingular advantage enjoyed by Great Britain, that it not only has a demand for ſhipping, but is alſo furniſhed with the principal materials which ſhipping requires. I am well aware that various maritime articles are procured from other countries, which it is ſuppoſed impoſſible for this country of itſelf to furniſh; yet this ought to be rather imputed to the inattention of the natives of the iſland, or to the little encouragement given by the legiſlature to ſuch productions, than to any other natural defect in the ſoil or climate of the country. If other materials, however, muſt be purchaſed from abroad, the Engliſh oak muſt always be conſidered, for ſtrength and firmneſs, to be ſuperior to the timber of our neighbours.

"Ninthly, It is well known that the Engliſh were the firſt who brought the building of Engliſh ſhips of war to its preſent ſtate of perfection; and its ſhipwrights ſtill retain the high character they formerly acquired for ſkill in their profeſſion. That advantage, however, pertains no longer to this nation in any excluſive manner. The fatal friendſhip of Charles II. for his ambitious neighbour Louis XIV. gave the French an opportunity of acquiring an art which they have ſince vainly attempted to turn to the ruin of their inſtructors.

"Tenthly, It is impoſſible, alſo, for any nation to carry on an extenſive commerce, or to be a great naval power, unleſs the ſoil and climate of the country be well cultivated for producing proper ſuſtenance for its mariners whilſt at ſea. In this particular Great Britain lays claim to a great ſuperiority over all the other ſtates of Europe; the ſoil and clime of the Britiſh iſlands being much better ſuited for raiſing every ſpecies of naval proviſion than either France or Spain. And the ſuperior quality of the food on which they live muſt alſo render our ſeamen a more hardy as well as a braver race of men than thoſe of our neighbours.

"The ſkill and experience, likewiſe, of our ſeamen cannot be equalled; a very different race of men muſt be formed along the ſtormy coaſts of this country from that produced along the pacific ſhores of the Mediterranean. Accuſtomed, then, as our ſailors are, to brave the dangers of the ſea, thoſe ſtorms which appear ſo tremendous to others are not conſidered by them as attended with any riſque.

"Indeed, if any one ſet of men can be ſaid to enjoy any great ſuperiority over another, it may be ſafely affirmed that Britiſh ſeamen who are bred along the coaſts of theſe iſlands, are entitled to this fortunate diſtinction.

"In ſhort, our inſular ſituation in every point of view, whether for naval ſtrength or otherwiſe, is to be preferred. The ſea is undoubtedly the ſafeſt and moſt natural boundary, of which it is difficult to get the better, and impoſſible to remove."

On the ſubject of invaſion, inſtead of retailing the exaggerated accounts in the French papers of encampments on the coaſt, and the impatience of the innumerable troops of which they were compoſed to land on the coaſt of England, we ſhall give an extract of a curious letter, which appeared in the Philadelphia Gazette on the 6th of March, 1804, which will ſhew that the Directory indulged this favourite project.

——"The original plan formed in the time of the Directory (but now much more extenſive) was to build one thouſand boats, each ſixty feet long, ſixteen feet broad, to draw about two feet water, to carry a twenty-four or thirty-ſix pounder in the head, and a field-piece in the ſtern, to run out as ſoon as they touched the ground. Each boat was to carry an hundred men, making in the whole an hundred thouſand, and to row with twenty or twenty-five oars on a ſide. Bonaparte was appointed to command, and, by an agreement between him and me, I was to accompany him, as the intention of the expedition was to give the people of England an opportunity of forming a government for themſelves, and thereby bring about peace.

"As the expedition could chuſe its time of ſetting off, either after a ſtorm, when the Engliſh fleet would be blown off, or in a calm, or in a fog; and as thirty-ſix hours rowing would be able to carry them over, the probability is, it would arrive, and when arrived, no ſhip of the line, or large frigate could approach it, on account of the ſhoalneſs of the coaſt. And beſides this, the boats would form a floating battery, cloſe in with the ſhore, of a thouſand pieces of heavy artillery; and the attempt of Nelſon againſt the gunboats at Boulogne, ſhews the inſufficiency of ſhips in ſuch a ſituation. About two hundred and fifty gun-boats were built, when the expedition was abandoned for that of Egypt, to which the preparations had ſerved as a faint.

(Signed) THOMAS PAINE."

Amongſt the many novel features in the war of which we are now treating, there was one which it is hoped never will again mark any other, namely, the detention of our countrymen at Verdun; a direct violation of the laws of hoſpitality, which all nations, however barbarous, have held ſo ſacred that even an individual breach of it was puniſhed amongſt the Goths with death and confiſcation of property.* Thoſe unfortunate men could not be conſidered as priſoners of war. Their ſituation was truly lamentable, and to aggravate their miſery, all correſpondence with their friends was interdicted, nor were they allowed by the French government any allowance of meat, drink, or cloathing, in the moſt rigorous months of winter. Several applications were made to Bonaparte

* See Dalin's Hiſtory of Sweden.

naparte and his miniſters in their behalf, by perſons who were ſuppoſed to have ſome influence over him and the principal members of his cabinet; but all in vain, except one; and as the gentleman to whom that favour was unexpectedly extended is a man of talents, we ſhall inſert the letter he addreſſed on that ſubject.

To Mons. Carnot,

Preſident of the National Inſtitute at Paris.

"Sir,

"In conſequence of a letter which I have juſt received from a member of the Royal Society in England, I take the liberty of encloſing a copy of one ſent to him by our worthy preſident Sir Joſeph Banks, containing the pleaſing intelligence that he will ſhortly write to you, and entreat your intereſt to obtain an order for my ſafe return to my native country.

"This introduction from the amiable baronet induces me to trouble you with the preſent addreſs, and a few particulars of my peculiar ſituation among the number of my countrymen involved in the ſame calamity, in conſequence of an unhappy war; a repreſentation which, I truſt, will have ſome weight with a nation which ſo eminently patronizes the arts and ſciences.

"In the public offices at Paris and Verdun, I believe I am thus inſerted, 'Mr. James Forbes, member of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies of London, and of the Arcadian Society of Rome.'

"I left England before I had attained my ſixteenth year, and with a little knowledge of drawing and an ardent deſire of exploring foreign countries, I travelled near twenty years in Aſia, Africa and America, endeavouring to inveſtigate the manners and cuſtoms of the inhabitants, to ſtudy the natural hiſtory, and delineate the principal places and pictureſque ſcenes I viſited; to this I added the *coſtume* of the natives, and coloured drawings of the beaſts, fiſh, inſects, fruits, flowers, and vegetables found in ſuch an infinite variety in theſe diſtant climes.—During that period I reſided four years among the Brahmins in Indoſtan, at a diſtance from the European ſettlements, where I had an excellent opportunity of obſerving the lives and tenets of that ſingular tribe.

"Twenty years are now elapſed ſince I had returned from thence to England; and, not having ſeen the continent of Europe, I left it during the laſt war, to explore the claſſical ſcenes of Italy, the romantic regions of Switzerland, and the extenſive tracts of Germany; but could not then enter France, a country I had always been deſirous of ſeeing. In April 1803, when the peaceful olive ſeemed once more extended over Europe, I accompanied my wife and daughter to Holland, and from thence, without knowing of the war, arrived at Paris the day after the Engliſh were made priſoners. I immediately ſhared their fate, and am now with my family at Verdun.

"My drawings and accompanying deſcriptions, during theſe travels, fill one hundred and fifty folio volumes, containing upwards of fifty-two thouſand pages, the work of my own hand, and obtained me the honour of being elected a member of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies.

"My friends in England inſiſting on my making the public acquainted with theſe reſearches, I devoted ſome time before my departure to ſelect the moſt intereſting paſſages, and prepare them for the preſs, and in that ſtate they now await my return to England.

"Not knowing that I ſhould be ſo fortunate as to have the preſent acceſs to you, and my health being lately much impaired, on the 11th of Ventoſe, I addreſſed a letter to general Berthier, miniſter of war, requeſting permiſſion to repair to Bareges; but I have not yet received an anſwer. Could you, Sir, have the goodneſs to procure me this indulgence, and ſtill could you ſecond the wiſhes of the preſident and members of the Royal Society, by enabling me to return to England, before declining years render me incapable of finiſhing my undertaking, you will confer the greateſt favour on, Sir,

Your much obliged ſervant,

James Forbes."

M. Carnot, on receipt of this letter, prevailed on the emperor to ſign an order for the liberation of the writer, who returned to his native country on the 25th of July, 1804.

CHAP. XV.

Domeſtic Affairs.—Account of the Society for the Suppreſſion of Vice.—Tribute to the Agricultural Experiments of Mr. Coke of Norfolk.—Melancholy Accident.—Affecting Inſtance of a deliberate Act of Suicide.—State of Trade in the Month of July, 1804.*—Parliament.—Financial Statement.—Cloſe of the Seſſion.*

IT would be undoubtedly one of the moſt pleaſing departments of our hiſtory, to notice the progreſs of thoſe laudable inſtitutions which have been founded for the avowed purpoſe of diminiſhing the catalogue of human woes, and even to give occaſionally ſome biographical ſketches of thoſe truly exalted characters, who, like the prince of Uz, are legs to the lame and eyes to the blind. At preſent, we ſhall content ourſelves with the mere outline of an aſſociation under the title of a "Society for the Suppreſſion of Vice."

The

The Biſhop of Llandaff (Dr. Watſon) in a ſermon preached on Thurſday, the 4th of May, 1804, ſtated that "the laws are good, but they are eluded by the lower claſſes, and ſet at nought by the higher. The laws are good, but they are fallen into contempt; and require the zeal, the activity, the diſcretion of ſuch a ſociety as this to *renovate* their *vigour*." From this remark it would appear to infer, that the laws had in a great meaſure loſt their influence on the public mind, which we hope is not the caſe, for we truſt that Engliſhmen will always reverence Engliſh laws, eſpecially as they are adminiſtered in mildneſs. The particular objects to which the attention of the ſociety is directed, are (in their own words) "prophanation of the Lord's day, the frauds and abuſes practiſed in ſelling by falſe weights and meaſures, blaſphemous, licentious, and obſcene books and prints; illegal inſurances of lottery tickets and numbers; riotous and diſorderly houſes, brothels, and gaming houſes; the practice of procurers; prophane ſwearing, and cruelty to animals." They farther ſtate, that "its buſineſs is carried on by perſons of the middle order of life, mingling with the maſs of their fellow citizens, without rank and without ambition;" they then add, "that they are fathers or huſbands; they feel the charities of neighbourhood, the ſympathies of a general nature, and the obligations of a comprehenſive religion;" in a word, continue they, "they have common intereſts with their countrymen at large, for the preſervation of which, under Providence, they are lawfully aſſociated." "From theſe feelings," they obſerve, "reflections will ariſe that impoſe it upon their conſciences as an imperious duty, to do all they can in thoſe fearful times towards giving effect to thoſe wiſe laws, which tend to fortify our freedom by reſtraining our licentiouſneſs."

The ſociety have juſt publiſhed an addreſs to the public, and as it may not, perhaps, fall into the hands of the many, the following extract from it may not be deemed ſuperfluous: "To the Nobility, the CHRISTIAN NOBILITY, of this land, the ſociety addreſſes, with all decent homage, its moſt ſolemn exhortations to lend the force of their example to the promotion of ſpirited morality, without which their honours are lifeleſs, while they nominally laſt, and have no ſecurity for their continuance. By the memory of their anceſtors; by the hope of their poſterity; by every thing that is precious to perſons who have ſo much to preſerve, they are conjured to liſten to the portentuous precedents of a hiſtory—to the warnings of recent examples—to the fatal records of fatal revolutions, manifeſting through all times the conſtant ſympathy between a nation's grandeur or declenſion, and its moral elevation or debaſement: they are conjured to turn their eyes back upon the times, in which thoſe of our Engliſh nobility, who were the vigilant aſſerters of our political rights, conſidered piety as a principal ornament of the ſtateſman, the patriot, and the ſoldier; and challenged, as the characteriſtic of an Engliſh gentleman of rank, "high created thoughts ſeated in a heart of courteſy." Full of reſpect for all that conſtitute political diſtinctions of rank, but placing the laws and all public proſperity foremoſt in their view, the ſociety declare, with the confidence of men, whoſe principles are pure, and whoſe plan is experimentally wiſe, that they will with moderate, but perſevering exertions; with an humble conviction of their own imperfections, and a ſympathizing regard for the infirmities of others; with a ſober diſcriminating regard to differences of times, habits, and exigencies; do their utmoſt to make our ſalutary laws for the ſuppreſſion of vice, acknowledged among *all ranks*. And if they cannot check the groſs and unfeeling contempt which the reprobate, or unthinking, caſt upon the Sabbath, by practices totally uncongenial with the religious repoſe of that ſeaſon, they will ſtrive at leaſt to ſhelter decency from outrage; and, as far as in them lies, to turn the edge of our vindicatory ſtatutes againſt ſuch perſons as the law has denounced on behalf of the public order and our eſtabliſhed religion."

It is hoped this ſociety will rigidly adhere to their own declaration, "that with an humble conviction of their own imperfections," they will ſympathize with "the infirmities of others;" and, above all, that they will let their light ſo ſhine before men, that their example will be followed by every rank, from the loweſt to the higheſt. A ſociety ſimilar to the one of which we are now ſpeaking, has been lately inſtituted in America; with this difference, that REWARDS for the encouragement of virtue, as well as *puniſhments* for vice, are there held out.

In the relation of our domeſtic affairs the friends of the uſeful arts will learn, with pleaſure, that on the 8th of July 1804, the Norfolk farmers preſented that great patron of the plough, Mr. Coke, of that county, with a piece of plate, value ſix hundred guineas. This token of veneration for that high character was a ſuperb embоſſed ſilver vaſe, near three feet in height: on the top was an elegant figure of Ceres; round the top of the vaſe were embоſſed the figures of a South Down ram, and a Herefordſhire ox, finely executed after models from the life, by Mr. Garrard. On the reverſe are figures of a Norfolk team, and plough at work; and of Mr. Coke's drill; the inſtrument generally in uſe, for drilling the crops in Norfolk; between the handles, on the ſame level, a wheatſheaf, and a bunch of turnips; beneath this, on one ſide, are Mr. Coke's arms, with the motto, *prudens qui patiens*; and, on the oppoſite ſide, the following inſcription: "Preſented to Thomas William Coke, Eſq.

land, was, on the 1st of February 1803, 22,348,000*l.*; of which there had been purchased by the commissioners 1,123,415*l.*; leaving a funded debt of 21,224,585*l.* together with long annuities to the amount of 9,791*l.*

"That the total amount of public funded debt, chargeable on Great Britain, for account of the emperor of Germany, was, on the 1st of February, 7,502,633*l.*; of which 375,137*l.* had been purchased by the commissioners, leaving a funded debt of 7,127,495*l.* together with annuities to the amount of 230,000*l.* which will expire in 1820.

"That under the heads of treasury, ordnance, barracks, (and including 171,431*l.* deficient in the ways and means of 1802) outstanding demands, as far as the same can be made up, remained to be provided for on the 5th January 1803, to the amount of £.762,867

"That the unfunded debt in exchequer bills unprovided for was, on the 5th January 1803 9,500,000

"That the debt of the navy was on the 5th Jan. 1803 3,105,648

Making the total amount of unfunded debt 13,368,515

That the total Debt may be stated as follows:

Funded debt unredeemed of Great Britain	480,572,476
Funded debt unredeemed of Great Britain, for account of Ireland	21,224,585
Funded debt unredeemed of Great Britain, for account of the emperor of Germany, besides short annuities to the amount of 230,000*l.*	7,127,496
Long ann. valued at fixteen years purchase, 1,015,410*l.* for Great Britain; 9,791*l.* for Ireland	16,403,216
Unfunded debt	13,368,515
Leaving a total sum charged or chargeable upon Great Britain (exclusive of 539,979*l.* and 230,000*l.* short annuities) of	£.538,696,288

II. That the total amount of the public funded debt of Great Britain (including the amount created by the sums borrowed in the present session) was, on the 1st of February 1804, 601,201,978*l.* of which 77,698,467*l.* had been purchased by the commissioners, and 21,147,888*l.* had been transferred to them on account of land tax redeemed; leaving a funded debt of 502,362,622*l.*; and that the amount of annuities charged on Great Britain (after deducting what have fallen in) was, on the 1st of February, in short annuities and for lives, 516,383*l.* and in long annuities, 1,047,494*l.*

"That the total amount of public funded debt chargeable on Great Britain, for account of Ireland, including the amount created by the sums borrowed in the present session, was, on the 1st February, 1804, 33,738,000*l.*; of which there had been purchased by the commissioners 1,595,671*l.*; leaving a funded debt of 32,142,329*l.* together with long annuities to the amount of 16,208*l.*

"That the total amount of public funded debt, chargeable on Great Britain, for account of the emperor of Germany, was, on the 1st of February, 1804, 7,502,633*l.*; of which 459,828*l.* had been purchased by the commissioners; leaving a funded debt of 7,042,805*l.* together with annuities to the amount of 230,000*l.* which will expire in 1820.

"That under the heads of treasury, ordnance, barracks, and civil list advances, after deducting 1,370,664*l.* surplus, in the ways and means of 1803, outstanding demands as far as the same can be made up, remained to be provided for on the 5th January 1804, to the amount of £.653,421

"That the unfunded debt in exchequer bills, unprovided for, was on the 5th of January 1804 15,390,800

"That the debt of the navy was, on the 5th January 1804 4,037,307

Making the total amount of unfunded debt 20,081,528

That the total Debt may be stated as follows:

Funded debt unredeemed of Great Britain	502,362,622
Funded debt unredeemed of Great Britain, for account of Ireland	32,142,329
Funded debt unredeemed of Great Britain, for account of the emperor of Germany, besides short annuities to the amount of 230,000*l.*	7,042,805
Long annuities valued at fixteen years purchase, 1,017,494*l.* for Great Britain; 16,208*l.* for Ireland	17,019,232
Unfunded debt	20,081,528
Leaving a total sum charged or chargeable on Great Britain, (exclusive of 516,383*l.* and 230,000*l.* short annuities) of	£.578,648,516

"III. That the annual charge for account of the funded debt of Great Britain was, on the 1st of February 1803, 23,510,967*l.*:—and the 1st of February 1804, including the charge incurred by the loan of the present session, was 24,846,665*l.*

"That

" That the ſum applicable to the reduction of the funded debt of Great Britain was, on the 1ſt of February 1803, 5,834,986*l.*—And on the 1ſt of February 1804, including 1 *per cent.* on the ſtock created by the loan of the preſent ſeſſion, was 6,493,626*l.*

" That the net produce of the permanent taxes was, in the year ending the 5th of January 1803, 27,531,358*l.*—And in the year ending the 5th of January 1804, 30,710,747*l.*

" IV. That the total official value of all imports into Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January 1803, was 31,442,318*l.*—And on an average of ſix years, ending 5th of January 1804, 28,419,625*l.*

" That the total official value of all imports into Great Britain was, in the year ending 5th of January 1804, (ſuppoſing the imports from the Eaſt Indies, of which no account has been made up, to be the ſame as in the year preceding) 27,441,874*l.*—And on an average of ſix years, ending 5th of January 1804, 29,490,945*l.*

" That the total official value of Britiſh produce and manufactures exported, in the year ending 5th of January 1803, was 26,995,129*l.*—And on an average of ſix years, ending 5th January 1803, was 22,942,840*l.*

" That the total official value of Britiſh produce and manufacture exported in the year ending 5th of January 1804, was 22,252,103*l.*—And on an average of ſix years, ending 5th of January 1804, 23,834,329*l.*

" That the total official value of foreign merchandize exported from Great Britain in the year ending 5th of January 1803, was 14,418,837*l.*—And on an average of ſix years, ending 5th of January 1803, was 11,651,333*l.*

" That the total official value of foreign merchandize exported from Great Britain in the year ending 5th of January 1804, was 9,323,257*l.*—And on an average of ſix years, ending 5th of January 1804, was 11,636,441*l.*

V. That the total ſum to be raiſed in Great Britain, in the year 1804, may be eſtimated as follows:

	£.	£.
Intereſt of the public funded debt, charges of management and ſinking fund, on the 5th of February 1804 -	24,110,475	
Intereſt, charges of management, &c. to be paid between the 5th of February 1804 and the 5th of January 1805, on ſtock created by loans of the preſent ſeſſion, to the amount of 18,200,000*l.*	531,190	
Intereſt on exchequer bills, the amount iſſued and bearing intereſt exceeding 20,000,000*l.* - - -	1,000,000	
Civil government of Scotland, penſions on revenue, militia and deſerters' warrants, bounties for promoting fiſheries, &c. &c. eſtimated to be the ſame as in the year ending 5th of January 1804	723,056	
Charges of collecting and management of the revenue, eſtimated to be the ſame as in the year ending 5th of January 1804 - - -	1,955,368	
Proportion to be defrayed by Great Britain, of the civil liſt and other charges on the conſolidated fund of Great Britain (the charges on the conſolidated fund of Ireland, which is likewiſe a joint charge, being included in the ſupplies) 15-17ths of 1,346,043*l.* - -	1,187,690	
Supplies voted in 1804 for Great Britain excluſively 2,292,000		
Supplies voted in 1804 for Great Britain and Ireland, proportion to be defrayed by Great Britain, 15-17ths of 40,572,380*l.* - - 35,799,159		
		38,091,159
Advance to Ireland - -	4,500,000	
Intereſt for loans to the emperor of Germany - - -	497,735	
Sums to be raiſed parochially, for the maintenance of the poor, eſtimated to be the ſame as in the year ending Eaſter 1803 - - -	5,246,506	
Making in the whole the ſum of		£.77,846,179

" VI. That the funds applicable to diſcharge the ſum required for the ſervice of the year 1804, may be eſtimated as follow:

	£.
The groſs receipt of the permanent revenue, after deducting the repayment of over entries, drawbacks, &c. eſtimated to be the ſame as in the year ending the 5th of January 1804	36,139,171
Eſtimated produce to the 5th of January 1805, of the permanent taxes impoſed in the preſent ſeſſion -	400,000
Small branches of the hereditary revenue and impreſt monies repaid, eſtimated to be the ſame as in the year ending the 5th of January 1804	228,253
Lottery, after deducting the proportion of Ireland - - -	250,000
War taxes, eſtimated produce to the 5th of April 1803 - -	15,440,000
Surplus of the ways and means for the year 1803 - - -	1,370,664
Loan conſtituting an increaſe of funded debt - - - -	14,500,000
Loan by exchequer bills, charged on the ſupplies of the year 1805 (V. C.)	2,500,000

Sums to be raiſed parochially for the maintenance of the poor, eſtimated to be the ſame as in the year ending Eaſter 1803	5,246,506
Making in the whole the ſum of	76,074,594
And leaving a deficiency of	1,771,585

On the 31ſt of July 1804, his majeſty came to the houſe of peers, and put an end to the ſeſſions in a ſpeech. As ſoon as the king was ſeated on the throne, the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, followed by a large number of commoners, appeared at the bar, and holding the Civil Liſt Relief Bill in his hand, addreſſed the throne in a ſpeech of conſiderable length. The conſtitutional loyalty that it breathed, and the elegance of the ſpeech, may be appreciated from the following extracts:

"The bill which I hold in my hand, compleats the ſupplies for the preſent year. Theſe, Sire, we have appropriated to the further ſupport of your majeſty's houſhold, and the honour and dignity of your crown; to the naval and military defence of the realm, and to the various ſervices of your extended empire. In providing for theſe grants, large in their amounts, and commenſurate with the extraordinary demands of the times in which we live, we have nevertheleſs ſteadily perſevered in our former courſes, by raiſing a large proportion of our ſupplies within the year; and we have now the proud ſatisfaction to ſee, that the permanent debt of the ſtate is rapidly diminiſhing, at the ſame time that the growing proſperity of the country has ſtrengthened and multiplied all its reſources."

Having dwelt on the zeal and rapid encreaſe of the volunteers, he proceeded: "Thus formidably armed and powerfully ſuſtained, we truſt that with the bleſſing of God we ſhall victoriouſly maintain your majeſty's throne, and tranſmit unimpaired to our deſcendants the moſt perfect form of government which the world has ever experienced for the practical happineſs of mankind; firmly perſuaded, that this empire will long outlaſt the ſtorms which have overwhelmed the continent of Europe, and earneſtly hoping that other nations, now fallen, may witneſs the deſtruction of a tyranny founded on fraud and violence, and cemented with innocent blood; and again recover their ancient power and independence, as the beſt guarantees for the future tranquillity of the civilized world." His majeſty having given his aſſent to the bill, and in the courſe of his ſpeech congratulated their lordſhips on the unexampled number, ardour, and force of the volunteers, he entreated the lords and commons to carry into their reſpective counties the ſame zeal for the public intereſt, which had guided their parliamentary conduct.

"Relying," ſaid his majeſty, "on the ſkill, valour, and diſcipline of my naval and military force, aided by the voluntary zeal and native courage of my people, I look with confidence to the iſſue of this great conflict; and I doubt not that it will terminate, under the bleſſing of Providence, not only in repelling the danger of the moment, but in eſtabliſhing, in the eyes of foreign nations, the ſecurity of this country on a baſis never to be ſhaken."

The parliament was, with the uſual forms, prorogued to the 4th day of September following.

CHAP. XVI.

Brilliant Action of Sir Nathaniel Dance with Admiral Linois.—Addreſs to the Marquis of Wellesley on the Reſtoration of Peace to the Continent of India.—Naval Captures.—Bombardment of Havre.

IT affords us a peculiar pleaſure to begin our hiſtorical account of the month of Auguſt 1804, with one of the moſt brilliant naval actions recorded in our annals. This action is detailed in a letter from Captain Nathaniel Dance, commander of the Eaſt India Company's ſhip Earl Camden, and was received at the India Houſe Auguſt the 8th. As it would be injuſtice to attempt to abridge a ſingle paſſage of the modeſt narrative, we ſhall give it at full length, perſuaded that it will yield a high gratification to every perſon intereſted in the glory of the nation:

"For the information of the honourable court, I beg leave to acquaint you, that the Earl Camden was diſpatched from Canton by the ſelect committee, the 31ſt of January laſt, and the ſhips noted in the margin * were put under my orders, as ſenior commander; alſo, the Rolla Botany Bay ſhip, and the country ſhips, as per margin, were put under my charge, to convoy, as far as our courſes lay, in the ſame direction. I was alſo ordered to take under my protection a Portugueſe Europe ſhip, that was lying in Macao Roads, whoſe ſupercargo had ſolicited it from the ſelect committee.

"Our paſſage down the river was tedious, and the fleet much diſperſed; the ſhips being under the directions of their ſeveral Chineſe pilots, I could not keep them collected as I wiſhed.

"The Ganges, a faſt-ſailing brig, was put under my orders by the ſelect committee, to employ in any manner that might tend to the ſafety or convenience

* Warley, Alfred, Royal George, Coutts, Wexford, Ganges, Exeter, Earl of Abergavenny, Henry Addington, Bombay Caſtle, Cumberland, Hope, Dorſetſhire, Warren Haſtings, Ocean.

of

The Defeat of the French Admiral Linois by Comodore Dance Feb.ry 15.th 1801.

Published as the Act directs Oct.r 1.st 1801 by J. Stratford N.o 112 Holborn Hill

of the fleet, till we had paſſed the Straits of Malacca. I was then to diſpatch her to Bengal.

"We paſſed Macao Roads on the night of the 5th of February, and I conceive the Rolla had anchored ſo near Macao, as not to ſee the fleet get under weigh and paſs through; although at the time I had no idea that could be poſſible, eſpecially as I ſaw the Ocean in ſhore of us getting under weigh burning blue lights, and firing a gun; the Portugueſe ſhip, I ſuppoſe, muſt have been in the ſame ſituation as the Rolla.—During the night of the 5th of February I carried an eaſy ſail, and on the following day hove to for above two hours, hoping to ſee thoſe ſhips; but there was no appearance of them, nor did they ever join the fleet.—On the 14th February, at day-break, we ſaw Pulo Auro bearing weſt ſouth weſt, and at eight A. M. the Royal George made the ſignal for ſeeing four ſtrange ſail in the ſouth-weſt: I made the ſignal for the four ſhips noted in the margin* to go down, and examine them; and Lieutenant Fowler, of the royal navy, late commander of the Porpoiſe, and paſſenger with me, having handſomely offered to go in the Ganges brig, and inſpect them nearly, I afterwards ſent her down likewiſe, and from their ſignals I perceived it was an enemy's ſquadron, conſiſting of a line of battle ſhip, three frigates, and a brig.

"At one P. M. I recalled the look-out ſhips by ſignal, and formed the line of battle in cloſe order.

"As ſoon as the enemy could fetch in our wake, they put about: we kept on our courſe under an eaſy ſail. At near ſun-ſet, they were cloſe up with our rear, and I was in momentary expectation of an attack there, and prepared to ſupport them; but at the cloſe of the day we perceived them haul to windward. I ſent Lieutenant Fowler in the Ganges brig, to ſtation the country ſhips† on our lee-bow, by which means we were between them and the enemy, and having done ſo, he returned with ſome volunteers from the country ſhips.

"We laid to in line of battle all night, our men at their quarters; at day-break, of the 15th, we ſaw the enemy about three miles to windward, lying to; we hoiſted our colours, offering him battle, if he choſe to come down. The enemy's four ſhips hoiſted French colours, the line of battle ſhip carrying a rear admiral's flag; the brig was under Batavian colours.

"At nine A. M. finding they would not come down, we formed the order of ſailing, and ſteered our courſe under an eaſy ſail; the enemy then filled their ſails, and edged towards us.

"At one P. M. finding they propoſed to attack, and endeavour to cut off our rear, I made the ſignal to tack and bear down on him, and engage in ſucceſſion, the Royal George being the leading ſhip, the Ganges next, and then the Earl Camden. This manœuvre was correctly performed, and we ſtood towards him under a preſs of ſail; the enemy then formed in a very cloſe line, and opened their fire on the headmoſt ſhips, which was not returned by us till we approached him nearer. The Royal George bore the brunt of the action, and got as near the enemy as he would permit him; the Ganges and Earl Camden opened their fire as ſoon as their guns could have effect; but before any other ſhip could get into action, the enemy hauled their wind, and ſtood away to the eaſtward under all the ſail they could ſet. At two P. M. I made the ſignal for a general chaſe, and we purſued them till four P. M. when, fearing a longer purſuit would carry us too far from the mouth of the Straits, and conſidering the immenſe property at ſtake, I made the ſignal to tack, and at eight P. M. we anchored in a ſituation to proceed for the entrance of the Straits in the morning. As long as we could diſtinguiſh the enemy, we perceived him ſteering to the eaſtward under a preſs of ſail. The Royal George had one man killed, and another wounded, many ſhot in her hull, and more in her ſails; but few ſhot touched either the Camden or Ganges, and the fire of the enemy ſeemed to be ill directed, his ſhot either falling ſhort, or paſſing over us.—Captain Timins carried the Royal George into action in the moſt gallant manner. In juſtice to my brother commanders, I muſt ſtate, that every ſhip was cleared and prepared for action; and, as I had communication with almoſt all of them during the two days we were in preſence of the enemy, I found them unanimous in the determined reſolution to defend the valuable property entruſted to their charge to the laſt extremity, with a full conviction of the ſucceſsful event of their exertions; and this ſpirit was fully ſeconded by the gallant ardour of all our officers and ſhips' companies. From Malacca I diſpatched Lieutenant Fowler, in the Ganges brig, to Pulo Pinang, with a packet from the ſelect committee to the captain of any of his majeſty's ſhips, ſoliciting their convoy to this very valuable fleet.—On arrival at Malacca, we were informed that the ſquadron we had engaged was that of Admiral Linois, conſiſting of the Marengo, of eighty-four guns; the Belle Poule and Semillante, heavy frigates, a corvette of twenty-eight, and the Batavian brig William, of eighteen guns.—The 28th February, in the Streights of Malacca, lat. 4. 30. N. we fell in with his majeſty's ſhips Albion and Sceptre. I was then in a very poor ſtate of health, and Mr. Lance went on board the Albion, and, by his very able repreſentation to Captain Ferrier, of the great national conſequence of the honourable

company's

* Alfred, Royal George, Bombay Caſtle, Hope.

† Lord Caſtlereagh, Carron, David Scott, Minerva, Ardaſier, Charlotte, Friendſhip, Shaw Kiſſaroo, Johaungeer, Gilwell, Neptune.

company's ships, he was induced to take charge of the fleet.—On the 3d of March I dispatched the Ganges brig with a letter to the right honourable the governor general, giving an account of our action, to be conveyed to the honourable court.—We arrived at St. Helena the 9th of June, under convoy of his majesty's ships Albion and Sceptre, and sailed the 18th, under convoy of his majesty's ship Plantagenet, with the addition of the Carmarthen, Capt. Dobree, and five whalers. Accompanying this I send a chart of the entrance of the Straits of Malacca, with the situations of the fleet of the 14th and 15th February, which will, I trust, convey a more distinct idea of the action than any written description.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your most obedient humble servant,
"NATHANIEL DANCE.

"*Earl Camden, Aug.* 6, 1804."

From subsequent accounts it appeared, that out of the whole sixteen Indiamen, only *three were really in action*; and three more, who fired at some distance during the engagement; these were opposed to the whole French line, and the greatest number on board any one of them amounted but to one hundred and thirty-five! In the chase, but two of the British ships fired; and so great was the confusion of the enemy, that they never so much as fired one stern chaser. The value of our fleet (one of the richest that ever left China) being sixteen ships, the smallest of one thousand eight hundred tons) was estimated at eight millions sterling, independent of the country ships, which might be estimated at two millions more, many having large quantities of specie on board.

On the 15th of August a court of directors was held at the India House, when the eminent services of the officers, &c. who so gallantly and successfully opposed the squadron of Admiral Linois, were taken into consideration; and the following rewards were unanimously voted. When liberality and merit go hand in hand, they ought to be transmitted to posterity.

Captain Dance	2500 Guineas,	and a piece of plate of the value of 200 guineas.
Timins	1000 ditto	100 ditto.
Moffatt	500 ditto	100 ditto.
Henry Wilson	500 ditto	50 ditto.
Furquharson	500 ditto	50 ditto.
Torin	500 ditto	50 ditto.
Clarke	500 ditto	50 ditto.
Menton	500 ditto	50 ditto.
Wordsworth	500 ditto	50 ditto.
Kirkpatrick	500 ditto	50 ditto.
Hamilton	500 ditto	50 ditto.
Farrer	500 ditto	50 ditto.
Pendergrass	500 ditto	50 ditto.
Brown	500 ditto	50 ditto.
Larkins	500 ditto	50 ditto.
Lochner	500 ditto	50 ditto.

Chief officers	150	Ditto mates	50
Second ditto	125	Boatswains	50
Third ditto	80	Gunners	50
Fourth	80	Carpenters	50
Fifth	50	Midshipmen	30
Sixth	50	Other petty officers	15
Pursers	80	Seamen, ordinary seamen,	
Surgeons	80	and servants	6

Lieutenant Fowler, passenger on board the Camden, Captain Dance, for the activity he rendered, 300 guineas or a piece of plate.

If it were allowed to particularize individual merit, Captain Timins, of the Royal George, most certainly distinguished himself in an eminent degree. Perhaps, by some, it may be deemed temerity to lay a loaded Indiaman along-side of an eighty 'gun ship, at the risque of his own life and his valuable ship, the saviour of the whole fleet.

Government, as well as the country, looked with anxiety to the progress, and termination of the war in India; the extent of territory, the population, the trade, &c. of that country might be still farther estimated by the envy which it excited in the French, and their attempts to alienate the affections of our allies in that quarter. The arrivals from the east in the course of the month of which we are now treating, brought the welcome intelligence of the happy restoration of peace to the continent of India. This event was celebrated with every demonstration of joy in the different presidencies of that country. The British inhabitants of Calcutta were the first to address the governor general (Marquis Wellesley) on the brilliant conduct and termination of hostilities, and at the same time they resolved to erect a statue of his excellency at Calcutta. The address was signed by five hundred and forty names, and contained a retrospect of the state of India on the arrival of the marquis to assume the government. It was long, and contained many eloquent passages; one or two of these passages which may be ranked under the head of the historical, are entitled to an insertion.

"The previous distinguished events of your excellency's administration, had prepared the way for the signal successes which we have recently witnessed. The conquest of Seringpatam, the restoration of the rightful sovereign of Mysore, the dissolution of the French party at Nizam, and the peaceful succession of his son to the government of his father's dominions, insured the cordial co-operation of two powers, attached to the British government by the firmest ties of interest and gratitude. While the re-establishment of the Peishwa's legitimate authority at Poonah, has contributed, in its turn, to the support of the alliance by which it was effected.

"The result has been answerable to the energy with which your excellency has employed the power and the resources of the British government, and its allies. Within the short space of five months, and

MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

and chiefly in a ſeaſon hitherto reputed incompatible with military operations, we have ſeen two of the moſt formidable among the Mahratta ſtates, reduced, by an unexampled ſucceſſion of the moſt ſplendid victories, to an unconditional dependance on Britiſh generoſity; their numerous troops diſperſed; their moſt important fortreſſes captured; and their moſt valuable dominions ſubdued.

"Our own provinces, and the poſſeſſions of our allies, have at the ſame time diſplayed the moſt ſtriking contraſt of tranquillity. Their inhabitants, almoſt unconſcious of external war, have enjoyed in ſecurity the reward of proſperous induſtry; and the confidence repoſed by all ranks in the faith and ſtability of the Britiſh government, has been unequivocally demonſtrated by the unprecedented ſtate of public credit, higher at the moment of renewed war with France, and during the arduous conteſt now happily terminated in India, than the moſt flouriſhing period of profound peace."

This picture of the proſperity of India is undoubtedly a flattering one; but it will be recollected that it was drawn by people on the ſpot, who were beſt capable of appreciating the value of every circumſtance.

We ſhall now give a few extracts from the anſwer of the governor general to this addreſs, under a firm conviction that the ſentiments which it contains, if followed up, will be found to have been bottomed in ſound ſenſe, and the true policy which ought to be kept in view in the future government of that country.

"During the criſis which preceded the war, I ſhould have viewed the ſituation of theſe poſſeſſions with anxiety, if I had not been ſupported by a firm confidence, that the ſpirit which you have diſplayed on this occaſion, animated the counſels of this government, and thoſe of the governments of Fort St. George and Bombay; and that an equal zeal prevailed amongſt the general officers and troops, charged with the execution of my orders.

"Peace is the faireſt fruit of victory, the brighteſt ornament of military triumph, and the higheſt reward of ſucceſsful valour. The peace which has been concluded, comprehends every object of the war, with every practicable ſecurity for the continuance of tranquillity. The object of the war was not to accompliſh inordinate projects of extravagant conqueſt; not to ſubvert ancient and revered authorities; not to deſolate flouriſhing provinces; not to plunder private property; not to diſturb the civil and religious inſtitutions of contiguous ſtates; not to raiſe commotions in the boſom of eſtabliſhed governments; not to excite diſcord among powers connected by the relations of amity and peace. The object of the war was, to vindicate and ſecure the juſt and legitimate rights, intereſt, and honour of the Britiſh government, and of its allies, againſt uſurpation, violence, and rapine. The reſtoration of the legitimate authority of our ally the Peiſhwa, at Poonah; the eſtabliſhment of our ally, the Soubahdar of the Dekan, in his hereditary rights and dominions at Hydrabad, and the deliverance of the unfortunate and venerable emperor Shah Aulum from the hands of the Mahrattas and French, at Delhi, were the earlieſt effects of the ſucceſs of our military operations. During the progreſs of our arms, every endeavour was employed to mitigate the horrors of war, even in the midſt of hoſtilities, and to extend ſecurity and protection to the utmoſt limits, compatible with the ſafety of our armies in the field.

"In the termination of hoſtilities, my ſolicitude has been directed to the important purpoſe of effecting a general pacification of India on principles of reciprocal juſtice and moderation. The power, reputation, and the dignity of the Britiſh empire in India, will derive additional ſecurity and luſtre from the eſtabliſhment of peace and good order among the native ſtates. In the decline of intrinſic ſtrength, inferior ſtates may perhaps have gained a temporary ſafety by fomenting the diſcord of contiguous powers. In any extremity ſuch a policy is unwarrantable and diſgraceful; nor can permanent repoſe be ſecured upon ſuch precarious foundations.

"The foundations of our empire in Aſia, are now laid in the tranquillity of ſurrounding nations, and in the happineſs and welfare of the people of India. In addition to the augmentation of our territories and reſources, the peace has manifeſted exemplary faith and equity towards our allies, moderation and lenity towards our enemies, and a ſincere deſire to promote the general proſperity of this quarter of the globe. The poſition in which we are now placed, is ſuited to the character of the Britiſh nation, in the principles of our laws, to the ſpirit of our conſtitution, and to the liberal and comprehenſive policy, which becomes the dignity of of a great and powerful empire.

"My public duty is diſcharged to the ſatisfaction of my conſcience by the proſperous eſtabliſhment of a ſyſtem of policy, which promiſes to improve the general condition of the people of India, and to unite the principal native ſtates in the bond of peace, under the protection of the Britiſh power."

The events in the Weſt Indies in the courſe of this month were not of ſufficient importance to intereſt the generality of our readers. The only naval capture in that quarter officially announced was that of the La Liberté French privateer ſchooner, armed with one four-pounder, two ſwivels, and twenty-five ſtand of ſmall arms. She was taken off the eaſt end of the iſland of Jamaica, by his majeſty's brig Hunter, Captain S. H. Inglefield.

To return to the affairs of Europe. The Ga-

zette of the 10th of Auguſt contained a letter dated the third ult. from Captain Corbet, of his majeſty's ſloop Bittern, giving an account of his having captured, off Cape Paſſero, the French privateer L'Hirondelle, and re-captured the two Engliſh merchant ſhips (Mentor and Catherine) her prizes. The conduct of Captain Corbet, and the company of the Bittern, deſerve mention; they were at ſweeps (to which purpoſe all the ſmall ſpars were converted) for thirty-ſix hours without intermiſſion, even to meals, in which time they ſwept the ſhip ſixty miles, without an air of wind.

Captain R. D. Oliver, commander of the Melpomene, tranſmitted a letter to the lords commiſſioners of the Admiralty, dated Auguſt 2, off Havre, giving an account of an attack on the numerous veſſels in Havre Pier. From this ſtatement it appeared that the bombs were well placed off the pier heads, when they began a well directed fire, which was kept up with great ſpirit about an hour and a half. The town was very ſoon obſerved to be on fire in two places; and ſeven brigs, which were on the outſide of the pier, found it neceſſary to move; one loſt her mainmaſt. As the wind came more off the land, and a ſtrong tide ſetting out, the bombs diſcontinued firing. The next morning (Auguſt 2,) before eight o'clock, the bombs took their poſition near the pier heads, and kept up a conſtant fire for near three hours, with ſhells and carcaſes: ſo many ſhells burſt on and about the piers, that the enemy's fire was obſerved latterly to ſlacken conſiderably, and it was evident they were in the greateſt confuſion; ſome brigs and luggers, however, got under weigh, and came out to endeavour to annoy the bombs, but all the other ſhips and veſſels of the ſquadron were ſo well placed as to give them chaſe immediately; and it was only by cutting away their boats, which were a-ſtern, and retreating very ſpeedily into ſhoal water, that they eſcaped, but not before they had run the gauntlet of all the ſhips and cutters. Upwards of five hundred ſhells and carcaſes were thrown into the town and baſon, which muſt have done conſiderable damage.

CHAP. XVII.

Regulations for inſuring Order in the Event of an Invaſion.—Reflections on our domeſtic Situation.—Splendid Fête.—Remarkable Storms.—Account of the Iriſh Fiſheries.—Commercial Review.

FROM the immenſe number of troops collected on the enemy's coaſt, it was ſuppoſed that the menaced invaſion would at length be put into execution. Miniſters themſelves ſeemed to entertain this opinion, as they were very active in adopting every meaſure, that was likely to give energy to the patriotiſm and courage of the country.

On the 20th of Auguſt 1804, a circular letter, ſigned by Lord Hawkeſbury, was addreſſed to the lord lieutenants of counties in Great Britain, containing regulations for the preſervation of good order to be adopted in caſe of actual invaſion, in each county. And as theſe regulations were of the utmoſt importance with a view to the operations of his majeſty's army, to the protection of the property of individuals, and to the internal peace and tranquillity of the country, we ſhall inſert them at full length:

"The magiſtrates of each diviſion of the county remaining at home, to ſit daily at a place to be appointed in each diviſion for that purpoſe.

"To procure the truſt-worthy houſekeepers and others to enroll themſelves to ſerve as ſpecial conſtables under their orders, where the ſame has not been already done purſuant to the ſecretary of ſtate's Circular Letter of the 8th of November laſt.

"To be attended at the place appointed for each diviſion by an officer of the volunteer force, if any ſhould remain in that diviſion, and by the chief or ſuperintendant of the ſpecial conſtables enrolled for that diviſion. Such volunteer officer and chief of the ſpecial conſtables to receive and execute the orders of the magiſtrates, in preventing and quelling diſturbances, in taking up and conveying offenders to priſon, in ſupplying eſcorts for all military purpoſes required by the general or other officer left in command of the diſtrict, and in furniſhing a guard for the county gaol or other priſons, if wanted.

"If, contrary to expectation, any impediments ſhould occur in the regular ſupply of the different markets, every aſſiſtance to be afforded to the perſons who are accuſtomed or who offer to ſupply them, and eſcorts to be granted in caſes where it may be neceſſary for the ſecure paſſage and conveyance of cattle and proviſions.

"The conſtables within each diviſion, aſſiſted by patroles of volunteers, if requiſite, to ſee that all public houſes within the ſame are orderly and regularly conducted, and, if thought neceſſary by the magiſtrates, to be ſhut at ſuch hours as they may direct; and to bring all unknown perſons, who cannot give a ſatisfactory account of themſelves, before the magiſtrates.

"A certain portion of the conſtables and volunteers, in rotation, to go ſuch different rounds in the night, as ſhall from time to time be preſcribed by the magiſtrates of the diviſion, to whom they are to make their report each morning.

"The magiſtrates of each diviſion to report daily to the lieutenant of the county, or deputy lieutenants within the diviſion appointed to receive the ſame.

"The lieutenant or deputy lieutenants ſo appointed,

pointed, to report all matters of importance immediately to the ſecretary of ſtate for the home department, and to the general or officer left in command of the diſtrict, or to the officer who ſhall be appointed by him within the county to receive the ſame, to whom they are to apply in caſe of wanting further military aid."

Notwithſtanding the din of arms, the threats of invaſion, and the intrigues of foreign cabinets, we continued to enjoy at home a tranquillity that could only flow from a due ſenſe of Divine favour, a confidence in our own reſources, and the zeal of all ranks in the cauſe of rational liberty. Induſtry was purſued in all its ramifications, the arts that aided in raiſing us to ſuch an envied height, were cultivated and rewarded, whilſt the amuſements of the great contributed to the circulation of the wealth of the country. Under this deſcription we ſhall give a ſhort account of the queen's Fête; and though it may not be ſtrictly claſſed in the hiſtorical line, yet the lovers of rural taſte and elegant ſimplicity will, it is preſumed, find a pleaſure in reading it.

On Friday the 17th of Auguſt her majeſty gave a grand Fête at Frogmore, in honour of the birthday of the duke of York. The preparations were conducted by Mr. Wyatt, the architect, from deſigns by the princeſs Elizabeth. The grotto, chiefly formed by the hands of her royal highneſs, might be ſaid to have rivalled Calypſo's fabled one. Two fine beech trees at the entrance had been trained to grow, ſo as to form a complete Gothic covered walk; this ſhady ſpace, almoſt impervious to the beams of the ſun, was aſſigned for dancing; the inſide was brilliantly illuminated with ſmall variegated lamps, which recalled the idea of enchanted ſcenery. The promenade had a temporary cloth laid on it for the convenience of dancing. The company began to aſſemble early, and walked through the gardens, which are not to be excelled in beauty and variety. At two o'clock the dinner was announced. It was laid in three very large new marquees, which were pitched on the lawn, between the new front of the houſe, and the beautiful piece of water. The royal family dined in the centre marquee. The other two were allotted for the nobility. During the dinner military muſic was played on each ſide of the royal tent, and when the cloth was removed ſeveral admired catches and glees were ſung by the firſt voices. The dancing commenced at half paſt four in the afternoon, and continued till eight. About ten their majeſties withdrew, and the entertainment ended.

In the courſe of the month of which we are now treating, there were ſeveral reviews of the volunteers. The ſoldier-like appearance of theſe patriotic bands, joined to their number, which was every day encreaſing, afforded the higheſt gratification to every real lover of his country. Men of the firſt rank were proud of being enrolled in the liſt. The entertainments given at theſe grand military ſpectacles, recalled the days of old Engliſh hoſpitality. The following amongſt the many ought to be remembered: On the 6th of Auguſt, after the review of the Aylesford legion, lord Darnley gave a dinner to the corps at Cobham Hall, Kent. The following is a tranſcript of the bill of fare: thirty veniſon and veal pies, twenty-five hams, ſixty-four couple of roaſted fowls, eighteen roaſted ſirloins of beef, eighteen fillets of veal, fifteen quarters of mutton, twenty-one quarters of lamb, two whole calves, three lambs ſtuffed, fourteen buttocks of beef boiled, one hundred and twenty-five diſhes of ſallad, five hundred and twenty-three bottles of red wine, four butts of ſtrong beer, ten barrels of ſtrong ale (three years old) two hundred diſhes of various fruits, and three hundred loaves.

The moſt remarkable incident in the natural world in this ſeaſon was a tempeſt on the 3d of Auguſt, in Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincolnſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Warwickſhire, &c.; few tempeſts were more violent in their effects. A large oak at Newton was ſplit from top to bottom, and ſtripped of its bark twelve feet from the ground; ſome of the bark was carried fifty yards from the parent tree. The fall of rain at Lynn was very great, being nearly two inches in depth, the thunder was the moſt tremendous, and the lightning the moſt vivid ever remembered. At Holbeach a fire ball fell down the chimney of T. Peatfield, Eſq. and ruſhed into a room, where it removed a partition wall, forced two oppoſite doors from their hinges, ſhattered a looking glaſs, and carried away to the diſtance of thirty feet, the whole of the glaſs.

At Sheffield the lightning ſtruck the houſe of Mr. E. Royle, at Shude Hill, and broke to pieces a bed, in which two children were aſleep, without doing them any injury. This dreadful conflict of the elements was ſucceeded by another on the 12th of the ſame month, at Kendal, in Weſtmoreland; the ſtorm was ſo ſudden and tremendous, that if it had continued any length of time the havoc would have been incalculable. The roads were torn up, the ſoil were waſhed away with their crops; the torrents that ruſhed into the lake of Windermere, ſwelled it to ſuch a height, that it overflowed the neighbouring country to a conſiderable diſtance. To the relation of theſe awful viſitations of Providence, we are glad to find that we have only one fire to record. This fire broke out on the 8th of Auguſt, about eight o'clock at night, in three warehouſes in Duck-foot Lane, belonging to Meſſrs. Whiting, Sheletto, and Co. wholeſale grocers, in Thames-ſtreet. In a few minutes the whole concerns were enveloped in flames, and the entire ſtock, conſiſting of teas, ſugars, &c. conſumed. The rage of the fire was not ſubdued till eleven o'clock, by which time the

roof had fallen in, and the inside of the buildings were entirely destroyed. The property that fell a prey to this disaster was immense.

Irish Fisheries, their Progress and present State.

It would be a mere waste of time to expatiate on the advantages of fisheries in general; advantages that must be obvious to minds even of the dullest conception. We have seen almost in our own time cities rise from the huts of a few fishermen; and navies, indebted for their consequence to herring busses; and yet, with all these proofs before our eyes, it may appear extraordinary that the fisheries of Ireland should remain so long neglected. Men of public spirit and enlightened minds, it is true, have occasionally appeared like stars of a dark night to guide us to this source of national wealth, industry, and public strength*.

Captain Doyle, in the year 1736, an enterprizing seaman and excellent hydrographer, discovered a new mine, if we may use the expression, in the finny kingdom; namely, the Nymph Bank, on the southern coast of Ireland. He addressed a memorial on that occasion to Sir Robert Walpole, at that time minister, on the utility of the discovery; but his applications were unfortunately not attended to †.

Notwithstanding the incalculable advantages which might be derived from the discovery of this bank, yet, for want of encouragement to follow up what Captain Doyle had so successfully begun, it was totally neglected till the year 1801, when a famine prevailed in many parts of Ireland. Mr. Dixon, a private gentleman of slender fortune, touched with pity for the distresses of those around him, and warmed by true patriotic zeal, called the attention of government to "this great source of national relief, of wealth, and of strength;" where such PRODIGIOUS SHOALS abound! and from the premises, it may be reasonably inferred that the fish continue on the bank ALL THE YEAR ROUND!

The dimensions of the bank are not yet known; some pretend that it extends far westward of Ireland, and it is believed by others that it joins that of Newfoundland.

This gentleman resides at present at Kensington; and though he is advanced in years, his mind is still entirely employed in the promotion of every measure within the sphere of his power, that may contribute to the happiness of his country.

His first step in order to attain this great object, was to present a letter on the 8th of December 1803, to the committee of the Irish House of Commons, then sitting on the means of providing relief for the poor; in which he recommended the establishment of a great fishery on the south, west, and north-west coasts of Ireland; and particularly the Nymph

* It is well known that the southern and western coast of Ireland teem with myriads of fish. Dr. Smith, in his History of Waterford, says, "The fish taken on this coast (Waterford) are hake, ling, cod, whiting, whiting-pollock, mackarel, red gurnet, grey gurnet, bass, mullet, bream, soal, dab, plaice, fluke, turbot, and sometimes halebut, the scate, or ray, dog fish, herring, &c.

"Our cod is much esteemed, and is vastly preferable to the kind taken in the North American seas: as Canada, the banks of Newfoundland, &c.; ours are better, and fuller fed than theirs. Our ling are excellent in their kind; being a large and well fed fish, from one to above four feet long.

"The hake is slenderer than a cod, and larger than a haddock, with only two fins on its back; and is generally from a foot and a half to near twice as long.

"The soal on this coast are excellent; some a foot and a half long, and are in season the year round; as are also the plaice, which are little inferior in size and goodness to a turbot; and likewise the brils much resembling them."

After enumerating a variety of other excellent fish, he adds, "We have great plenty of various kinds of shell fish on the coast; as lobsters, crabs, shrimps, and large prawns, oysters, cockles, muscles, &c. Among other kinds of shell fish common on this coast, it may be proper to mention the murix, or shell fish, which strikes the purple colour; this shell fish is found in great plenty."

† The following account of the Nymph Bank, is taken out of a paper which Captain Doyle wrote on the subject: "Having information about this bank, which lies about eleven leagues S. S. E. from the high land of Dungarvan, I was thereby excited to make thereon such observations as might conduce to the public good; and being on board the Nymph, a boat of about twelve tons, with a company of seven men, July 15, 1736, I took my departure from Great Newton Head, at six in the evening, steering S. W. by W. half W. till midnight; then bringing to, and sounding, I found the ground small pebble stones, intermixed with cockle, and other shells; and at the same time caught a great many cod, hake, ling, and scate, of a *monstrous size*, bream, whiting, red gurnet, and other fish, (which to one who had been accustomed to fish both on the banks of Newfoundland and New England, seemed wonderful); and I never saw equal, or better diversion. In six hours we filled our fish room with hake, cod, and ling alone; and all parts of the boat with other fish. As for the monstrous rest, they were thrown overboard, though in England, France, or Holland, they would have yielded considerably. Being fully freighted with fish we arrived, after a voyage of thirty-six hours, at *Passage*, near Waterford, with our fish in good order, to the surprize of many, as well for the novelty of the voyage, as for the number and excellency of the fish. Such was the satisfaction of the first, that I soon determined to make another voyage, in order to make observations in different places, as well westward as southward of the first station: for this purpose volunteers offered themselves, the profits of the first overture being an encouragement for the second.

"At length continuing our course S. S. W. we arrived at the Bank, and found thirty-eight fathom small pebble stones, cockle, and other shells; this was on the edge of the bank, which I conceive to be ten or eleven leagues from shore.

"In various places I made experiments, sometimes W. again S. E. of the first station; till by good observation of the sun, having a clear horizon, I found myself in the latitude of fifty-one degrees twenty minutes, at least sixteen leagues from the land. In all places I had the same ground, and very good fishing; and I think the sustenance must be very good, and in great plenty."

Bank,

Bank, on the ſouthern coaſt. He alſo ſubmitted his plan for this purpoſe to the lord lieutenant of Ireland (Earl of Hardwicke) who was pleaſed to approve of it; and, in the courſe of the next year (1804) proper perſons were ſent out by the expreſs order of his excellency, to make obſervations and enquiries in regard to this fiſhing bank. The report of theſe gentlemen was highly ſatisfactory. A company was immediately formed to carry the plan ſuggeſted and approved into effect; and on the 29th of November 1804, a fiſhing ſmack arrived in the port of London *, with a cargo of upwards of one hundred ſcore of live and ſalt cod, caught on the Nymph Bank, after a paſſage of only four days and eleven hours.

Notwithſtanding this morning that promiſed ſo bright a day was ſoon over, impediments needleſs to recapitulate, damped the ſpirit of enterprize; but it is earneſtly hoped they will be removed, as Ireland is now an integral part of Great Britain. The legiſlature will no doubt devote a portion of their labours to the eſtabliſhment of theſe fiſheries on a large and permanent ſcale.

The following extract from one of Mr. Dixon's papers, will place this ſubject in a ſtill more intereſting point of view. "We (the inhabitants of the United Kingdom) above all the world, who have this ſource of wealth and greatneſs at our very doors, and of which of right belongs to our ſovereign and to his people, cannot ſurely be longer prevented, but by the moſt perverſe and hardened obſtinacy, from eſtabliſhing a national fiſhery on the coaſt of Ireland, eſpecially as an inexhauſtible fiſhery on the Nymph Bank, on the ſouthern coaſt of that part of the United Kingdom, is now brought to light, and the practicability as well as the neceſſity of it clearly demonſtrated.

"The geographical poſition of that country is moſt convenient for the fiſhing trade; ſeated in the Atlantic ocean, and being the moſt weſtern land in Europe, with numerous ports, with head lands, which afford ſhelter for fiſhing veſſels in all weathers, noble harbours and bays, from whence you may proceed at once either to the Mediterranean, or to the Baltic; and it is not too much to ſay, that a veſſel fitted out from any of the weſtern ports of Ireland, may ſometimes make a voyage to the Weſt Indies, diſcharge her cargo, reload again, and return, before another veſſel of like burthen can clear from the port of London, and arrive at any of the weſtern ports of Ireland.

"Beſides the other advantage over the North Sea fiſhery, how admirably is the Nymph Bank fiſhery ſituated to ſupply not only London, and all the great markets in the ſouthern parts of England and Wales, but Portugal, Spain, the Mediterranean, the Levant, and the Weſt India iſlands, with fiſh; yet Ireland, which is naturally rich, with all her advantages, interior and exterior treaſures, viewing the poverty and miſery of her people, may be called the Peru, the Mexico of Europe.

"This new fiſhery, when brought into that full effect of which it is capable, will produce the greateſt national advantages, it will for ever prevent famine in that part of the empire, and by giving to the poor of that country a profitable employment, it will enable them to ſhare, like their brethren of Great Britain, the comforts of life; it will ſtrengthen the union of theſe kingdoms, lower the price of proviſions, eſtabliſh a new and profitable branch of trade. It would prove a nurſery for ſeamen. It would provide employment for boat-builders, rope-makers, carpenters, coopers, colliers, ſalt-makers, net-makers, and the makers of all kinds of fiſhing-tackle, &c."

The ſtate of our commerce in the courſe of this month differed very little in Great Britain from that of the laſt. The exports of Iriſh linens was conſiderable, beyond that of any former period †; above thouſand pieces were ſhipped out of Londonderry and Belfaſt for the ports of Boſton, Charles Town, New York, and Philadelphia. The imports of raw and organized ſilk, were never more conſiderable, a proof of the flouriſhing ſtate of the ſilken manufactory.

CHAP. XVIII.

Britiſh Navy.—Reflexions.—Capture of the Brig Charlotte.—Gallant Action of the Boats of the Leda.—Naval Captures.—Circular Letter on the Subject of the menaced Invaſion.

AS our marine is inſeparably connected with the ſecurity and proſperity of the nation, and as the rapid encreaſe of it, muſt at all times be the ſubject of triumphant gratification, we ſhall lay before our readers the number of ſhips in the Britiſh navy on the firſt of Auguſt 1804. The whole amounted to five hundred and ninety-five ſhips in commiſſion, of which one hundred and ſix were of the line, twenty fifties, one hundred and thirty-ſeven frigates, and three hundred and thirty ſloops.

* This was the firſt cargo of fiſh that ever arrived at the port of London from the Nymph Bank, or from any other of the fiſhing banks on the coaſts of Ireland. This cargo was ſold at Billingſgate at the following prices: viz. a cod of twenty-ſix pounds weight for ſeven ſhillings, and the ſalt fiſh at two-pence per pound; and produced upon the whole ninety pounds two ſhillings clear. This ſhews that this fiſhery would be a never-failing ſupply for the London market.

† The exports of Iriſh linens in the year 1804, amounted to upwards of five millions of yards.

The mere circumſtance of number is not perhaps ſo much a matter of ſurprize in a country where our docks are ſo commodious, our commerce ſo extenſive, our colonial poſſeſſions ſo numerous, and where the naval ſervice is the pride and favourite of the Britiſh empire. But the exultation that naturally riſes in every breaſt is, that not a ſingle ſhip in the number we have juſt ſtated but had claimed ſome ſhare in a victory; and that every one of their commanders in the different actions, had rendered themſelves worthy of a niche in the Temple of Fame; and above all a claim on the gratitude of the country, which, in juſtice to the nation, on all thoſe occaſions was as liberal as it was ſpontaneous.

In the Weſt Indies little occurred worthy of record, ſince our laſt relation of the events in that quarter, if we except the capture of the brig Charlotte, carried by a French privateer into Porto Rico. The Charlotte was on her paſſage between Tortola and St. Thomas's, bound to Jamaica. Off Porto Rico, ſhe fell in with a French privateer on the 22d of July 1804. A ſharp action immediately commenced, which, with the intermiſſion of two hours, laſted till nine the next morning. Captain Merrion, and his crew, defended themſelves in the moſt gallant manner. Out of their ſmall number, only one man was killed. The French, on the other hand, had nineteen men killed, and two ſo badly wounded, that they died ſoon after.

On the 9th of Auguſt the boats of the Leda, under the command of Lieutenant M'Lean, volunteered to cut out one of the French gun-boats under Portel. The boats were hailed in French, before they came within one hundred yards of the lugger; and, though they did not make anſwer, were allowed to pull up along-ſide and get on board, when they were charged by the ſoldiers, about fifty in number. Nothing, however, could withſtand the impetuoſity of our brave tars; in a very ſhort time, not a Frenchman was left alive, the cable was cut, and the lugger taken in tow. The tide having ſet to the eaſtward, they were drifted down upon a brig full of ſoldiers, whoſe fire was moſt deſtructive. However, they pulled along-ſide, and boarded her; but, fatigued with pulling, and reduced in numbers, it was impoſſible to hope for ſucceſs. Nine that got on board, ſold their lives dearly, having committed great ſlaughter among the Frenchmen. Thoſe who eſcaped, fourteen in number, were principally thrown overboard. Lieutenant M'Lean, who was married but a few weeks before, when laſt ſeen, had his back againſt the mainmaſt of the brig, cutting away with his ſabre, though ſeveral bayonets were through him, and calling out "Victory," which was the rallying word. The captain of the forecaſtle killed ſeven Frenchmen before he fell. The memory of Lieutenant M'Lean, and the brave fellows who fell with him, ought to be dear to their country.

On the 7th of Auguſt 1804, Captain Wolfe, of the Aigle, fell in with two national French corvettes, which he drove on ſhore near Bourdeaux, and burnt, having firſt tried every means in his power, without effect, to get them afloat. The names of theſe corvettes were La Charante, and La Loire, the firſt a ſhip of twenty guns, and one hundred and four men; and the other a brig, pierced for fourteen guns, but only eight mounted, and ſeventy-five men. They had on board the ordnance and ſtores complete for a corvette, juſt launched at Bayonne, to which place they were carrying them.

On the 28th of Auguſt an official communication announced the capture of the frigate Blonde, privateer belonging to Bourdeaux, mounting thirty-nine pounders, with two hundred and forty men, by his majeſty's ſhip Loire. The Loire fell in with this frigate in latitude 49 degrees, 30 minutes longitude. She was a wonderful annoyance to the Britiſh trade, and was the ſhip Captain Gordon ſo gallantly conteſted with until his ſhip (the Wolverine) was near ſinking. She held the Loire a chace of near twenty hours, the laſt quarter of an hour being a running action. From our ſituation, and the darkneſs of the night, few of our guns took effect upon her till latterly. Seven of her men were badly wounded, two of whom died ſoon after. Six of the Loire's men were wounded, all of whom recovered.

The threat of invaſion, which had ſubſided for ſome time in France, was revived in that country, with circumſtances of the moſt aggravated nature. Our government was as ſedulouſly employed as could be expected in defeating every attempt that the foe might adopt to put their menaces on this ſubject into execution. In juſtice to the vigilance of miniſters on this occaſion, the following circular letter to the Lord Lieutenant of the various Counties, ought to be recorded as an evidence of it.

"*Whitehall, Auguſt* 20, 1804.

"My Lord,

"I have received his majeſty's commands to communicate to your lordſhip the encloſed particulars of an arrangement to be adopted in the ſeveral counties of Great Britain, in the event of the invaſion of the country in force by the enemy. His majeſty relies on your zeal and exertions in giving effect, within the county committed to your charge, to theſe regulations, which, in the ſuppoſed criſis, may become indiſpenſible, for the purpoſe of preventing the confuſion which, in the firſt moment of alarm, might otherwiſe ariſe; and of the utmoſt importance,

importance, with a view to the operations of his majesty's army, to the protection of the property of individuals, and to the internal peace and tranquillity of the country.

"I request that your lordship would inform me, with as little delay as possible, of the names of the magistrates, to whom you would propose to entrust within the different divisions of the county of , and that you would communicate to them the heads of the proposed arrangements, and concert with them as to the most effectual means of carrying them into complete execution.

"It is essential that the magistrates thus employed should, if possible, be persons not holding commissions as volunteer officers, nor liable on any other account to be removed from the county in which they reside.

"His majesty has the fullest reliance, that in the event of the enemy succeeding in making good a landing on the coast of this kingdom, the loyalty and public spirit of all classes of his subjects will induce them to submit to every sacrifice, and to concur in every exertion which the safety of the country may render necessary: and that they will be impressed with the conviction, that the peace and good order of those districts which shall not be attacked by the enemy, will contribute most effectually to assist the exertion of his forces in those parts of the country which may become the theatre of war, and of enabling him thereby to bring the contest in which we may be engaged to a speedy and glorious termination.

"I have only to add, that directions will be given to the general, or other officer, commanding the district in which the county of is included, to communicate with your lordship on the subject of these regulations, and to afford you every assistance in carrying them, if necessary, into execution.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"HAWKESBURY.

CHAP. XIX.

Peace in India.—Capture of the East India Company's Ship Admiral Alpin.—Botany Bay.—New Town erected in that Colony.—Account of the Settlement in Canada.

THE greatest hopes were entertained that the peace in India would be permanent; and yet we do not find that these hopes were founded in any good reason, except that the native powers were quite exhausted; that they had experienced the inefficacy of opposing their arms to ours; and above all, that the assistance they vainly expected from the French, were cut off. These circumstances undoubtedly furnished government an excellent opportunity of convincing the native princes of a disposition to act upon an enlightened and liberal policy; and to exercise all the generosity of a conqueror, that would rather raise a fallen enemy than trample him to death. This would have rivetted the affections of those that were disposed to view us with a partial eye; it would at the same time have subdued the restless and ambitious, and above all it would have given us a decided influence not only in the councils, but even in the camps of the Mahrattas *, the most

* The Mahrattas, as a people possessing weight in the political balance of India, are of very modern date; they took root and flourished under the distractions of the Mogul empire, till at length they menaced the imperial court of Delhi, and ultimately usurped the power, and imprisoned the person of the rightful sovereign. The efficient sovereignty of the Mahratta began in Shahjee, and continued in his son, Sewajee, till a Peshwah, or prime minister absorbed it, and was recognized as the lawful head, and chief executive power of the united empire, till the feudal chiefs became independent princes. The strength of the Mahratta states was divided amongst three of them at the breaking out of the late war. On the arrival of Marquis Wellesley in India, in 1799, his attention was immediately attracted by the French intrigues begun with the Mahrattas by De Boigne, who, in 1784, gave up his commission in the company's service at Madras; and wandering into Bengal, when Mr. Hastings was at Oude, pretended to proceed by Iran and the Caspian sea to Russia. He soon joined and assisted Scindia, and his nephew Dowlat Row, the French army in whose service was commanded by Perron. De Boigne settled in England, whence Bonaparte invited him, and received from him information on the state of India. Under pretence of re-occupying Pondicherry, fourteen hundred of the best troops, two hundred of their picked men, and a strong naval armament, were sent out, who soon found themselves circumscribed by the governor general (Marquis Wellesley), who concluded an alliance with the Peshwah, thereby counteracting the meditated schemes of treasonable aggression against their lawful sovereign by the confederated chieftains Scindia, and the Rajah of Berar. It became the imperious duty of the governor general to protect the empire committed to his care, and, by all justifiable means in his power, to establish British influence paramount to that of French throughout the Mahratta empire. The early defection of Perron is accounted for from the circumstances of his case; attacked sooner than he expected, he was taken unprepared, and by submission preserved his *jaw*? laving of six hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. The estimated strength of Scindia's regular infantry, exclusive of garrisons and irregular infantry, was seventy-two battalions, amounting to thirty-nine thousand men; with five thousand allygools, or country troops, or total number in the Brejares forty-four thousand and four hundred and sixty-four guns.—"*Brief Remarks on the Mahratta War.*"

most

moſt warlike power in the Eaſt. How far theſe maxims were acted upon the reſult will beſt tell.

In the courſe of the month of September, we have to notice the capture of the Honourable Eaſt India Company's ſhip Admiral Alpin, Captain John Rogers, by the Pſyche French private ſhip of war of twenty-four long twelve pounders, ſix eighteen pound carronades, and three hundred men, pierced for forty guns. Captain Rogers did every thing that a brave man and a ſkilful ſailor could do to defend the ſhip committed to his charge; in which he was nobly ſeconded by all the officers and men. On the 3d of January, at half paſt ſix A. M. latitude 50 S. long. E. 91. 30. he ſaw the enemy from the maſt head, bearing N. N. W. On the 9th of the ſame month, juſt at day-light, the enemy had got within gun-ſhot, when the action begun; but our gallant commander had the mortification to find his ſhot falling ſhort of the Pſyche, while hers, from the ſuperiority of her metal, had their full effect. Captain Rogers endeavoured to cloſe with the privateer, but he prevented it by keeping his wind. With all theſe diſadvantages, the Alpin continued to fight for one hour; but convinced that any further reſiſtance would only ſacrifice many lives, the captain found himſelf, with the advice of his officers, and the military officers on board, under the painful neceſſity of hauling down his colours. Though expoſed to the heavy fire of the Pſyche, our loſs amounted to only four killed and wounded. Captain Rogers noticed the good order and regularity with which the ſhip was taken poſſeſſion of by the enemy, and the kind treatment which they experienced on board the privateer.

The ſettlement of Botany Bay, from the ſpecimens of its produce imported into this country, became at length an object of commercial attention. Every arrival from that colony brought ſomething worthy of ſpeculation, particularly in the botanical world, ſuch as ſeeds and plants, or other articles that ſerved to enrich the cabinets of the naturaliſts. On the 7th of September 1804, his majeſty's ſhip Calcutta arrived from New South Wales, and brought letters from Lieutenant Governor Collins, dated in the month of March 1804. Theſe letters ſtated, that on his arrival at Fort Philip, he found it deſtitute of every requiſite for eſtabliſhing a colony, &c.; he therefore reimbarked his people, and proceeded to Sullivan's Cove, on the river Derwent, Vandieman's Land, where he again diſembarked, and was happy enough to find a ſituation, which promiſed to anſwer every expectation; he formed a ſettlement on a ſpot, to which he gave the name of Sullivan Town†. The governor ſpoke in the higheſt terms of the fertility of the ſoil, the vicinity of the ſituation, the abundance and purity of the water, the ſalubrity of the air, and the beauty of the ſurrounding ſcenery, beyond any thing he had ever ſeen in Europe. The fiſh and game were tolerably plenty, the natives inoffenſive, but not numerous.

The accounts from Canada and Nova Scotia, furniſhed the beſt founded hopes of the advantages that may be derived from a parental attention of the legiſlature to thoſe poſſeſſions. Iron mines were diſcovered in Upper Canada, that promiſed to repay the labour of thoſe that worked them. It appeared that the population of thoſe countries was every day on the encreaſe; agriculture and the fur trade had branched out beyond all expectation, and found the higheſt degree of encouragement in the conſumption of both, even in the American markets: and what was ſtill more pleaſing, the Canadians and inhabitants of Nova Scotia conducted themſelves in ſuch a manner, as to win the eſteem of thoſe that once viewed them with a jealous eye: honeſty in their dealings, and punctuality in their payments, were the leading feature of their public character, which they continue to preſerve to this day, and which, we truſt, they will always conſider as the proudeſt of their diſtinctions. Having now devoted a portion of our hiſtory to our remote poſſeſſions, Europe of courſe claims our attention. If we look to our navy we ſhall find it an inexhauſtible theme of praiſe, even though it ſhould not on every occaſion be crowned with ſucceſs.

Nunquam ſucceſſu creſcit honeſtum.

CHAP. XX.

Reflections on the French Revolution, as connected with the Affairs of this Country.—Bonaparte's Viſit to Boulogne.—Anecdote.—Official Account of the Attempt to poiſon Louis XVIII.

AS the French revolution was the moſt extraordinary in the annals of hiſtory, in its origin it was different from all others, and in its progreſs it might be compared to a tempeſt that ſwept away every thing that attempted to oppoſe it courſe; ſome few indeed attempted "to ride in the whirlwind, and direct the ſtorm;" but in vain, all the human paſſions were let looſe, and reaſon was obliged to abandon her throne; thoſe who ſtill liſtened to her voice, and wiſhed to obey the dictates

† The lateſt accounts from Botany Bay ſtate, that this town was in a flouriſhing ſtate; and that the natives, inſtead of being jealous of their European viſitants, viewed them rather with a degree of veneration, came always unarmed into the town, and that ſome, contrary to all expectation, had evinced a talent for the mechanical arts.

of

of humanity, abandoned the buſy ſcenes of intrigue and faction, and ſought for ſecurity in retirement. At this inſtant Bonaparte ſtepped forward, and arreſted the revolutionary wheel. This formed a new æra, the reſult of which was immediately felt, and will be felt in all probability for ages. The ſucceſs of his firſt attempt, and the means which he employed to extend and eſtabliſh his power, undoubtedly evince the ſubtilty of his mind, and his deep knowledge of the human heart. At firſt he concealed his ambitious views under the maſque of patriotiſm, proteſted that he did not wiſh to interfere in the governments on the Continent, and even courted their friendſhip; but to this country, he did not heſitate to declare even his hatred. It was almoſt unneceſſary to have made this declaration, for in all his conduct, in every thing that related to the Britiſh empire, it was ſufficiently evident. To ſuch an implacable foe it was neceſſary to look with a vigilant eye, ſo that every change in the political ſituation of France called for freſh meaſures, on our part, to counteract the views of her rulers: this is the reaſon that we are ſo often obliged to recount ſome of the moſt important events which paſſed in that country, as neceſſary to keep up the links of our hiſtorical chain. We will repeat it again, that if theſe events were not connected with our own affairs, we ſhould not notice them; though, if an apology were neceſſary, we could quote precedents from writers of the firſt authority. We have already noticed the elevation of Bonaparte to the Imperial dignity; and in order that his coronation might be rendered a ſpectacle at once ſolemn and impreſſive, every preparation that ingenuity could ſuggeſt, or wealth ſupply, were put, if we may uſe the expreſſion, into a ſtate of requiſition, even to his coronation coach*.

That the project of invading this country was becoming every day more and more popular, the unthinking many of the French were really of opinion that ſcarce any thing was impracticable to the deſtinies of France, which was the favourite phraſe of their new Emperor. The idea flattered their native vanity, and filled their minds with imaginary wealth; they already feaſted in thought on the ſpoils of the Engliſh, and led in imagination the "Lords of the ſeas" in chains to grace their triumphs. In order to keep up theſe alluſions, Bonaparte, on the 21ſt of Auguſt, arrived at Boulogne, and immediately went on board the flotilla in that harbour. Addreſſes as he paſſed along, replete with the groſſeſt flattery, were poured in upon him, and every little anecdote that occurred on his journey, was recorded with the greateſt minuteneſs†.

The rank and misfortunes of the expatriated houſe of Bourbon, attracted the eyes of every nation, and rendered almoſt every circumſtance which befel them of more or leſs conſequence to this country, even in a political point of view.

We ſhould not think however any circumſtance leſs intereſting than the following, entitled to a place in the Hiſtory of England: but as it is of a very extraordinary nature, and relates to the repreſentative of that houſe, it is hoped that the inſertion of it will not ſtand in need of any farther apology. In the courſe of the laſt month ſeveral ſucceſſive rumours were afloat on the Continent, and in this country, that an attempt had been made to poiſon Louis XVIII. who had taken up a temporary reſidence in Warſaw, under the title of Count l'Iſle. The atrocity of the attempt ſubtracted conſiderably from the credit of the report, with thoſe generous hearts who could not be brought to believe that any mind was ſo loſt to all ſenſe of humanity as to reſort to a meaſure of ſo black a die. On the 21ſt of September the French princes in this country drew up the particulars of this horrid tranſaction from the original documents ſent to them from Count l'Iſle,

* The coronation coach was lined with white velvet; in the middle of the Imperial, on the inſide, was a winged thunderbolt, forming the centre of a crown of laurel; this crown was ſurrounded at a diſtance of ſix inches, with a wreath of olive. Upon the back and front of the carriage, encircled the letter N. in the Roman character. The doors were ornamented with wreaths of oak, encloſing a crown, conſiſting of ſixteen ſtars, in the midſt of which was one much larger than the reſt, in the form of a croſs of honour, encloſing the letter *N*. All the interior parts of the carriage were ſurrounded with a rich wreath of laurel, and the ground was ſown with bees. The Imperial of the exterior was covered with green velvet, encompaſſed by two branches, one of olive, the other of laurel, forming a regular olive, with a ſtar in the middle; all the embroideries were in gold.

† The following may ſerve as a ſpecimen of theſe anecdotes: "The emperor having arrived at ſix o'clock in the morning at Abbeville, from St. Cloud, to which place he travelled without halting; he paſſed through that town; but at about half a league beyond it, he ordered his carriage to ſtop at the door of a mean houſe in the commune of Brigny, kept by a man of the name of Detaminier, a blackſmith and publican, who being alarmed at ſuch a train, hid himſelf in his wood houſe. His wife was aſked if ſhe had a cow, to which having anſwered in the affirmative, a ſilver porringer was handed to her, and ſhe was ordered to milk the cow into it, in doing which ſhe gave many diverting proofs of her embarraſſment. She was ordered to boil the milk, and ſome coffee, which was previouſly prepared, and which was mixed with it. The emperor alighted from his carriage, and a table and a folding chair, which is always carried with him, were placed before the door. When he had breakfaſted, he ordered the maſter of the houſe to be called, who was diſcovered in his hiding place, and brought forward, keeping faſt hold of his hat, that he was endeavouring to take off. The emperor took notice of him, thanked him for the accommodation he had given him, and ordered him a preſent of ſixty livres. His neighbours ſoon flocked round him, each with his congratulation. You have ſeen the emperor! What a happy fellow! What did he ſay to you? His ſhop was full for the whole day.

out of which we have extracted the following particulars:

"It appeared that on Friday the 20th of July, two men came into a billiard room kept by one Coulon, a Frenchman by birth, very intimate with the king's domeſtics, particularly with his cook. At firſt they put ſeveral indirect queſtions to him reſpecting the king; they, as they conceived, having found him a fit inſtrument for their diabolical purpoſe, promiſed him a reward of four hundred Louis d'ors, if he would make his majeſty's cook drunk, and then throw into the pot a parcel (poiſoned carrots) with which he was entruſted. Coulon carried the poiſonous article to M. Barou de Milleville, uſher to the queen, and informed him of the plot. The baron communicated it to M. de Pienne, firſt gentleman of the chamber to the king, and M. Count d'Avaray, captain of the king's guards, ordered, that the report ſhould be reduced to writing, ſigned and cyphered. The official paper contains a circumſtantial detail of the ſteps which were taken by theſe gentlemen to trace this myſterious buſineſs to its ſource, before they communicated it to the king, who intended to depart from Warſaw in a day or two. Having ſatisfied themſelves as to the reality of its exiſtence, Count d'Avaray thought it time to inform his majeſty of the whole affair. In conſequence of which his majeſty immediately wrote to the Pruſſian preſident, de Hoym, the following letter:

"SIR,

"I have received information of a plot entertained againſt my life. If none but myſelf were aimed at, if mortal weapons were the means, accuſtomed as you know me to be to ſuch threats, I would pay them little attention; but my wife, my nephew, my niece, my faithful ſervants, are likewiſe threatened with poiſon, and I ſhould betray my moſt ſacred duties if I deſpiſed this danger.

"Perhaps I am beſet with ruffians; perhaps it is only a baſe impoſition. In either caſe I find it neceſſary to confer with you. I beg of you to come this evening, when I ſhall have the additional ſatisfaction of aſſuring you, &c."

"The Count d'Avaray did not find M. de Hoym at home, and had not an opportunity of giving him the king's letters, till nine o'clock at night. M. de Hoym replied verbally, that he ſhould have the honour to ſend an anſwer to M. the Count de l'Iſle, and that next day he would attend his commands. He added, that every thing was in the hands of the police, and ſhould be followed up with activity. M. d'Avaray expreſſed his ſurpriſe that Coulon had not yet been apprehended, whoſe tour was perfectly well known, as it was important that he ſhould be ſtrictly examined, whether his declaration was true, or whether he was an impoſtor.

"The 23d July, the day fixed for the departure of the king, arrived. No anſwer from M. de Hoym having been received by his majeſty, he was obliged to poſtpone his journey, and charged the Count d'Avaray, to communicate the affair to M. the Duke d'Angouleme, requeſting him not to appriſe madame. The Count d'Avaray gave a detailed account of the affair to the Duke d'Angouleme in preſence of the Count de la Chapelle, whom the king was to leave at Warſaw, charged with ſpecial powers for the further inveſtigation of this affair.

"The Count d'Avaray tranſmitted to M. de Hoym the ſupplementary declaration made by Coulon, on the 24th in the evening.

"The anſwer of M. de Hoym arrived on the morning of the 25th. It ſtated, "That the nature of his duties did not permit him to perform more than a merely paſſive part in ſuch an affair, and that he had given the police the neceſſary inſtructions."

"The king having no longer any hope of ſeeing M. de Hoym, and of communicating verbally with him, thought it time to make a demand in form, which he did in the following terms:—

"The Count de l'Iſle has received the anſwer of the preſident de Hoym to his letter of the 24th of July, in which he promiſed to wait on him. He relies too much on the friendly ſolicitude of his Pruſſian majeſty towards him and his family, and on the ſentiments of perſonal attachment of which the preſident de Hoym has given ſo many proofs, not to be convinced of the activity with which thoſe meaſures will be carried into execution, that were ordered in conſequence of the declaration made by the perſon called Coulon. The Count de l'Iſle had expected that the preſident de Hoym would have come on his invitation, but finding from his letter that he would not come to Lazinky, he finds it neceſſary to make the following demands:—

"1. That the perſon called Coulon, along with his wife, be ſecured, in order that they may not effect their eſcape; and that they may undergo, as ſoon as poſſible, the neceſſary examination.

"2. That there be immediately nominated profeſſional men to aſſiſt and co-operate with the phyſician of the Count de l'Iſle, in analyzing the articles conſidered as ſuſpicious, and given up by Coulon.

"M. the Count de l'Iſle hopes that the preſident de Hoym will not have any objection to give him immediate ſatisfaction in thoſe ſeveral reſpects.

"Whatever may be the reſult of thoſe meaſures, the Count de l'Iſle relies with confidence on the exertions of the preſident de Hoym, for the ſafety of of thoſe dear and precious objects which he leaves here under the protection of his Pruſſian majeſty."

"The Duke de Pienne, charged by his majeſty to carry this to M. de Hoym, returned with the anſwer, "that the police was apprized of the whole affair,

affair, and that it would do its duty." This might be ſatisfactory in regard to Coulon, but was not by any means an anſwer to the demand made of profeſſional people to analyſe the articles in queſtion. It was now ſix in the evening, and the king's note had been ſent at two in the afternoon.—Notwithſtanding the danger of a delay, which might alter the nature of the articles contained in the packet, the king was under the neceſſity of waiting till next day for the anſwer of the government.

" During this interval Count d'Avaray charged M. de Faivre, the king's phyſician, to procure the aſſiſtance of two phyſicians and an apothecary to make an analyſis of the articles delivered by Coulon.

" On the the 26th, at eight in the morning, the king received an anſwer from M. de Hoym. It ſtated, " that the nomination of a commiſſion for the analyſis demanded, depended neither on him nor the police; that it could only take place ſubſequently to a criminal proceſs already begun; that the perſon of Coulon could not be ſecured, becauſe the laws of the realm did not permit his impriſonment, ſo long as he was not charged with any crime."

" Without loſing a moment, the Count d'Avaray, accompanied by the Duke de Pienne, and the king's phyſician, went to Dr. Gagatkiewiez, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed phyſicians at Warſaw for his ſkill and moral character.—There, in preſence of Dr. Bergenzoni and M. Gudeit, apothecary, the Count d'Avaray broke open the ſeals affixed to the packet by him and the archbiſhop of Rheims, took out one of the three carrots and ſubmitted it to the medical men preſent. The opening made at one of the extremities was paſted over with a clammy ſubſtance, of a colour reſembling, in ſome degree, that of peas. M. Gudeit opened it. When they had finiſhed their chemical operations, they drew up a *proces verbal*, and delivered, in the mean time, to M. d'Avaray, the following atteſtation:—

" After ſeveral chemical experiments made on the maſs found in the inſide of a carrot which was delivered to us, it appears beyond a doubt that this maſs is a poiſon of arſenic, conſiſting of a mixture of three ſorts of arſenic—white, yellow, and red, as ſhall be afterwards more particularly ſtated. Signed, Valentine Gagatkiewiez, doctor in medicine.—Gudeit, apothecary.

" Dr. Bergenzoni being obliged to attend a very preſſing engagement, only ſigned the *proces verbal*.

" *Warſaw, July* 26, 1804."

" The bottle delivered to Coulon by the two ſtrangers, only contained a ſpirituous liquor.

" Furniſhed with a certificate of the medical men reſpecting the exiſtence and nature of the poiſon, the king addreſſed the following note to the preſident de Tilly, chief of the ſpecial police of the city, to whom M. de Hoym, alledging his incompetency, had recommended the affair:—

" M. the Count de l'Iſle was obliged, according to the forms pointed out to him, and which he has hitherto conſtantly followed, to addreſs the preſident de Hoym as chief of the province, for the proſecution of the attempt denounced by the ſaid Coulon. But M. the preſident de Hoym, by his letter of the 23d, received this morning, having declared himſelf incompetent to judge of this affair, and that the buſineſs belongs to the ſpecial police of the city, M. the Count de l'Iſle addreſſes with the ſame confidence the preſident de Tilly.—He conſequently directed the Count d'Avaray to put into his hands a packet containing the articles hitherto conſidered as ſuſpicious; by which the report made and ſigned this day by the medical men (which report the Count d'Avaray is alſo charged to deliver to him) really proves to be infected with poiſon.

" Beſides this man Coulon, in conſequence of the threats he ſays were made to him, thinking his life continually expoſed, M. the Count de l'Iſle, without allowing himſelf to give his perſonal opinion as to the truth of the information given by him, thinks himſelf bound to place him ſpecially under the protection and ſafeguard of the police and of the law.

" M. the Count de l'Iſle has always had too much reaſon to be ſatisfied with the conduct of M. the preſident de Tilly, to doubt his activity in following up this affair in ſuch a manner as to detect the guilty.

" He ſeizes with pleaſure this opportunity of aſſuring M. the Preſident de Tilly of the reſpect he entertains for him."

" M. de Tilly was not to be found on the 26th. The king's note and the packet containing the report of the profeſſional men, and the ſubſtantial proof of the crime, did not reach him till the 27th.

" In the evening M. de Tilly returned an anſwer, acknowledging the receipt of the king's note and the letter of M. d'Avaray. He ſtated, " that in quality of chief of the police he kept the packet put into his hands in order to be delivered as farther orders might be given. But that he could not on any account proceed againſt thoſe who were ſuppoſed guilty of the affair in queſtion; ſince it is ſolely within the ſphere of juſtice that the examination of every thing connected with it can now be referred."

" Hitherto M. d'Avaray had thought it proper to avoid all direct communication with Coulon, in order to leave to the police the commencement of the meaſures to be taken reſpecting him. The magiſtrate having taken up the affair, and Coulon remaining at large in Warſaw, M. d'Avaray was of opinion that it was his right and duty to examine him himſelf. He ſent for him to the houſe of M. de Milleville, on the 27th July, and in his preſence, and

and that of the Duke de Pienne, Coulon narrated all that had paſſed. The Count d'Avaray put queſtions to enſnare him; affected to allude to important circumſtances with which he (the count) was acquainted, and which Coulon did not reveal.

"Coulon did not vary in his declarations, was firm in all his aſſertions, was decided upon ſome circumſtances which at firſt had appeared doubtful. The Count d'Avaray requeſted Coulon not to give way to his apprehenſions and not to quit the town, aſſuring him that the king had placed him under the protection of the police and the law. The following day, the 28th, Coulon underwent a new examination, and his anſwers were ſuch, that the perſons to whom they were communicated, convinced of the truth of this information, have added their ſignatures to that of M. the Count d'Avaray.

(Signed) "The Count d'Avaray.
"Alex. August, Archbishop Duke of Rheims.
"The Duke de Pienne.
"The Marquis de Bonnay.
"The Count de la Chapelle.
"The Duke de Havre et de Croy.
"The Abbey Edgworth de Fermont.
"The Count de Damas Crux.
"Count Stephen de Damas."

This extraordinary affair remains at this day enveloped in myſtery. Many ſuppoſe the whole to be a mere fabrication to which Coulon was urged, in hopes that it would recommend him to the patronage of the royal exiles. On the other hand, all the friends of Louis were unanimous in declaring upon their honour and conſcience their conviction of the truth of Coulon's depoſition; and the chymiſts at Warſaw, after analyſing the poiſonous preparation, were decidedly of opinion, that it was ſufficient to have taken away the lives of all the royal family. Coulon was detained ſome time in priſon, but liberated on a promiſe of quitting the country.

CHAP. XXI.

Intercepted Letters.—Lord Grenville to the Marquis Wellesley, &c.—Volunteer Reviews.—Grand Fete at Weymouth.—Navigation of the Thames.—Agriculture.—Commercial Review.

WE have already mentioned the capture of the Admiral Alpin, Eaſt Indiaman. The *Moniteur* of the 17th of September 1804, publiſhed a number of letters (eighty-five in number) under the title of "Intercepted Correſpondence," ſtated to have been found aboard that ſhip. At the time the Admiral Alpin ſailed for India, in 1803, party-ſpirit ran high in this country; the invaſion was the chief topic of debate in the houſe of commons, and of converſation throughout the country. The letters, ſo far as they are quoted, turn principally on that ſubject, and contain the political news of fourteen of the preceding months. To know however the real ſentiments of ſome of the principal actors upon the political theatre at that criſis, muſt be at any time an object of intereſt. The letters therefore of Lord Grenville, and the Hon. H. Welleſley, if authentic, are important documents, and in that view we ſhall give them at full length.

Letter of Lord Grenville to Marquis Welleſley.

"My dear Wellesley, *July* 12, 1803.

"Two days ago I received your letter of the 16th February, and I now reply to it, though I am not entirely certain, when I ſhall have an opportunity of tranſmitting to you my anſwer. In regard to your ſtay in India, this queſtion has been long ago decided; and ſo great is the diſtance which ſeparates us, that before this can reach you, the time fixed for your departure will have arrived. I am not certain whether the event of the war which our wiſe miniſters have at laſt declared may not have induced them to beg you to continue your ſtay in India ſome time longer. No one was better able than they to appreciate the certainty of this event, ſo that we ought to ſuppoſe they have taken all thoſe meaſures which the moment required; but every thing, however, ſhews that they were taken as much unawares as if that event had been little expected. It is conſequently not improbable, that when they found war unavoidable, that is to ſay, on the day when they declared it, they may have diſpatched orders to you to remain in India. But as I am entirely ignorant on this ſubject, I cannot reaſon on it. Should this not be the caſe, I hope nothing will prevent me from having the pleaſure of ſeeing you next year, ſuppoſing at that period that you have ſtill *a country to viſit.*

"When I make uſe of this expreſſion, do not imagine that my diſſatisfaction with the conduct of the government has made any change reſpecting the means and reſources of this country; I have never been among the number of growlers *(aboyeurs)* on this ſubject. It is not ſo much opinion (if I do not deceive myſelf), as a perfect knowledge equivalent to a certainty, which induces me to ſay that the country poſſeſſes not only abundance and ample means of defence, but means ſufficient to make our enemy repent of his hoſtile conduct, and to force him to fear, and conſequently to reſpect us. But hitherto there has been ſo much indeciſion, timi-

dity,

dity, and ſlowneſs in all the meaſures taken to obtain reſources, and all our courage at this moment exhibits ſo much the impreſſion of fear, that I cannot have the ſatisfaction of being warranted in doing juſtice under that point of view to the talents which have been called into action, and to the diſpoſitions which have been made.

" My plan of political conduct, as you muſt have ſeen, differs more and more from that of government. In regard to the opinion I expreſſed on the peace, I have the ſatisfaction to find that juſtice is done to me in all countries. Not only have ſubſequent events proved that the ſmall body with whom I acted in concert on this occaſion, were compoſed of the only perſons who then knew how to appreciate this meaſure and its conſequences; but it has been generally acknowledged, that we rightly foreſaw what would take place. All the infamous calumnies of government have fallen, with double force on their own heads. In every thing I have ſince done, and in every thing I have abſtained from doing, you will, I hope, perceive thoſe ſentiments, and thoſe principles, from which no opinion, however unfavourable it may be to the perſonal conduct of any individual, ſhall never make me deviate.

" Had I been certain of an opportunity, I ſhould have written you a detail of what has taken place ſince April laſt, in regard to the projected change in the government, and would have explained to you (as far as I had been able to underſtand) the baſis of the conduct which Pitt has ſince obſerved. It gives me great pleaſure to ſee that, while my quarrel with Addington becomes every day more ſerious, all the motives which made Pitt and me differ in opinion and conduct daily decreaſe.

" We have not yet been able to aſſimilate completely our plans of political conduct. Our ſituation, indeed, in one eſſential point of view, is entirely different.—Though he did not recommend Addington to his preſent employment (and, indeed, who is there that knows him would have done it?) he nevertheleſs gave him a certain portion of influence more active than my opinion would have permitted me to grant, in the formation of the new adminiſtration. He adviſed their meaſures a long time after I had ceaſed to have any intercourſe with them, and he approved of them in different points, which appeared to me the moſt criminal, and which were indeed ſo, as proved by the event. He is conſequently more hampered in his conduct than I am, and he does not at preſent enjoy the ineſtimable advantage which I poſſeſs of never having concealed nor compromiſed my opinion, in regard to matters of ſo much political importance; but I believe that his ideas on their political conduct are not much different from mine, if they differ at all, and to all this muſt be added a reſentment juſtly merited from the perſonal conduct of Mr. Addington towards him. He does not endeavour to conceal his ſentiments. If he has written to you (which he certainly muſt have done had he not contracted the bad habit of never writing to any one) he muſt have expreſſed to you, I am perſuaded, all theſe ſentiments without reſerve; and it is under this perſuaſion that I enlarge ſo much to you on his opinions. The meaſure indeed, which he has lately adopted (I allude to his motion of adjournment or his vote of cenſure, ill judged in itſelf, as I think it was, and unfortunate in its reſult, ſince it leſſened his public influence) has at leaſt the merit of expreſſing, in an unequivocal manner, his diſapprobation of the conduct of government.

" I will not hazard a conjecture in regard to the new events which may take place before your arrival, and the only advice I wiſh to give you is what I have more than once ſuggeſted, not to engage for any thing until you return, but to retain the liberty of acting according to ſuch motives as you ſhall judge proper to direct your conduct when you are on the ſpot, and according as the different relations between perſons at the head of affairs in the different ſubdiviſions of parties ſhall have enabled you to judge what ſuits you beſt. In regard to the idea thrown out in the extract you have ſent me from your letter to Addington, you ought, in my opinion, to conſider it only as one of thoſe remote events which may take place. As for eternal enmity, I deteſt the idea; and, if I have an eternal enmity, it is againſt the partizans of a principle ſo deteſtable. But much is due to public opinion, as well as to the perſonal ſituation and character of individuals, which ought to be reſpected long after they have ceaſed to have reſentment, or to take pleaſure in giving proofs of it; and nothing appears to me leſs probable than to ſee Pitt and me at any near period (I believe I may ſay at no period of our lives) reconciled, and diſpoſed to eſtabliſh with Addington relations of confidence and friendſhip.

" The papers, if you have them, will inform you that all our converſation at preſent turns on invaſion, and that we at length begin to take meaſures for enabling us to face our enemies, if they ſhould be able to effect a landing, which, though very improbable, is not certainly in any manner impoſſible. To ſpeak of conquering or ſubjugating ten or twelve millions of men, if prepared for battle, and directed by a government deſirous and capable of animating their efforts, would be completely ridiculous. But experience has ſhewn, that the number of inhabitants alone, and even advantage of local ſituation are nothing, if the direction of the defence remains in the hands of men diſtinguiſhed only by their imbecility and weakneſs. In Holland even, and ſtill more in Germany, Italy, and Switzerland, the countries were given up, not by the inhabitants,

but by the weakneſs of their governments; and in like manner if in this iſland, or in Ireland, we ſhould experience any conſiderable check, we ſhall owe it not to the timidity or ignorance of the nation, but ſolely to thoſe of government. You muſt be already enabled to judge how far theſe qualities exiſt in the preſent government, if (as I ſuppoſe) you have, before you receive this letter, read the correſpondence of Lord Hawkeſbury with Otto and Lord Whitworth, and compared the dates of the different counter-orders in regard to the Cape, during the courſe of our communications with France.

" It would be ſuperfluous to add to the length of this letter, by expatiating on the pleaſure which I experienced, on finding in your letter thoſe expreſſions of friendſhip which revive our old and continual intimacy. I never did more for you, than you would have done for me on a like occaſion, and if the intrigue planned againſt you is totally without effect, and your meaſures are juſtified before they have been condemned, I cannot flatter myſelf with having contributed to this reſult by my efforts, but you may, in my opinion, conſider the affair as terminated. It does not appear that a ſingle word of it was mentioned in parliament before Chriſtmas, and I really believe that you have nothing to fear. The only thing to be apprehended on this ſubject, can be only the pain and diſagreeableneſs of a conteſt of this particular nature.

" Ever yours,

(Signed) " GRENVILLE."

Henry Welleſley to Marquis Welleſley, his Brother.

" *London, July* 28, 1803.

" MY DEAR MORNINGTON,

" I have juſt learnt from Lady Welleſley, that an overland diſpatch will be ſent off on the 28th, and I hope this letter will reach you in time to enable you to make preparations for quitting India in January next. I ſhall now communicate to you, as ſhortly as poſſible, every thing that has taken place, in regard to India, ſince my arrival, and then you will be enabled to judge what degree of ſupport you have to expect from the preſent miniſters, and whether the board of controul has not been actually transferred from the council to the court of directors. I arrived in London in June, and immediately waited on Lord Caſtlereagh, who received me with the greateſt politeneſs. He ſpoke of you in the moſt favourable terms. He approved of all your meaſures, but at the ſame time, it is perfectly evident that he cannot obtain what the court of directors has reſolved not to grant. He ſpoke a great deal of the college, and appeared to be fully convinced of the importance as well as the neceſſity of the inſtitution. He believed he ſhould be able, he ſaid, to make the directors conſent to its continuance according to your plan, with ſome modifications, which you would not think of much conſequence. He told me that the directors had written to him on this and other ſubjects, ſeveral cool letters, and that nothing could be more diſagreeable than the ſituation in which he was placed. I told Lord Caſtlereagh, that on this occaſion the court of directors had decidedly broken their word, for one of the principal conditions on which you was to remain ſtill a year longer in India, was, that they ſhould not at all interfere in your nominations; that they had diſplaced a man who had paſſed through all the inferior ranks in the ſervice of the company.

" I then told him that your health was very good, and that there was no ſacrifice you was not ready to make for the public ſervice; but that I thought it impoſſible you could remain in India beyond January next, unleſs you were ſtrongly ſolicited on that ſubject by his majeſty's miniſters, and by the court of directors. That in regard to his majeſty's miniſters, I thought they were of opinion that your ſtay in India was a thing very deſirable under many points of view; and that, in regard to the court of directors, they ought to know whether they wiſhed for it or not.

" He made no reply to the firſt point. In regard to the ſecond he was very explicit, for he told me that the court of directors had been ſo incenſed on account of the opinions which you had manifeſted in ſome of your diſpatches, (which proves that they have not the leaſt idea of the true intereſts of India, and that in this reſpect they are *obſtinate fools*), that he was perſuaded they would rather wiſh to ſee you reſign, though it was impoſſible for them not to acknowledge that your ſtay in India might be very uſeful to the public intereſt.

" In another converſation I had with Lord Caſtlereagh, he ſpoke a great deal of the Mahratta negociations, and I ſucceeded in convincing him of the juſtneſs of your meaſures at Poonah, and of the great advantages that muſt reſult from them, if we ſhould eſtabliſh our influence in that court. He again aſked me, if you had come to a fixed determination, in regard to the period of your return to England? I repeated what I had ſaid to him on another occaſion, to which he made no reply. He ſpoke to me of the nomination of Barlow, and aſked me if I thought you would approve of it? I told him that you had the beſt opinion of Barlow; but that you thought no ſervant of the company ought to ſucceed to the governor-generalſhip. I told him alſo that the new nomination was uſeleſs, as Barlow had been previouſly deſtined to ſucceed you proviſionally, and that it was better to wait for your return before any perſon was preſented for this new nomination. In my opinion there is a certain ſecret intrigue,

intrigue, in regard to the nomination of Barlow, and it is this—When the miniſters propoſed Lord William Bentinck for Madras, the court of directors made the moſt formal objections to that nomination; but they were at length obliged to yield, conſoling themſelves with the idea that one of their own ſervants would be appointed governor-general.

"I ſaw Addington at a dinner given by Lord Caſtlereagh. He ſpoke to me of you in the moſt pompous and moſt affectionate terms. He ſpoke to me alſo of the nomination of Barlow, as a meaſure that ought to be very agreeable to you. The reſult of my converſations with Lord Caſtlereagh, has convinced me that miniſters feel the importance of your continuance in India, and that they are very deſirous you ſhould remain there, but they are not ſufficiently ſtrong to conteſt that point with the court of directors, who are equally determined to force you to return. I think they might make new and ſucceſsful attempts to induce the court of directors to ſolicit the prolongation of your ſtay, but after having ſeen them recently violate the engagement they entered into, not to interfere in any of your nominations, it would neither be prudent nor dignified, to take any ſtep which might give reaſon to ſuſpect that you wiſhed to remain in India, or that any other motive but a full perſuaſion, that it is only for the public good, could induce you to remain an hour longer than the period you had fixed for your return.

"I received from the preſident a civil but a very cool reception. He ſpoke to me of ameliorations in commerce, but did not ſay a word of my perſonal ſervices. He ſeemed diſpoſed to find ſome fault in every thing that we did at Poonah, and we ſeparated after a converſation of ten minutes, with his telling me that he had ſo much buſineſs, that he had not had time to read the diſpatches (though they had been five days at the India Houſe), but that he hoped to have frequent opportunities of talking with me on the affairs of India I have not ſeen him ſince, (though I remained a fortnight at London to have an opportunity) and the court had not even the civility to aſk me to one of the dinners which are given every Wedneſday. I have ſince been obliged to return to Cheſter Houſe on account of my health, which is ſtill very bad.

"Another motive which induces me to wiſh for your return, is the ſituation of the different parties in England. I ſuppoſe you have received a letter on this ſubject from Lord Grenville; but I will tell you every thing I know, and what I had in part from an intimate friend of Pitt.

"It appears that Addington propoſed, ſome weeks ago, to Pitt to join the miniſtry, on certain conditions. Pitt, on this overture of Addington, began a negociation with him; explained the conditions on which he wiſhed to form part of the miniſtry; declared that he would not inſiſt on the introduction of any perſon to whom the king might have any objection; but that he would inſiſt on the whole affair being kept ſecret until it was totally arranged; and that, at the ſame time, he would reſerve to himſelf the power of withdrawing from the negociation, ſhould it be conceived that his ſervices could not be uſeful to the public.

"On theſe conditions he gave the outline of his plan to Addington, mentioned ſeveral perſons whom he wiſhed to propoſe, among whom was Lord Grenville; ſtill, however, continuing to declare that he would not introduce any perſon in oppoſition to the king, but that he would reſerve to himſelf the power of retiring. Addington propoſed this plan to his colleagues, who rejected it, and the negociation was broken off.

"At preſent all Addington's friends declare that Pitt refuſed to join the miniſtry, becauſe he wiſhed they would allow him to introduce Grenville, &c. Pitt, as you muſt have ſeen, has ſince oppoſed Addington in the houſe of commons, and they are no longer on ſpeaking terms. Lord Grenville (who is the organ of Canning) told me that Pitt has ſuch a contempt for Addington, that he would not at preſent act with him on any conditions whatever. At the ſame time, Pitt daily oppoſes in the houſe of commons the Defence Bill, as a counſellor would do, and by the means which he employs, he has rendered it fit for anſwering the propoſed end, which it never otherwiſe would have done. On one occaſion he divided the houſe, and, to the aſtoniſhment of every body, his diviſion was under fifty. I nevertheleſs think, as many others do, that it is impoſſible things ſhould long remain on their preſent footing, and I believe that Pitt will return to office in the courſe of a year. This makes me wiſh that you ſhould be on the ſpot, to form part of the new miniſtry, which would then be excellent if Pitt were at the head. What do you think, pray? You would be able to obtain every thing you wiſh in regard to India, and, if you thought proper, to return again as governor-general.

"*Auguſt* 5.—I began this letter at London, but having met Lord Caſtlereagh, he told me that the diſpatches would not be ſent off before ten days.

"Pole has been with Addington to ſpeak to him of me, and he has promiſed me that he will conſult Lord Caſtlereagh on the means of forcing the directors to reward me for my ſervices in India. I however expect nothing from them.

"I am, &c.

(Signed) "HENRY WELLESLEY."

The volunteer ſyſtem had now extended to every part of the united kingdom, and in order that the ſpirit of it might be kept alive, and, if poſſible, encreaſed, a ſucceſſion of reviews took place in the courſe

courſe of the month. The emulation of the men to excel in number, diſcipline, and appearance, was truly gratifying, and might be ſaid to have diſſipated the laſt remains of any apprehenſions that might have been entertained of the long projected invaſion*.

Grand Fetes, on particular occcaſions, have in all ages claimed the notice of the hiſtorian. On the 25th of September 1804, upwards of three hundred of the nobility, &c. met at the Royal Hotel in Weymouth, to celebrate the anniverſary of his majeſty's coronation. The royal family being arrived, imagination only can conceive the grandeur and brilliancy of the ſcene. The tables were laid out in a ſtyle of the firſt elegance, and furniſhed with all the delicacies the ſeaſon could afford. The royal table repreſented a moſt magnificent colonade. The letters G. R. were ſuſpended between the centre pillars, curiouſly united with glaſs and beads, on each ſide of which were placed the inſignia of the order of the garter, and that of the bath. A glory crowned the top of the centre, ſupported on each ſide by trophies of war. The pillars, white and gold, had a moſt charming effect; they were entwined with artificial flowers. The royal arms, with its ſupporters, the lion and unicorn, highly ſpirited in marble duſt, were placed in the centre. This centre compartment was finiſhed with exquiquiſitely ſuperb arabeſque work. The next two openings had each a fine landſcape, with cattle, of which the ſheep were much admired for the natural appearance of the wool. There were two compartments on each end; the one had a light dragoon mounted, the other repreſented a camp at a diſtance, in the foreground of which were happily introduced two grenadiers in converſation. The next was a very long table, the centre of which exhibited part of the ſame magnificent piece, with ſea horſes, &c. Soon after dinner the dancing commenced, and continued, with little intermiſſion, till their majeſties withdrew, about eleven o'clock.

The Thames†, has been the fruitful theme of poetry, proſe, the pencil, and the graver. Gee, in his Tract on Trade, ſays, "that the *banks* of this river contains more wealth than all the *banks* of Europe." Whatever therefore relates to the navigation of this great commercial medium, cannot be indifferent to an Engliſh reader, as it will ſhew the great attention that is paid to it by the city of London. On the 22d of this month the following regulations were iſſued: It is ordered, "That the colours of all foreign veſſels are to be hoiſted immediately on their entering Bugby's Hole, to remain up till they arrive at their appointed ſtations. The colours are likewiſe to be hoiſted when the veſſel leaves her moorings, on going down the river.

"That all commanders of foreigh veſſels do muſter their crew every evening at ſun-ſet, and not ſuffer any of them to go aſhore after that time till ſun-riſe; and in caſe any of their people deſert, or are diſcharged, immediate information muſt be ſent to the London ſchooner, off Greenwich.

"That all pilots, or watermen, are expreſsly directed not to move any foreign veſſel between London Bridge and Bugby's Hole, after dark in the evening, till ſun-riſe the next morning, under any pretence whatever.

"That all coal and other barges, which paſs up and down the river ſingly (not laſhed together) with

* On the ſubject of invaſion, at the time of which we are now treating, an ingenious naval officer made the following obſervations:—Forty-two gun and mortar-boats, in a line a-breaſt, took up a diſtance of near four miles at the ſiege of Gibraltar. There was a ſufficient ſpace betwixt each boat to allow of manœuvring, clear of each other. It is poſſible to form in a leſs ſpace, becauſe forty boats will take up only thirteen hundred and ſixty yards, leſs than one mile, allowing eighteen for the breadth of each boat, twelve feet on each ſide for the oar, and ſixty feet diſtance between the oars of each. Two thouſand eight hundred French boats, in four diviſions of ſeven hundred each, will require eleven geometric miles of coaſt to land on; but as the tide will ſweep them unequally from their courſe, they will take up five times that ſpace, or fifty-five geometric miles. If the two thouſand eight hundred boats came over in twelve diviſions of one hundred, ſeventy-ſeven, two-fourths in each diviſion, they will require three geometric miles and a half of coaſt to land on, unleſs ſeparated by the tide. The firſt four diviſions will prevent the laſt eight diviſions from approaching the coaſt; and the ſoldiers in theſe, loaded with arms, ammunition, and proviſions, muſt leap from boat to boat before they can land, and be thus expoſed to a heavy fire of cannon and muſquetry.

† In treating of the Britiſh Pactolus, as it may be juſtly called, it may not be unacceptable to annex the meaſures of the breadth of the river Thames at different places between Hammerſmith and Woolwich.

	Feet.
Juſt above Woolwich	1650
Half way from ditto to Blackwall	1250
Between Bow Creek and Blackwall	1600
At Blackwall	1400
Between ditto and Greenwich	1000
Juſt above Greenwich	950
At Lime Kiln Dock	860
At New Crane Stairs	1200
At Cherry Garden Stairs	760
At the Tower	1000
At London Bridge	934
At Old Swan Stairs	800
At Steel Yard Stairs	980
At Falcon Stairs	1150
At Blackfriars Bridge	1024
At the Temple	1380
At the Adelphi	1500
At Weſtminſter Bridge	1220
At Vauxhall	800
Near the Neat Houſes	730
At Chelſea	1050
At Fulham Bridge	600
At Hammerſmith	940

one able man at leaſt in each craft, and to continue conſtantly on board whilſt on duty.

" That the ſhips letting go an anchor in the ſtream to check them in their births, ſhall not let it remain there longer than the following ſlack water, unleſs by permiſſion.

" That no ſhip, loaded in the whole or in part with timber, hemp, pitch, tar, roſin, or other naval ſtores, be permitted to come or lie above Limehouſe Hole to diſcharge.

" That all veſſels ſhall ſtrike their yards and topmaſts within ſix hours after they ſhall reſpectively have arrived at their moorings, and continue ſo to ſtrike till within forty-eight hours of their departure, between the 21ſt of September, and the 21ſt of March following.

" That no veſſel whatever, after having made faſt to her ſtation, muſt remove without permiſſion from the harbour maſter on duty."

In purſuance of our plan, we are now come to ſay a few words on the ſtate of agriculture in this month. It is an obſervation almoſt as old as huſbandry itſelf, that the farmer is ſo inveterately attached to that ſyſtem which his forefathers purſued, ſo that even repeated experiments of the advantages of the new practice can ſcarce draw him from it. This bigotry, if we may uſe the expreſſion to ancient cuſtom, is, we are glad to ſay, on the decline. The formation of agricultural ſocieties in almoſt every county in the ſouth, and even in the north of Britain, promiſe to have the happieſt effect in diſſipating this prejudice. The agricultural ſurveys, under the patronage of theſe inſtitutes, placed the plough in a new and advantageous point of view, and operated as ſo many excitements to induſtry; and that our readers may be convinced of the truth of this aſſertion, we inſert the following curious calculation (publiſhed in September) extracted from Mr. Middleton's Agricultural Survey of the County of Middleſex, quoted by Mr. Pitt in his ſpeech on the Income Tax (June 3d, 1804.)

" Agriculture may be very properly conſidered as the art of manufacturing the ſoil, and unqueſtionably ranks the higheſt, in the claſs of manufactures; ſince it not only makes a greater return for the labour beſtowed than all the reſt put together, but is alſo of the firſt neceſſity, the demand for its products being ſudden and irreſiſtable.

" All the artiſts, manufacturers, and commercialiſts in the world, are employed in the produce of the ſoil, and on that only. The watchmaker, and the anchor-ſmith, the clothier and the lacemaker, the goldſmith and the lapidary, are all, and each of them, equally engaged in one object, namely, that of rendering the productions of the earth ſubſervient to the uſe and convenience of man. The ſtock of every warehouſe and ſhop, the furniture of every manſion and cottage, all implements and utenſils, may eaſily be traced to the ſame origin. Even the books of the ſcholar, and the ink and quill, through whoſe means he communicates his thoughts to others, are derived from the ſame ſource as the material in which the naval and civil architect exerciſes his ingenuity and ſkill. The loftieſt ſpire, and the ſmalleſt needle, are both the effects of labour and ſkill exerciſed on the ſoil.

" In this point of view the ſeed grain, amounting to about fifteen ſhillings an acre, may be ſaid to conſtitute the raw material. When the corn and ſtraw produced from this ſeed are dreſſed and ſent to market, the greater part of it is then fit for conſumption, and may be called a finiſhed manufacture. The additional value above fifteen ſhillings, is entirely the produce of labour, and amounts to about nine pounds five ſhillings an acre, or twelve hundred and thirty-three pounds *per cent.* on the coſt of the raw material. Wheat is ſtill further manufactured into bread; but, excluſive of the operations of the miller and the baker, this is certainly not above the average for the produce of the arable land of this county; and ſome parts of Surrey, Kent, and Eſſex, yield in the ſame proportion.

" The raw material, on an average of the arable of the whole of South Britain, amounts to about ſixteen ſhillings *per* acre; which is encreaſed in value by labour to five pounds, or five hundred and twenty-five pounds *per cent.* Hence the labour beſtowed on fifteen millions, three hundred thouſand acres, produces a return of ſixty four millions, two hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling.

" I ſhall here particularize the annual produce of the ſoil.

	£.
" The arable land, as before ſtated	64,260,000
" The hop gardens make returns to the amount of thirty pounds *per* acre, for the produce of labour, or about	1,000,000
" Nurſery grounds produce upwards of ſixty-five pounds *per* acre. Deduct the raw material, and the produce of labour will not be leſs than ſixty pounds on ten thouſand acres, is - - -	600,000
" The fruit and kitchen gardens are the moſt valuable reſources for labour, and make the greateſt return, probably to upwards of one hundred pounds *per* acre, on an average of Great Britain; but I ſhall only eſtimate them at that ſum on fifty thouſand acres, is - -	5,000,000
" The graſs land and cyder countries, cultivated in South Britain, make returns to the amount of three pounds on twenty millions of acres, is - -	60,000,000
" The commons eight millions, at one ſhilling and three-pence an acre -	500,000
Total	£131,360,000

" I ſhall

"I ſhall not preſume," ſays the author, "to offer the foregoing ſtatement as one that either is, or can be, made out with accuracy and preciſion. But, under all the circumſtances of the caſe, I think I may ſtate the annual agricultural produce of South Britain, at one hundred and thirty millions, which muſt be allowed to ſurpaſs all other manufactures that can be brought in competition with it, not only to the groſs amount, but alſo as to its ſuperior uſefulneſs."

With reſpect to our commerce, we have the pleaſure to ſtate an additional article of trade was added in this month to the long liſt of our colonial produce; namely, an importation of *Cam* wood, or dye wood, from Sierra Leone, which promiſes to be a valuable article of commerce.

CHAP. XXII.

Eaſt Indies.—City of Agra.—New South Wales.—Sentiments of a learned Traveller on that Colony.—Egypt.—Death of the Tyrant Gezzar Pacha.—His Character.—Succeſſion of Iſmail Pacha.—Account of him.—Naval Affairs.—Gallant Action of the Officers and Crews of the Tartar's Boats.—Capture of a Spaniſh Squadron, Treaſure, and Cargoes.

THE month of October 1804, will not be found devoid of public intereſt. In the Eaſt Indies, it was hoped that the ſeeds of peace which had been recently ſown, would produce an abundant harveſt. Notwithſtanding the brilliant victories obtained under the government of the Marquis Welleſley, the court of directors did not evince the moſt cordial approbation of his public conduct; the capture of the city of Agra*, however, threw a blaze round his character, that even dazzled the eyes of thoſe that wiſhed to depreciate it.

As hiſtory and geography ought to go hand in hand, the next object after the Eaſt Indies that attracts our attention, is New South Wales. In the courſe of this month the moſt favourable accounts were received from this colony. Schools were propoſed to be planted in that ſettlement for the education of the coloniſts, and even for ſuch of the natives as might evince a capacity for the imbibition of inſtruction, that promiſed to have the moſt happy effect. It would be waſte of time to expatiate on the utility of ſuch an inſtitution; for, without education, what is man, a ſavage rough from the hand of nature. It is education that elicits the ſparks of genius and calls forth thoſe ſocial feelings, that render life not merely ſupportable, but even comfortable, that raiſe our ideas beyond this "dim diurnal ſphere, and teach our very thoughts to wander through eternity." As we have touched on this ſettlement, in addition to the accounts of native writers on this ſubject, we ſhall add thoſe of a learned foreigner, extracted from a letter from Captain Baudin to M. Juſſieu, dated from Port Jackſon.

"The ſeeds which I am ſending you were partly given to me by the inhabitants of the country (New South Wales); the others we collected ourſelves in the interior. I have penetrated beyond the moſt remote places known to the Engliſh; but an almoſt inſurmountable chain of mountains of the firſt order, known by the name of *Blue Mountains*, the direction of which, towards the ſouth, appears to extend as far as to the promontory of Wilſon, and to the north terminates at Port Stephens, prevented me from advancing farther than ſeventy or eighty miles, reckoning from Port Jackſon. If we may credit what certain of the natives, and ſome Engliſh adventurers aſſert, there is in the heart of theſe mountains a large river of ſalt water which croſſes them, and at their northern extremity an eſtabliſhment of white men. (It is this that the natives, or aboriginal inhabitants, call the Europeans). After my return, I often diſcuſſed this topic with Mr. King, the preſent governor, whoſe conduct towards us I cannot too highly commend; but he aſſured me that he placed no ſort of reliance on what was reported on this ſubject, and that it was a tale invented by ſome deſerters, who

* The city of Agra, which had now fallen into our hands, by the important campaign in the Eaſt, was once the firſt city for magnificence and commerce in India; and at this day, exhibits more magnificent monuments of former ſplendour than any city of Hindoſtan. The palace, built by the emperor Acbar, took up twelve years in finiſhing, while above twelve thouſand labourers were daily employed, and coſt three millions of rupees (two and three-pence a rupee). The caſtle is the largeſt ever erected in India, and was built in the form of a creſcent, being four miles in extent. Mr. Maurice, in the firſt volume of his Indian Antiquities, gives the following account of this ſuperb edifice:

"It was four miles in extent, and conſiſted of three courts, adorned with many ſtately porticos, galleries, and turrets, all richly painted and gilt, and ſome were overlaid with gold. The firſt court, built with round arches, that gave a perpetual ſhade, ſo deſirable amidſt the heat of a burning climate, was intended for the Imperial guard; the ſecond, for the great Omrahs, and miniſters of ſtate, who had their ſeveral apartments for the tranſaction of public buſineſs; within the third was contained the ſeraglio, conſiſting entirely of the ſtately apartments of the emperor himſelf, hung round with the richeſt ſilks of Perſia, and glittering with a profuſion of Indian wealth. In the front of the caſtle, towards the river, a large area was left for the exerciſe of the royal elephants, and the battles of wild beaſts, in which the Indian emperors uſed to take great delight; and, in a ſquare of vaſt extent, that ſeparated the palace from the city, a numerous army conſtantly encamped, whoſe ſhining armour, and gorgeous enſigns, diffuſed a glory round them, and adds greatly to the ſplendour of the ſcene."

would

would never have returned, if, on the other ſide of the mountains, they had met with a colony of Europeans.

"I have not ſeen, without admiration, the immenſe works that the Engliſh have completed here, within the ſpace of twelve years, that a ſettlement has been made at Port Jackſon. Although they began with conſiderable means, and have been at very great expence, it is not the leſs difficult to conceive how they have been able ſo ſpeedily to attain to ſuch a high degree of convenience and ſplendour, as they now enjoy. Nature, it is true, has done every thing for them, in the beautiful and very ſecure port where their principal ſettlement has been planned and conſtructed; but the quality of the ſoil in the environs has laid them under a neceſſity of penetrating into the interior of the country, until ſuch time as they could meet with a ſoil proper for different ſorts of agriculture, and that might be competent to furniſh them in abundance the means for their own ſubſiſtence, and for the conſumption of different European veſſels that may touch on the coaſt, either attracted by commerce, the fiſhery, or by other circumſtances. Excluſively of brigantines, ſloops, barges, of a tolerable ſize, conſtructed in this new colony, and pertaining to different individuals, we found in the port, at our arrival, nine large veſſels from England, and two Americans. Some were to make their return by China, and others to be diſpatched for the ſpermaceti whale fiſhery. The benefits produced by this kind of ſpeculation, will greatly augment the navigation of the Engliſh; if, in the ſequel, the fiſhery ſhall continue to be abundant. It is uſually carried on upon the coaſts of New Zealand, or at no great diſtance from them. The actual population of Port Jackſon, and of the other places occupied by the Engliſh, amounts to about ſix thouſand individuals; moſt of them are employed in cultivation.

"All the fruit trees of Europe have been introduced into this country, but all have not been with equal ſucceſs familiarized to the climate; of this number are particularly, the apple-tree, the cherry-tree, and the almond-tree. The leguminous plants thrive well, without exception, are well taſted, and abundant in the ſeaſon. The vine, which, during the firſt years yielded great hopes, has ſo much degenerated, that it is matter of doubt whether it will be able to live here. The cauſe of this unexpected decay is not accurately aſcertained; it is commonly attributed, however, to the burning drought of the north-eaſt wind, the effects of which are pernicious.

"The natives from round about Port Jackſon, have retired into the interior of the country, in proportion as the Engliſh have advanced forward. We, nevertheleſs, meet with ſome of them occaſionally in the town, in the villages, and in the high roads; but their number is never conſiderable, and they have loſt but few of their primitive habits; it may be remarked, however, that they have made more progreſs in the Engliſh language, than the Engliſh have in theirs. In general they are but of a ſmall ſtature, and but little to be feared. I am ſtrongly inclined to think that they are of a different origin from thoſe of Van Dieman's land.

"As the Engliſh nation has neglected no means for the proſperity of this eſtabliſhment, its privations during its infancy have not been very great. Breeds of horned cattle, ſheep, and goats, have been tranſported thither at the public expence, and have multiplied to ſuch a degree, that at a cenſus or enumeration which was made in the month of Auguſt laſt, 1803, there were counted eight hundred bulls, three thouſand ſix hundred cows, ſix thouſand ſheep, one thouſand eight hundred goats, and more than ten thouſand hogs. The horſes that have come from the Cape of Good Hope, and from Bengal, of all the quadrupeds, are thoſe which have multiplied the leaſt, although the cauſe of this is not known. Of that ſpecies there are only reckoned two hundred."

The views of Bonaparte on our Indian territories, were in a great meaſure defeated. The French officers, as we have already noticed, were driven from the armies of the native princes of that country; and whatever hopes he might entertain of ultimately making his way to the Eaſt, through Egypt, were damped by the death of his partizan, Gezzar Pacha*, and the appointment of Iſmail Pacha to ſucceed him in the government of Egypt and Syria.

In the Weſt Indies, our ſhips of war are conſtantly

* Gezzar Pacha, the tyrant of St. Jean D'Acre, aimed at the ſupreme authority of that country, was guilty of the moſt horrid enormities to gain that end. This wretch cloſed his eyes with the following words:—"I perceive," ſaid he to one of his ſanguinary agents, "that I have but a ſhort time to live; what muſt I do with thoſe *raſcals* in my priſon? Since I have ſtripped them of every thing, what good will it do to let them looſe into the world again. The greateſt part of them were governors, and men of conſequence in the country, who, if they return to their poſts, will be forced to ruin a great many poor people, in order to replace the ſums I have taken from them; ſo it is beſt for their ſakes, and for that of others, that I ſhould diſpatch them; they will then ſoon be in a place where proper care will be taken of them; a very good place, where they will neither be permitted to moleſt any one, nor be themſelves expoſed to moleſtation. Yes, yes, that's beſt—*diſpatch* them. In conſequence of the above order, twenty-three victims, who had formerly filled the higheſt ſituations in Turkey and Egypt, were thrown, bound together, into the ſea, as the moſt expeditious mode of execution. The reſt, a great number, were diſpatched by the bowſtring. The monſter, at the time of his death, had united in his own perſon the Pachaleck of Serda, Damaſcus,

ſtantly on the alert, and on every occaſion evinced the greateſt gallantry. The Gazette of the 16th of October 1804, announced the capture of the Hirondelle French privateer, by his majeſty's ſhip Tartar, off St. Domingo. The ſpirit and perſeverance of the crews of the Tartar's boats deſerve to be recorded. On the 1ſt of Auguſt 1804, at dawn, a ſmall ſail was diſcovered from the maſts head. Captain Maxwell (of the Tartar) gave orders to chaſe. About ſeven the chaſe was made out to be a ſchooner full of men, uſing her ſweeps, and every means poſſible, to eſcape through the Channel, between the iſland of Saona and St. Domingo. Having beat the enemy into ſix fathoms water, three boats were immediately manned, and armed, under the direction of Lieutenant Mullah, aſſiſted by Lieutenant Lockyer, with ſeveral midſhipmen, all volunteers on the occaſion.

The inſtant the boats put from the ſhip, the ſchooner hoiſted French colours, fired a gun, and warped her broadſide towards them. As the boats advanced, the privateer commenced firing grape ſhot from her great guns, and on their nearer approach opened a fire of muſketry; yet, notwithſtanding this, and a ſtrong ſea breeze againſt the boats, Lieutenant Mullah, in the moſt intrepid and gallant manner, pulled up in the face of ſeveral diſcharges of grape, and a heavy fire of muſketry, from fifty men drawn up round the deck, boarded, and carried her. Only two of our men were wounded. The French loſt nine killed, and ſix wounded. The Hirondelle, conſiſting of ten four-pounders, and fifty men, had been often chaſed, but from her faſt ſailing had always eſcaped.

Captain Marſhall, of his majeſty's ſloop Pelican, on the 23d of Auguſt 1804, captured off St. Domingo the national ſchooner La Laurette, pierced for ſixteen guns, and forty men, bound to St. Jago, for the expreſs purpoſe of compleating her crew to one hundred men.

On the 16th of October 1804, the following official ſtatement of an engagement with a Spaniſh ſquadron, made a great public ſenſation, as we were at peace with Spain at the time. Captain Graham Moore, who ſent the account to the Admiralty, ſtated, that on the morning of the 29th of September, the Indefatigable got off Cadiz, and on the 30th fell in with the Meduſa; Captain Gore having informed Captain Moore, that the Amphion was in the Streight's mouth, and that the Triumph was off Gibraltar, and that Sir Robert Barlow meant to go into Cadiz for the trade there, on his way to England, Captain Moore ſent the Meduſa to apprize Sir Robert Barlow of the nature of his order, that he might then judge whether or not he ſhould go into Cadiz. He alſo directed Captain Gore to rejoin him with the Amphion, as ſoon as poſſible, off St. Mary. On the 2d of October he was joined by the Lively, and the next day by the Meduſa and Amphion. On the 5th, in the morning, Cape St. Mary bearing N. E. nine leagues, the Meduſa made the ſignal for four ſail W. by S. Captain Moore made the ſignal for a general chaſe; at eight A. M. diſcovered them to be four large Spaniſh frigates, which formed the line of battle a-head on our approach, and continued to ſteer in for Cadiz, the van ſhip carrying a broad pendant, and the ſhip next to her a rear admiral's flag. Captain Gore's being the headmoſt ſhip, placed the Meduſa on the weather beam of the commodore; the Indefatigable took a ſimilar poſition along-ſide of the rear admiral; the Amphion and Lively each taking an opponent in the ſame manner, as they came up *. After hailing to make them ſhorten ſail, without effect, the Indefatigable fired a ſhot acroſs the rear admiral's fore foot, on which he ſhortened ſail; Lieutenant Aſcot was then ſent on board to inform him, that Captain Moore's orders were to detain the ſquadron, but that it was his wiſh to execute them without bloodſhed, but that his determination muſt be made inſtantly. After waiting ſome time, a ſignal was made for the boat, and a ſhot was fired a-head at the admiral. As ſoon as the officer returned, with an unſatisfactory anſwer, Captain Moore fired another ſhot a-head of the admiral, and bore down cloſe on his weather bow. At that moment the admiral's ſecond a-ſtern fired into the Amphion, the admiral fired into the Indefatigable, when Captain Moore made ſignal for cloſe battle, which was inſtantly commenced with all the alacrity and vigour of Engliſh ſailors. In leſs than ten minutes La Mercedes, the admiral's ſecond a-ſtern, blew up along-ſide the Amphion, with a tremendous exploſion. Captain Sutton, having with great judg-

Damaſcus, and Tripoli, and the nominal viceroyſhip of Egypt. The pachaleck of Aleppo alone remained for the completion of his deſires.

Iſmail Pacha, his ſucceſſor, accompanied the grand army to Egypt, in the year 1800, and being patronized by the Napif Pacha, obtained the dignity of Baſhaw of three tails; after this he was put into poſſeſſion of the government of Maraſk, but did not long hold it, owing to his great extortions, which ſurpaſſed every thing formerly practiſed by Turkiſh oppreſſion. He was ordered to loſe his head. To effect which he was, by the grand vizier, appointed to the government of Suiras, whilſt a plan was concerted to way-lay him on his way thither, and bring him in chains to the Turkiſh camp; the mutiny, however, between the aſſaſſins and Iſmail, ſerved only to eſtabliſh his reputation for courage and fortitude; for he diſplayed ſuch gallantry and vigour on their attack, that he put them to flight. He then flew for protection to Gezzar, and was kindly received by that chieftain. He followed the fortunes of Gezzar, till within a year and a half of Gezzar's deceaſe, when he loſt his favour, and was thrown into priſon in d'Acre, where he remained till Gezzar's death, when Iſmail ſeized the reins of government, and the moſt perfect obedience enſued in the neighbouring provinces.

* See the Engraving.

ment

Defeat of Four Spanish Frigates by Capt.n Moore Oct.r 5.th 1804.

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ment placed himſelf to leeward of that ſhip, the eſcape of the Spaniſh admiral's ſhip was rendered almoſt impoſſible. In leſs than half an hour ſhe ſtruck, as did the opponent of the Lively. Perceiving at the moment that the Spaniſh commodore was making off, and ſeeming to have the heels of the Meduſa, a ſignal was made for the Lively to join in the chace. Captain Hammond did not loſe an inſtant, and long before ſun-ſet the only remaining ſhip ſurrendered to the Meduſa and Lively.

They came from Montebedeo, Rio de la Plata. Our loſs was very trifling; the Indefatigable did not loſe a man.

The following is the Force of the Spaniſh Squadron.

La Medée, (flag ſhip,) 42 guns, 18-pounders, on the main-deck, and 300 men, taken; two men killed, and ten wounded.

La Fama, (commodore's ſhip,) 36 guns, 12-pounders, on the main-deck, and 280 men, taken; no returns.

La Clara, 36 guns, 12-pounders, on the main-deck, and 300 men, taken; no returns.

La Mercedes, 36 guns, 12-pounders, on the main-deck, and 280 men, blew up; ſecond captain and forty men ſaved *.

CHAP. XXIII.

Gallant Conduct of the Apollo Guineaman.—Attempt to deſtroy the Enemy's Flotilla in Boulogne, by Exploſion Ships.—Deſcription of the Machines employed on that Occaſion.—Bonaparte, feature in his Character.—Account of the Fortifications on the Coaſt of Kent.—Martello Towers in Ireland.

IN the naval department of our hiſtory, it would be unpardonable not to mention the bravery and good conduct of Captain Cummins, and the crew of the Apollo brig (a ſmall Guineaman, of about one hundred and twenty tons only) who, after a ſmart engagement, beat off a French privateer of much ſuperior force, off the coaſt of Barbadoes, and afterwards conducted the Apollo to her deſtined port. Notwithſtanding this gallant band could not be conſidered as entitled to the patriotic fund at Lloyd's, yet, to the honour of the underwriters on the Apollo and her cargo, as ſoon as they heard of the circumſtances, they immediately came to the following declaration:

"We, the underſigned underwriters, on a policy of inſurance, per the Apollo, Captain Cummins, on a voyage from Liverpool to Africa, do hereby agree to allow two guineas *per cent.* on our reſpective ſubſcriptions, to be apportioned by the owners of ſaid veſſel †, and preſented by them to the ſaid Captain Cummins, his officers and crew, according to their rank in the veſſel, and the ſervices reſpectively rendered by each, in beating off a privateer of ſuperior force, on the 23d of March laſt, about eighty miles to the windward of Barbadoes, thereby preſerving the property under their care, and ſhewing a truly laudable Britiſh ſpirit in repelling the attacks of an enemy of ſuperior ſtrength."

Having now taken a view of whatever is worthy to remember in the remote parts of the empire, we come to relate the moſt intereſting events which occurred at home. The Gazette of the 3d of October 1804, contained a letter from Lord Keith, dated off Boulogne. As the great object of this gallant officer was to aſcertain the moſt effectual mode of annoying the enemy's flotillas, at their anchorages in front of their ports, under the protection of their land batteries. For this purpoſe, on the afternoon of the firſt of October, having arrived at Boulogne, and finding the weather favourable, and about a hundred and fifty of the flotilla on the outſide of the pier, his lordſhip reſolved to make an experiment on a limited ſcale, of the means

* *A General Statement of the Goods and Effects brought by the Frigates of this Diviſion, commanded by Don Joſeph de Buſtamente y Guerra, Chief of the Squadron of the Royal Navy.*

On Account of the King.

Medée—35 ſacks of Vidona wool, 20 cheſts and ſacks of caſcarilla, 1627 bars of tin, 203 pigs of copper, and 521,940 dollars in ſilver.

Fama—300 bars of tin, 28 planks of wood, and 30,000 dollars in ſilver.

Mercedes—20 ſacks of Vidona wool, 20 cheſts and ſacks of caſcarilla, 1139 bars of tin, 961 pigs of copper, and 221,000 dollars in ſilver.

Clara—20 ſacks of Vidona wool, 20 cheſts and ſacks of caſcarilla, 1666 bars of tin, 571 pigs of copper, and 234,694 dollars in ſilver.

Total—75 ſacks of Vidona wool, 60 cheſts and ſacks of caſcarilla, 4732 bars of tin, 1735 pigs of copper, 28 planks of wood, and 1,307,634 dollars in ſilver.

On Account of the Merchants.

Medée—32 cheſts of ratinia, 952,616 dollars in ſilver, 279,502 gold, reduced into dollars, and 24,600 ingots of gold reduced into dollars.

Fama—306,597 dollars in ſilver, 217,756 gold, reduced into dollars, and 25,411 ingots of gold, reduced into dollars.

Mercedes—590,000 dollars in ſilver.

Clara—622,400 gold, reduced into dollars.

Total—32 cheſts of ratinia, 1,859,216 dollars in ſilver, 1,119,658 gold, reduced into dollars, and 150,011 ingots of gold, reduced into dollars.

On Account of the Marine Company.

Medée—8925 ſeal ſkins.

Fama—14,930 ſeal ſkins.

Clara—10 pipes of ſea oil.

Total—26,925 ſeal ſkins, and 10 pipes of ſea oil.

† The ſubſcription amounted to 113*l.* 8*s.* and was diſpoſed of agreeably to the wiſhes of the ſubſcribers.

means of attack which had been provided *. The final arrangements for this purpoſe were made on the following morning; ſeveral officers were put in charge of the exploſion veſſels, the armed launches, and other boats of the ſquadron, were appointed to accompany and protect them. The operation commenced at a quarter paſt nine o'clock on the 2d of October, and continued till four the next morning, during which time ſeveral veſſels, prepared for the purpoſe, were exploded amongſt it, very cloſe to the flotilla; but, on account of the very great diſtance at which they lay from each other, no very extenſive injury ſeemed to have been ſuſtained, although it was evident there was very conſiderable confuſion amongſt them, and that two of the brigs, and ſeveral of the ſmaller veſſels, appeared to be ſinking. Notwithſtanding a very heavy diſcharge of ſhells, ſhot, and muſquetry, was kept up by the enemy throughout the night, no caſualty whatever was ſuſtained on our part. The conduct of the officers and men engaged in this daring enterprize, were warmly recommended to the notice of the admiralty by his lordſhip. "I cannot more forcibly impreſs their merits upon your lordſhips," ſays he, "than by remarking, that the ſervice was undertaken not only in the face of, but immediately under the whole line of the enemy's land batteries, and their field artillery and muſquetry upon the coaſt, but alſo under that of one hundred and fifty armed veſſels, ranged round the inner ſide of the bay; and that the officers and men who could ſo deliberately and reſolutely advance into the midſt of the flotilla, under ſuch circumſtances, muſt be conſidered worthy of being entruſted with the performance of any ſervice, however difficult or dangerous."

The Gazette of the 9th of October 1804, contained a letter from Lord Gardner, announcing the arrival of the Topaze at Cork, with la Minerva French letter of marque, belonging to Bourdeaux, bound to Martinique, pierced for eighteen guns, nine-pounders, fourteen only mounted, with one hundred and eleven officers and men, which the Topaze fell in with on the 25th of September 1804, in lat. 49. deg. 30 min. N. and long. 15 deg. W.

Great preparations were making in France for the coronation of Bonaparte; and the general opinion in that country was, that as ſoon as the imperial diadem was placed on his head that he would attempt the invaſion of this country. In the interval the groſſeſt adulation was offered up to him, ſome propoſed to raiſe triumphal arches and monuments to perpetuate what they called his *God-like deeds*; to all theſe he lent a willing ear, in which he ſeemed to forget that modeſty that he at leaſt profeſſed when he was a conſul †.

Whether the threat of invaſion was practicable or not, miniſters were determined to put the country in the beſt poſſible ſtate of defence. The following account of the fortifications upon the coaſt at this moment was handed about: "Under the ſouth of Foreland, at St. Margarite's Bay, there is a battery, with a party of troops ſtationed. For three miles weſtward, the cliffs are inacceſſible; then comes Dover caſtle, with a very formidable array of artillery, commanding the ſhore, the caſtle itſelf having been very ſtrongly fortified on the land ſide. In the cliffs of the caſtle, and on the beach, are batteries; there is a battery at the north pier, and a battery at the ſouth pier, together with a ſtrong battery and fort weſtward of the town. For upwards of twenty years it has been recommended to fortify the weſtern heights of Dover, and that plan is now carrying into execution. There is a long extended line, it is true, but that, though very ſtrong, is merely an out-work. The main defence, the ſtrong hold, the citadel, if we may ſo call it, is at the ſummit of this line, on the higheſt ground, near Dover; and if it be commanded by an oppoſite range, it will be allowed to be the beſt ſituation that can be found, as it is the higheſt ground in the neighbourhood. It has long been the opinion of military men, that as this height commands Dover caſtle, and much of the ſurrounding country, unleſs it were well fortified, Dover could not be ſecure. This important work is now carrying into effect with the utmoſt rapidity; from Dover, weſtward, to Folkſtone, the cliffs are again inacceſſible. At Folkſtone, there is another battery; two miles further is Sandgate caſtle, where there is ſome ar-

tillery;

* The means of attack which had been provided, conſiſted of a number of caſks, or coffers; each of theſe had what was called a clock affixed to it, which was ſo contrived as not to admit any water. This was primed and ſet, ſo as to go off at any deſired time after drawing out a pin. The coffers were made of thick plank, lined with lead; a plank was left out for filling it, when filled the plank was put in, nailed, and caulked, paid all over with tar, covered with canvas, and paid with hot pitch. Some of them, when full, might weigh two tons; they reſembled in form a large coffin. There was a line affixed to one end, with ſomething like an anchor. This line and anchor was floated with pieces of cork, intended to hook their cables, that the coffer might ſwing round and lie along-ſide. The other line was the towing line. The coffers were weighted with ſhot, ſo as only juſt to float, by which means they would ſcarcely be ſtruck by any ſhot in the water, and paſs undiſcovered.

† On the 13th of December 1802, the council general of the department of the Seine propoſed to erect a monument in honour of the firſt conſul, Bonaparte. When he was requeſted to accept of it, he anſwered by letter, that the "idea of dedicating monuments to men who rendered themſelves uſeful to the people, was honourable to nations." "I accept," adds he, "the offer of the monument which you wiſh to erect to me, let the place remain determined; but let us leave to future ages the care of conſtructing it, if they ratify the good opinion which you entertain of me." So true is the phraſe *honores mutant mores*.

tillery; and half a mile further is a ſtrong battery, under Shorncliffe, the guns of which are nearly level with the ſea, and point immediately acroſs the high road, ſo that it is impoſſible to paſs without ſeeing, without almoſt running foul of them. Two miles further, at Hythe, there are batteries, and alſo at Dungeneſs.

In the fifteen miles from the South Foreland to Hythe, we find about nine batteries, excluſive of Dover caſtle, and the fortified heights to the weſtward of Dover. Along the coaſt of Kent and Suſſex, there is not a hollow for a landing place but there is a battery; there is not a height but there is a ſignal poſt; no important point ſeems to have been overlooked. In a few hours, twenty thouſand men, moſt of them regulars, the reſt militia, can be brought to any part of the coaſt of Kent; and in twenty-four hours, that number be doubled, excluſive of volunteers.

In Ireland, the building of the martello for the protection of the coaſt from Bray to Dublin, was carried on with the greateſt activity *.

CHAP. XXIV.

Lord Nelſon's Letter to the Lord Mayor of London.—Dr. Reid's Letter on the beſt Means of preſerving the Health of the Volunteers, on actual Service.—Dreadful Fire.—Alarming Emigration from the Weſtern Iſles of Scotland:—Means to aſcertain and prevent it.—Parochial Schools in Scotland.—Windſor Caſtle.—Agriculture.—Commercial Review.

WHATEVER relates to the illuſtrious Lord Nelſon, will always be read with avidity. The corporation of London having voted their thanks to this gallant hero, as commander of the fleet blockading Toulon; to which his lordſhip returned a very polite anſwer, on the 29th of October 1804, in which he ſays, "I beg to inform your lordſhip, that the port of Toulon *has never been blockaded by me*; quite the reverſe; every opportunity has been offered the enemy to put to ſea; for it is true that we hope to realize the expectations of our country, and I truſt they will not be diſappointed." The noble lord then adds; "Your lordſhip will judge of my feelings upon ſeeing that all the junior flag officers of our fleets, and even ſome of the captains, have received the thanks of the corporation of London, whilſt the junior flag officers of the Mediterranean fleet are entirely omitted; yet, where information of the junior flag officers and captains of other fleets was obtained, the ſame information could have been given of the flag officers of this fleet and the captains. It likewiſe appears, my lord, a moſt extraordinary circumſtance, that rear admiral Sir Richard Bickerton ſhould have been, as ſecond in command in the Mediterranean fleet, *twice* paſſed over by the corporation of London; once after the Egyptian expedition, when the firſt and third in command were thanked; and now again, conſciouſneſs of high deſert, inſtead of neglect, made the rear admiral reſolve to let the matter reſt, until he could have an opportunity perſonally to call upon the lord mayor, to account for ſuch an extraordinary omiſſion; but for this ſecond omiſſion, I owe it to that excellent officer not to paſs it by. And I do aſſure your lordſhip, that the conſtant, zealous, and ardent ſupport I have had in my command, both from rear admiral Sir Richard Bickerton, and rear admiral Campbell, has been ſuch as calls forth all my thanks and approbation. We have ſhared together the conſtant attention of being more than fourteen months at ſea, and are ready to ſhare the dangers and glory of a day of battle; therefore it is impoſſible that I can ever allow myſelf to be ſeparated in thanks from ſuch ſupporters." This letter requires no comment, it places the character of the writer in an exalted point of view, ready to divide his laurels with thoſe that he was convinced were entitled to a due portion of them.

As this country, from circumſtances already mentioned, is likely to become a military nation; and as the volunteers, or great body of the people, will be neceſſarily trained to arms. The following intereſting letter cannot be too generally known, as it is written by a gentleman of acknowledged medical abilities; and as the ſubject is not temporary, it was addreſſed to the lieutenant-colonel of the Clerkenwell corps of volunteers.

To F. Magniac, Eſq.

"SIR,

"Having the honour to be appointed phyſician to the corps under your command, I think it incumbent upon me to ſuggeſt a few hints with regard to the health of its members, and the beſt means of preventing the attack of thoſe diſeaſes to which military men in general, and volunteers more eſpecially, are liable in times of actual ſervice.

"Theſe diſeaſes conſiſt principally of rheumatic, or catarrhal affections, and the diſorders of the inteſtine canal, which appears in the various ſhapes of cholera, diarrhœa, and dyſentery.

"Againſt ſuch complaints, the firſt and eſſential preſervative is a complete envelope, from head to foot,

* Theſe towers are in general about forty feet in diameter, circular, and built of hewn granite, cloſely joined. Some are thirty feet high, and exhibit proofs of the moſt admirable maſonry.

foot of woollen cloathing; of every article of which each ſoldier ought to carry a duplicate, as a frequent change will be of material utility and importance.

"In caſe of encampment, or of being expoſed to the inclemency or viciſſitudes of the weather, in the open, and, perhaps, nocturnal air, or on the damp and naked ground, diluent liquors, if warm, are decidedly improper, having a direct tendency to relax the veſſels which open upon the ſurface of the body, and thus to render it much more liable than it otherwiſe would be to the claſſes of diſeaſe above-mentioned. This remark applies particularly to thoſe who have not before known the perils and inconveniencies of military life.

"In ſimilar circumſtances, a ſtrict abſtinence ought to be inculcated from the taking of raw fruit, from drinking of cyder, perry, and alſo every kind of *malt* liquor, with the exception, perhaps, of porter, which, from the tonic ingredients it contains, is the leaſt objectionable. All of them, however, are apt, more eſpecially in the autumnal months, to give riſe to the diſorders of the bowels.

"In inſtances where cordials may be deemed neceſſary, a mixture of ſpirit and water, weak, cold, and without ſugar, or any other ingredient, will anſwer more effectually the deſired purpoſe, and, in various reſpects, be accompanied with a leſs degree of inconvenience and objection.

"No one, Sir, is more deeply penetrated than I am, not merely with the moral, but likewiſe with what I have peculiar and extenſive opportunities of obſerving, the phyſical injury that ariſes from inordinate ſtimulation. But, at the ſame time, I venture to give it as my opinion, that there are occaſions and emergencies, when ſuch ſtimulants, as in the ordinary tenor of life are unadviſeable and deſtructive, may be turned to temporary advantages. Wine, for inſtance, taken every day in any conſiderable quantity, impairs the tone of the ſtomach, and cannot fail gradually to diſorganize the ſtructure of the frame. But in caſes of low fever or extreme debility, ariſing from other cauſes, even twice the quantity might not only be ſafe but neceſſary, in order to abridge the continuance of diſeaſe, or to arreſt it in its progreſs towards a fatal termination.

"In like manner, when the mind is called upon to combat againſt the apprehenſion of death, and the body againſt the inconveniencies and fatigue of exertions to which, both in their degree and kind, we have not yet been accuſtomed; it is obviouſly not inexpedient or improper, to have recourſe to a proportional addition of cordials and revigerants. This remark is meant to apply excluſively to the moment before an actual conflict. As volunteers, the greater part of them, in all their former life, have been confined to commercial and pacific habits, the firſt onſet of battle is moſt likely to be the ſeaſon of alarm: it muſt appear, therefore, a matter of eſſential importance, that the ſtrength and ſpirits of the men ſhould be raiſed, by artificial means, if neceſſary, ſufficiently high to make or meet the firſt attack; and when once put properly into motion, the operation of the mind will ſuperſede the neceſſity of any further ſtimulus or excitement.

"I entertain, Sir, the higheſt opinion of, and feel the utmoſt confidence in the loyalty, the patriotiſm, and the valour of the inhabitants of this iſland. But men, however laudable their principles, and however ardent may be their feelings, when ſummoned to act in ſcenes of danger, to which they have hitherto been perfect ſtrangers, may, without any humiliation of their character, ſtand in need for a time, of extraordinary and mechanical ſupport.

"Temperance is neceſſary to health, and abſtinence conducive to longevity; but circumſtances, it muſt be confeſſed, ſometimes occur, that produce exceptions to rules, which in general ought to be moſt ſcrupulouſly and religiouſly obſerved.

I am, Sir,
With the higheſt reſpect,
Your moſt obedient ſervant,
October 21, 1804. J. Reid."

In the liſt of calamities ariſing from fire in the courſe of this month, the following is to be deplored. On Wedneſday, the third of October, about three o'clock in the morning, a fire took place in one of the old wooden houſes in Union Street, Weſtminſter, leading to Palace Yard. The houſe was inhabited by the family of Mrs. Storrs, hatter, which conſiſted of herſelf, two ſons, two ſervant girls, and a lady, a lodger, named Freeman, upwards of eighty years of age. It originated from a ruſh-light, which had fallen againſt the wainſcot in the room of the old woman, and there being no aſſiſtance at hand, the whole houſe in an inſtant was wrapt in flames. The ſons, regardleſs of their own danger, conveyed away their mother, but the helpleſs old woman, and the girls were ſurrounded by the devouring element.—The old woman was burnt to death, and the girls precipitated themſelves from the attic ſtory into the ſtreet, by which they were ſo much injured, that one of them died two days afterwards at the hoſpital. The fire burnt backwards, and conſumed the houſe of Mr. Godfree, upholder, in Palace Yard.

The domeſtic part of our Hiſtory, if not the moſt entertaining, muſt at all times be the moſt intereſting, and perhaps the moſt uſeful in the end, as furniſhing examples of experience and political œconomy.—The emigrations from the Highlands of Scotland, to Canada, Nova Scotia, and the United States of America, in the years 1800, 1801, &c, became ſo very alarming that the Lords Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury, in the autumn of 1802, appointed a committee to enquire into the extent of the evil, and to report their obſervations thereupon from

from time to time to the Houſe of Commons. The committee ſo empowered without loſs of time proceeded to enquire into the cauſe of thoſe ſucceſſive emigrations, and at the ſame time to propoſe meaſures, which by giving employment to the induſtry of a hardy race of people, might preclude them from the neceſſity of ſeeking ſubſiſtence in diſtant countries, and which might at the ſame time promote the general improvement and proſperity of the empire; but in the interim, it was thought neceſſary to call the moſt ſerious attention of the legiſlature to the ſufferings and hardſhips which thoſe who had already emigrated appeared to have endured, for want of proper treatment on their paſſage. The committee then came to the following reſolutions:

Reſolved,

That it is the opinion of this committee, that perſons emigrating from different parts of the united kingdom, have, in various inſtances, ſuffered great diſtreſs and hardſhip, on account of the crowded ſtate of the veſſels, the want of a ſufficient ſtock of proviſions, water and other neceſſaries for the voyage, and in various other reſpects.

Reſolved,

That it is the opinion of this committee that it is expedient to regulate the veſſels carrying paſſengers from the united kingdom to his Majeſty's plantations and ſettlements abroad, into foreign parts, with reſpect to the number of paſſengers which they ſhall be allowed to take on board, in proportion to the tonnage of ſuch veſſels, as well with reſpect to the proviſion of proper neceſſaries for the voyage.

To ſubſtantiate the truth of the firſt reſolution, ſeveral extracts from the reports of the Highland Society of Scotland were laid on the table of the Houſe of Commons, from the commencement of the year 1773 down to the year 1804. As the two following are particularly intereſting, they are given at full length.

"The committee have alſo had occaſion to ſee a printed petition to the Court of Seſſion, taking notice of ſome facts relating to an emigrant ſhip that took on board paſſengers at Skye, for Carolina, in 1791. In that caſe it appeared that the veſſel was of about two hundred and ſeventy tons burthen; the number of paſſengers about four hundred, including women and children; ſo that their ſituation was moſt uncomfortable and dangerous, there being hardly room for them to ſtretch themſelves. There were three tiers of beds fore and aft, and two midſhip.—The births for a full paſſenger * were eighteen inches broad. Thoſe fore and aft were only about two feet high, including the ſpace occupied by bedding, ſo that it was ſcarcely poſſible to creep into them. The others were a little higher, ſo that the paſſenger could turn himſelf on his ſide, and reſt on his elbow. To add to their calamities, they neither had ſufficiency of victuals nor proper cooking utenſils, there being only two pots, of twenty-four pints each; which were quite inadequate to the preparation, in any reaſonable time, of a meal for four hundred perſons. Had the veſſel made out its voyage, the chief part of the people muſt have been conſumed by diſeaſe and filth; which laſt was horrible; but after being twelve days at ſea, the ſhip was diſmaſted and put back to Greenock, where many of the paſſengers, eſpecially children, died from the effects of the ſhort voyage they had made. Theſe unfortunate people were completely cured of their paſſion for America, and happily found an aſylum in the benevolence of Mr. David Dale, who employed them in his extenſive cotton manufactory in the vicinity of Glaſgow.

"Though the minute particulars of the voyages made laſt ſummer have not come to the knowledge of the committee, they are enabled to ſtate the following circumſtances, for the information of the Society. The whole burthen of two veſſels from Fort William is aſcertained to have been five hundred and fifty-nine tons, and, as already mentioned, the numbers they conveyed, though appearing by the clearances at Fort William to have been only five hundred and ſixty-five beſides the crews, are on good grounds believed to have amounted to ſeven hundred; they muſt therefore have been extremely crowded. The committee have indeed peruſed a letter from collector Campbell at Fort William to the ſecretary of the Society, giving an account of the accommodations on board theſe veſſels; and the committee mention that gentleman's name with pleaſure, as his humane conduct in the inſpection he made, deſerves the higheſt approbation; but they are bound to mention (what they have from authority on which they have every reaſon to rely) that the accommodations of one of the veſſels (and perhaps alſo of the other) underwent a conſiderable change after ſhe left Fort William. The collector mentions two tiers of births, with a ſpace between of ten feet for exerciſe. This was a moveable platform; which when the veſſel was afterwards fully loaded, was taken away to give place to a third and lower tier of births, which the collector never ſaw, and to which the port holes he mentions could furniſh no circulation of air. It is accordingly ſtated that fifty-three of the paſſengers died on board one of the veſſels before reaching America."

To this we ſhall annex the following curious extract from the evidence of James Grant, Eſq. of Redcaſtle:

"On this point (the extent of emigration) I do

* The term "full paſſenger" is explained in one of the documents produced.—Every perſon above ſixteen years of age falls under that deſcription. Thoſe under that age are claſſed together, and the amount of their ages divided by ſixteen gives a rule for eſtimating their ſpace in the ſhip, the proviſions allotted them," &c.

not pretend to any great degree of accuracy; I ſpeak from the beſt verbal and written informations I have been able to procure, reſpecting the number of ſhips already freighted and departed, or ſtill expected for the purpoſe of conveying emigrants to America; together with the circumſtances and diſpoſition of the people on thoſe eſtates from whence emigration is apprehended. Accordingly the numbers already actually departed, ſince the concluſion of the laſt war to the preſent time, I eſtimate at five thouſand perſons; an equal number ready to embark in the courſe of the enſuing ſeaſon; and that the whole depopulation to be expected progreſſively from the preſent ferment of emigration, may extend in all to twenty-five thouſand ſouls, comprehending the ten thouſand above ſtated; and which greater number, calculating the total population of the four counties alluded to, at one hundred and fifty thouſand, I conſider as equal to a full third of all the exiſting inhabitants of the Weſt Highlands, including iſlands above referred to."

To counteract this drain of population, the firſt meaſure that preſented itſelf was to enact that ſhips only of a certain tonnage, ſtored alſo with a certain quantity of wholeſome proviſions, water, &c. ſhould be permitted to ſail from any of the ports on the coaſt of Scotland with emigrants. This, no doubt, put a temporary ſtop to emigration; but a better plan was reſorted to, which it is hoped in the end will ſtrike at the root of the evil. The landed proprietor, inſtructed by his intereſt, granted leaſes of ſmall farms, at a moderate rent, ſuch as enabled the tenant to live by the ſweat of his brow. Intereſt and humanity thus blended together, operated more powerfully in this reſpect than all the reſtrictive laws that could be paſſed by the legiſlature. It is well known that no man wiſhes to leave his country, if he can live in it. It is either immediate or the fear of future want that impels him to "tempt the dangerous deep" to ſeek a dwelling in a diſtant clime, where his prejudices have perhaps to encounter with manners and cuſtoms very different from thoſe in which he was nurtured; and what is worſe than all, diſeaſes that may ſweep off his family, and leave himſelf a ſolitary ſojourner in a foreign land. One thing was ſtill wanting to finiſh what had been ſo laudably begun, and that was that the human mind ſhould not be permitted to remain in a ſtate of ignorance; it would be needleſs in theſe enlightened days to expatiate on the advantages of education; it is a ſubject that has engaged the attention of the beſt and wiſeſt of men, and is ſo deeply interwoven with the intereſts of religion and morality, that thoſe two branches ſo eſſential to the preſent and future happineſs of mankind, are found to flouriſh in proportion only to the diffuſion of knowledge. The Britiſh ſenate, impreſſed with theſe truths, paſſed a law for making better proviſion for the parochial ſchool-maſters, and for making further regulations for the better government of the pariſh ſchools in Scotland.

This law was founded on an act paſſed in the parliament of Scotland, in the reign of king William the Third, in the year 1696.* The higheſt ſalary to the teacher by this act of William was only eleven pounds two ſhillings and two-pence, which by difference in the value of money and change in the circumſtances of the country, was found to be inadequate as a proviſion for a body of men whoſe labours are of ſo great public utility. The ſalaries were therefore encreaſed in proportion to their labours, and the extent of the pariſh. New ſchool houſes, and houſes and gardens for the school-maſters were ordered to be provided. And as it is eſſential in all inſtitutions of the kind, that the teacher ſhould be a man of good moral character, qualifications, &c. It was enacted,

"That every ſchool-maſter elected under the proviſions of this act, ſhall carry the minutes, or an extract or certified copy of the minutes of his election to the preſbytery, accompanied with atteſtations of his having qualified to his Majeſty's government; and the preſbytery ſhall thereupon take trial of his ſufficiency for the office, in reſpect of morality and religion, and of ſuch branches of literature as by the majority of heritors and miniſter ſhall be deemed moſt neceſſary and important for the pariſh, by examination of the preſentee, by certificates and recommendations in his favour, by their own perſonal enquiry or otherwiſe, and ſhall ſee him ſign the Confeſſion of Faith and Formula of the church of Scotland; and their judgment or determination as to the qualifications of ſuch preſentee for the office of ſchool-maſter, ſhall not be reviewed or ſuſpended by any court, civil or eccleſiaſtical; and provided they are ſatisfied with the ſame, he ſhall be furniſhed with an extract from their minutes, bearing that he had appeared, produced the atteſtations required, and had been found on trial duly qualified for diſcharging the duties of the office to which he had been elected, which extract ſhall complete his right to the emoluments provided by this act."

Windſor caſtle has a claim to hiſtoric notice on many accounts. Its antiquity, its ſituation, majeſtic grandeur, and as the favourite reſidence of our ſovereign. This royal ſeat had nearly undergone a thorough repair. The great entrance to the royal

* In this it is *inter alia* ſtatuated, "That there be a ſchool ſettled and eſtabliſhed, and a ſchool-maſter appointed, in every pariſh not already provided, by advice of the heritors and miniſter of the pariſh; and for that effect, that the heritors in every pariſh meet and provide a commodious houſe for a ſchool, and ſettle and modify a ſalary to a ſchool-maſter, which ſhall not be under one hundred merks nor above two hundred merks Scots, to be paid yearly, at two terms, Whitſunday and Martinmas, by equal portions."

apartments

apartments underwent an important change. Heretofore the cieling of the ſaloon had been ſupported by columns, with capitals of a ſort of mongrel Ionic, decidedly at variance with the original ſtyle of the building. Theſe columns were judicially converted into Gothic piers, ſuſtaining a grand cieling. A range of cloiſters, with appropriate enrichments, formed the ſides, while the centres of the piers led to a ſpacious and magnificent flight of ſteps, thirty-five in number, eaſy in aſcent, and decorated with a railing of bronze, the exterior part ſupporting, at equal diſtances, twiſted pillars of bronze and *or molu*, which terminated in highly embelliſhed lamps. Canopied niches added a conſiderable beauty to the landing, the armorial bearings of the crown were placed in the central front, under a painted arch. This produced an expreſſive effect, which was ſtill heightened by the pleaſing portion of light, admitted by the windows from an octagon lanthorn, raiſed at leaſt one hundred feet above the floor, and ſupported by circular ſpandrels, taſtefully embelliſhed with tracery and other characteriſtic *traits* of ſculpture. Of the two grand doors on the landing, one the entrance to the drawing room, the other to the queen's preſence chamber, the arrangement in both was new, ſtriking, and auguſt. In the latter, at the upper end of the apartment, on a throne was raiſed an equeſtrian figure of king Charles, with the duke de Biron on foot; the happieſt effort of the pencil of Vandyke, graced one ſide of the chimney-piece. On the other, a commanding figure of the duke of Alva diſplayed all the energy of Rubens.

In the courſe of this month ſeveral new agricultural ſocieties were formed throughout the kingdom. "The zeal and perſeverance," ſays Dr. Dickſon, "with which noblemen and gentlemen engaged in this ſubject, and the liberal and enlarged ſcale on which their experimental enquiries have been conducted, form no inconſiderable addition to the numerous other teſtimonies of the public ſpirit of individuals among us."

The following elegant and philoſophical paſſage from the ſame writer, will be read with pleaſure by every Briton that venerates the plough.—"Among the moſt ſtriking features by which the late century will be rendered memorable in the hiſtory of mankind, the moſt prominent and pleaſing is the unparalled progreſs of the arts and ſciences; in which they have been aided, as well by the public ſpirit of individuals, as by the various national eſtabliſhments in the different parts of Europe. In ſo truly noble an emulation our own country can with confidence claim a diſtinguiſhed place; and among its foremoſt pretenſions may juſtly advance that of having reſcued agriculture from the degradation to which it had been uniformly doomed by being conſidered as excluſively the province of the mechanical operator, and of having elevated this moſt antient and valuable art into an object of liberal and enlightened ſtudy, and ſcientific reſearch."

This, indeed, upon cool and mature reflexion, will appear a wonderful epoch in the annals both of ſcience and of man. The union of the two characters, the man of enlarged and comprehenſive mind, of deep and accurate thinking, with the huſbandman, the meer tiller of the ground (the former conſidered in every civilized age, as the higheſt in the ſcale of ſociety; the latter, perhaps as the loweſt) was a novelty worth adding to the luſtre even of the eighteenth century. It was not, like cotemporary revolutions, the wild and unjuſt abaſement of all that was moſt dignified; but the merited exaltation of what was moſt humble; it was not the degradation of the man of liberal attainments into the coarſeneſs of the ruſtic: but the approximation of the ruſtic towards the refinement of the man of liberal attainments; it was, in a word, the preciſe contraſt of the change, from what poetry tells of the Arcadian ſwains of the golden age, to the comparatively brutal ignorance and inſenſibility of the ſhepherds of modern times."

Our commercial details differ little in the courſe of this month from thoſe of the laſt. It was ſtated that government intended to turn its attention in a conſiderable degree to the trade of Canada, as a ſource of inexhauſtible wealth in its fiſheries and timber.* The French, who had for ſome time occupied the Meppen, for the purpoſe of intercepting the paſſage of Engliſh goods from Embden into the interior of Germany, on finding that the king of Pruſſia was reſolved to protect the freedom of that port, withdrew, ſo that this valuable inlet of commerce was thrown open to all Engliſh wares as uſual.

* Upper Canada is fertile in the produce of almoſt all ſorts of grain, ſuch as wheat, rye and oats. The immenſe lakes in that country abound with all ſorts of fiſh, particularly ſalmon, of the moſt delicious kind, ſturgeon, &c. &c. With reſpect to timber, the very mountains are covered with continued foreſts of oak, elm, aſh, pine, ſycamore, beach, cheſnut, walnut, &c. ſo that a conſiderable part of the timber requiſite for the conſumption of the Weſt India iſlands might be ſupplied by Canada, ſo little known to this country; but the admiration of every traveller that explores it.

CHAP. XXV.

Eaſt and Weſt India Affairs—Dreadful Hurricane—His Majeſty's Ship Theſeus—The noted Captain Blackman taken—ſome Account of him—Total Loſs of the Romney.

WE ſhall now proceed to a relation of the events which occurred in November 1804. A ſeries of the Calcutta gazettes arrived in the courſe of this month; they contained little of general intereſt. A French ſquadron of one line of battle ſhip and three frigates, in December, 1803, appeared off Fort Marlborough. On the following morning two of the frigates proceeded to Poolo Bay, where they deſtroyed one ſhip and captured another. The houſe of the preſident, and the company's pepper gardens were afterwards burnt by the enemy, and about four hundred tons of pepper were deſtroyed. Theſe were the only captures and depredations they committed. A committee was appointed at Fort William on February 16th, 1804, by order of the governor-general in council, for the purpoſe of inveſtigating and reporting the claims of the European commiſſioned and non-commiſſioned officers, and of the native commiſſioned and non-commiſſioned officers, and ſepoys, &c. who were employed under the command of Captain Charles Chatfield, in the capture of Chinſurale, in the month of July, 1781. The following was the diſtribution:

	Curt. Rs.			equal to	Curt. Rs.		
2 Captains each 120 ſhares is - - -	28,654	13	0		57,309	0	0
6 Lieutenants 70 do.	16,715	4	11		100,291	13	5
2 Serjeant Majors, 4 ditto - - - -	955	2	6	4-5ths	1,910	5	1
5 Serjeants, 2 do. -	477	9	3	2-5ths	2,387	14	5
10 Subudhrs, 5 do. -	1,193	15	3		11,939	8	6
20 Jemindars, 3 do.	716	5	11	1-10th	14,327	6	6
55 Havilders and Native Doctors 1¼ do.	318	6	2	12-55ths	17,511	4	2
997 Noaks, Tindals, Sepoys, Drummers, Laſcars, Puckalees and Bheeſties, ¼ do.	159	3	1	1-7th	1,58,715	13	11
Current Rupees -					3,64,393	12	0

This act of juſtice to a number of individuals, who had borne all the hardſhips of war with unexampled patience, gave univerſal ſatisfaction at home and abroad; as it was a proof that their ſervices were not forgotten in the lapſe of time. It muſt be alſo gratifying to reflect that in the midſt of wars and preparations for wars, the intereſts of religion were attended to in that country. The Proteſtant chapel n the Black town, Madras, was conſecrated on Sunday, February the 6th, 1804. The conſecration form was read by the Rev. Dr. Kerr, under ſanction of a ſpecial authority, deputed to him for that purpoſe, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury. The ſentence ſeparating the chapel from all prophane and common uſes, and dedicating it entirely to the worſhip of Almighty God, being pronounced, the ſervice of the day began. The chapel was attended by a numerous congregation of ladies and gentlemen.

The Windward iſland experienced a hurricane of almoſt unexampled ſeverity. It began on the 4th of September, and continued all that day, and the two following days. St. Kitt's ſuffered moſt, every veſſel there being utterly loſt, to the number of one hundred and twenty. At Antigua fifty-eight veſſels beſides a packet * were caſt away; at St. Bartholomew's fifty; St. Thomas's forty-four, of which five were Engliſh. The loſs was chiefly of American veſſels. The dreadful effects of this hurricane was ſo extenſive that Captain Counal, of the brig Agenora from Surinam and St. Thomas' to New York, ſtated that he was three days in ſailing through pieces of the wrecks.

The Admiralty received a letter from Captain Conway Shipley, dated his Majeſty's ſhip Centaur, off Guadaloupe, the 31ſt of July, giving an account of the boats of that ſhip cutting two French privateers out of Baſſeterre roads: this gallant action was performed in the face of a heavy fire of grape ſhot and muſquetry from the batteries and troops on the beach. One of the privateers had ſixty-five men on board, moſt of whom were killed by the Centaur's party, or drowned.

Accounts were received of the hurricane which his Majeſty's ſhip the Theſeus of ſeventy-four guns, Captain Edward Hawker, encountered in the Weſt Indies, from the 4th to the 15th of September, in company with L'Hercule, of ſeventy-four guns, Captain B. D. Dunn. Throughout the whole of this affecting ſtruggle for the preſervation of life, every exertion of nautical ſkill, activity and perſonal exertion was reſorted to and chearfully borne by the officers and men. On the approach of the ſtorm, every precaution was taken to put the ſhip in ſuch a ſtate as to diminiſh the power of the winds and the waves; notwithſtanding all theſe endeavours, on the 6th of September the main-top maſt was blown away, and in its fall carried away the top-ſail yard, the jolly boat, which was hoiſted up to the ſtern, and the cutter on the ſtarboard quarter were waſhed away. The ſhip made much water, ſo that the hands were kept at the pumps. The two after-moſt chain pumps broke, and became entirely uſeleſs, as alſo one of the hand-pumps on the main deck, after which the water gained faſt on the other pumps. There were

* The packet was the Cumberland, ſhe was lying at anchor in the road of St. John's, waiting for the mail, when the hurricane commenced. The affecting ſituation of the ſhip during forty-eight hours of danger and anxiety, cannot be expreſſed.

five

five feet water in the hold, and not the leaſt appearance of the hurricane abating. Fourteen of the foremoſt and aftermoſt of the guns were thrown overboard, in order to eaſe and lighten the ſhip; ſoon after this the main truſſes gave way, and the yard ſwang tremendouſly from ſide to ſide with every roll; attempts were made to laſh it to the maſt, but it was impoſſible to be done. The chain plates ſoon after gave way, the mainmaſt went overboard to windward, cloſe by the deck, and the mizen-maſt ſhared the ſame fate to leeward. On the 7th the foremaſt, after being ſprung in two or three places by ſeveral ſucceſſive and tremendous rolls, went overboard to windward, leaving a piece of about fifteen feet ſtanding on the deck, which ſoon after fell down on the forecaſtle; the foreſtays were obliged to be cut away immediately, to ſave the bowſprit; every hand that could be ſpared was employed to clear the wreck from the pumps; great part of the wreck having fallen on the beſt bower anchor, the latter was obliged to be cut away to get rid of the former. The tiller was now found to be ſprung; the water gained faſt upon the pumps; burnt ſeveral blue lights to L'Hercule during the night, which were not anſwered by her. At midnight there were five feet ſix inches water in the ſhip, and from the motion it was with difficulty that the men could ſtand to the pumps. On the 8th, got the pumps for the firſt time ſince the hurricane; ſeveral hands were ſent down into the well, and cleared it of an immenſe quantity of ſand and rubbiſh. The ſtorm at length began to ſubſide; made the ſignal for Captain Dunn to enquire into the ſtate of L'Hercule; found her by his report nearly as bad as the Theſeus, with the exception of the quantity of water made by the latter. The 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th, were employed in pumping, rigging, &c. and on the 15th anchored in Port Royal harbour, L'Hercule in company.

The plague in Malaga, which had committed ſuch ravages in that quarter, extended its baleful influence to Gibraltar, and intereſted the feelings of every individual in the Britiſh nation. It was introduced there by twenty Spaniards, who had fled from Malaga; ſoon after their arrival twelve of them died, and the proprietor of the premiſes they occupied, with all his family, ſoon followed. On the 13th of September 1804, when the firſt alarm was given, in conſequence of ſeveral ſudden deaths in one quarter of the town, it appeared on examination that there were few families, in which more than one had been attacked by this contagious fever; and the ſurgeon who attended them gave it as his opinion, that the diſeaſe was of an infectious and highly alarming nature; an opinion which was ſeverely reprobated at the time, but which fatal experience evinced to be too true. On the 15th of the ſame month the Catholic prieſt publicly declared, that thoſe who died of the fever had all the ſymptoms of the Malaga diſtemper, which he had often witneſſed. On the 20th, the deaths had encreaſed gradually to ſeventeen daily; and notwithſtanding upwards of twelve different inſtances had then occurred, by ſeveral people dying of the diſorder in the ſame family, ſtill the idea of contagion was run down, and reprobated when any one dared to ſuggeſt ſuch opinion.

Moſt people, however, now began to be ſeriouſly alarmed, and to truſt to the evidence of their ſenſes; and as they ſaw no effectual ſteps taken for checking the contagion, numbers began to fly from the place in all directions. Large ſums were offered to veſſels by the wealthy inhabitants, to convey them away. Some got to the Barbary coaſt, and many others took to the living in craft on the water. A cordon of troops was at firſt placed round the town, but the deſpair of the inhabitants was ſo great, as every perſon felt himſelf as it were under ſentence of death, that it was found impoſſible then, of courſe it was withdrawn. The Jews were the principal ſufferers, for want of cleanlineſs and precaution. The deaths were averaged at nearly ninety per day; on one day one hundred and fourteen were buried. Medical men were conſulted, and every meaſure that they could ſuggeſt to diminiſh the mortality, adopted. A lazaretto was erected on the neutral ground, where the ſick poor was removed as ſpeedily as poſſible, and every attention paid to them. Among the Britiſh, a committee of five were choſen to aſſiſt the government in applying the moſt likely means towards the promotion of the public health, relieving the diſtreſſed, burying the dead, &c. Bills of health were ordered to be iſſued, and, by way of purifying the air, the guns in the line wall round the town were ordered to be fired three times a day. The ſymptoms of this terrible diſorder, were, the patient, without any previous warning, was generally attacked with a ſlight giddineſs, immediately followed by a ſevere head-ach, with acute pains, darting inwards to the orbits of the eyes. The eyes became red, watery, and inflamed, and ſeemed almoſt to ſtart from their ſockets; the pulſe hard and quick, commonly one hundred and thirty in a minute, followed by great debility, pains in the loins, and violent cramps in the legs, with oppreſſion at the breaſt and ſtupor; all theſe ſymptoms rapidly increaſed, and generally proved fatal on the third or fourth day, and ſometimes in twelve hours, if not checked by proper treatment.

From the ſtrong apparent determination of the diſeaſe to the head, the faculty at firſt had recourſe to bleeding, which generally proved fatal; as, where it ſubdued the fever, the patient often expired ſuddenly, when thought out of danger. The moſt ſucceſsful mode of treatment at firſt was a ſtrong doſe of glue and calomel, combined with an equal quan-

tity of jalap, or rhubarb, the inſtant the patient was attacked, to which the fever generally yielded in a few hours; and afterwards calomel, with antimonials adminiſtered in ſmaller quantities, rarely failed in a complete reſtoration of health. In purſuance of this plan, this dreadful peſtilence was at length ſubdued, and every precaution taken to prevent the recurrence of it.

Captain H. W. Pearſe, of his majeſty's ſloop Halcyon, off Gibraltar Bay, informed the lords of the Admiralty that on the 20th of September, after a chaſe of eight hours, inceſſantly, pulling, and boats towing againſt a ſtrong current, he captured L'Eſperance, French privateer of Nice, pierced for twelve guns, but only ten mounted, of different calibres, from twenty-fours to twelves, having on board fifty-four men. The captain added, "I beg leave to mention to your lordſhips, ſhe is the ſame privateer that captured the Swift cutter, Fortitude merchant brig, and three letters of marque, belonging to Gibraltar: ſhe is the longeſt, and beſt equipped of the kind I have yet ſeen."

Having mentioned what was worthy of account in our diſtant ſeas, our next buſineſs with reſpect to our navy is to notice what happened at home. On the 20th of November, the Gazette contained a letter from Captain Hancock, of his majeſty's ſloop the Cruiſer, dated off Yarmouth. This gallant officer, in purſuance of the orders which he had received from the lords of the Admiralty to watch the movements of the enemy in the ports of Oſtend and Fluſhing; and being on the 16th of the ſame month cloſe in with Oſtend, in five fathoms water, with the ſloop under his command, and the gun brigs Bold and Ann, and Florence cutter, obſerved a ſtrange ſail ſtanding in ſhore. Captain Hancock immediate wore, and made all ſail in chaſe, which continued during the whole day; and as the ſtranger diſplayed much ſkill and ability in all his manœuvres, he tried our veſſels in every point of ſailing with various ſucceſs, ſometimes gaining on our ſloop, and our ſloop in turn veering him, for a run of ninety-ſeven miles by the log; during the latter part of the chaſe the wind freſhened conſiderably, but this did not give the advantage expected, as he preſerved his diſtance till a quarter before five A. M. when both his topmaſts went away; he then attempted a maſterly manœuvre to eſcape, which the haſe, the darkneſs of the night, and the lee tide, gave him a fair proſpect of ſucceeding in, by clewing up his remaining ſails, and coming inſtantly to an anchor, although in twenty-five fathoms water, in hopes he ſhould be paſſed unperceived, or that he ſhould get to the leeward. Although Captain Hancock was not aware to the full extent of this accident, he never loſt ſight, but ſoon after came up with him, and ordered three guns to be fired into the enemy, who appeared to be a large armed brig, with nine ports on a ſide; and, when on the point of being hailed preparatory to giving him a broadſide, he called out, begging the cruizer not to fire, as he had ſtruck. On boarding, it turned out to be the daring Captain Blackman, ſo well known during the late and preſent war in thoſe ſeas*. The veſſel he commanded proved to be Le Contre, admiral Majou, French privateer brig, quite new; it was her firſt cruize, pierced for eighteen, and mounting ſeventeen guns of different calibres, manned with eighty-four men, French, Danes, Swedes, and Americans; had been out eighteen days from Dunkirk, and in that time had captured different veſſels.

It now devolves on us to ſtate the total loſs of the Romney, of fifty guns. This fine veſſel ſailed from Yarmouth, laden with bullocks, vegetables, &c. for the blockading fleet off the Texel; and ſhe had all the letters for the fleet, beſides trunks and parcels for moſt of the officers, every perſon looked out with impatience for her arrival. On the 23d of November, the Alert cutter returned from reconnoitering the mouth of the Texel, and brought with her the maſter's mate of the Romney, and thirteen men, ſhe had picked up on a raft the night before. This ſad diſaſter took place on the ſouth Haak ſand, five miles weſt of the Texel. This unfortunate accident originated with the Romney miſtaking three American ſhips, wrecked the night before on the Haak ſand, for part of our Texel fleet at anchor; nor was the miſtake diſcovered till the ſhip ſtruck, as the weather was very thick, and blowing hard, with rain. A tribute of gratitude is due to the admiral, officers, and the crews of the

* Blackman was in one part of his life a player, and acted with conſiderable applauſe on the theatre at Dunkirk; but at the breaking out of the revolution, finding that the playhouſe was but little frequented, and the war with England ſoon after following, knowing ſomething of nautical affairs, he engaged, with ſome others, to try his fortune by privateering, in which he was ſo ſucceſsful, that he launched two carriages, and lived in an elegant houſe, in the Baſſeville, and was looked upon as one of the principal merchants in that quarter. At the time he was captured he was about forty years of age, well made, tall, in his manners genteel, and had received a liberal education, and of good abilities. This was the third time of his being made a priſoner by the Engliſh. He was at one time a ſmuggler, and in that line gained a perfect knowledge of the Engliſh veſſels and the coaſts. In order the better to delude the traders, he had his veſſel painted after the manner and ſtile of our large fiſhing veſſels; and the few hands he choſe to expoſe upon deck, were equipped as fiſhermen: on coming along-ſide any veſſel he deſigned to make a prize of, he boldly jumped on board, and aſked if they wanted any fiſh (having generally ſome with him as a blind) when he had an opportunity of obſerving their force, which, if inferior to his, he had only to call his men from below to take poſſeſſion of the prize, frequently without noiſe, or buſtle, or the firing of a gun.

The Loss of the Romney, Man of War.

Published as the Act directs Oct 1st 1805 by J. Boydell Print Seller in Ordinary

The seizure of Sir George Rumbold.

Published as the Act directs by J. Stratford, N.os Holborn Hill, Dec.r 1st 1804.

Dutch men of war in the Texel, who ſent out five launches, with a flag of truce, to the wreck, at the hazard of their lives; they approached the Romney, and by their humane exertions, the lives of three hundred Britiſh ſeamen were ſaved.

CHAP. XXVI.

Seizure of Sir George Rumbold, the Britiſh Miniſter.—Reaſons aſſigned by the French for that Act of Violence.—Remonſtrance of the Engliſh Court on the Occaſion.

IN the relation of the extraordinary events which occurred in the times of which we are now treating, we have to record one unexampled perhaps in the page of hiſtory. In all ages, and in all nations, barbarous and civilized, the perſon of an ambaſſador was cloathed with inviolability; and it was expected if the French ſhould violate all the laws of nations, that they would at leaſt have reſpected this. What then muſt have been the ſurprize of thoſe who indulged this opinion to learn, that on the night of the 25th of October a detachment of French troops, conſiſting of two hundred and fifty men, commanded by General Frere, landed from three boats on the Hamburgh territory, a part of the detachment, to the amount of eighty men, under the conduct of two guides, to Grendel*, the country ſeat of Sir George Rumbold, the Britiſh charge d'affaires for Hamburgh. Sir George had reſided there for ſome time; his only attendants were a male and a female ſervant. Having heard a knock at the door, he got out of bed to learn what was the matter, when he immediately perceived that the houſe was ſurrounded by ſoldiers, who inſtantly ruſhed in and took him priſoner. All his papers were ſeized and carried off, and Sir George having been conducted in a carriage to the banks of the Elbe, whence he was conveyed to Paris, and lodged as a priſoner in the Temple. The preſumptive cauſe of this arreſt may be collected from the following order of the French government, under which it was executed.

"*Paris, Sept.* 30.

MINISTRY *of* GENERAL POLICE.

The Senator, Miniſter of General Police of the Empire, Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour, &c. &c. to Marſhal Bernadotte, General in Chief of the Army of Hanover.

"I have material proofs, M. Marſhal, that the Engliſh agent, Rumbold, at Hamburgh, follows the ſyſtem of eſpionage, and of machinations which have already excited the indignation of Europe againſt Drake and Spencer Smith; and it is evident, that the circular letter of Lord Hawkeſbury, in conſequence of the conſpiracies diſcovered of theſe two wretches, that the Britiſh government has dared to avow, and reduce even to a ſyſtem, that of conſpiracies on the part of its miniſters, accredited to allied or neutral powers. Theſe miniſters are thus, as it were, conſtituted conſpirators, and placed out of the law common to civilized nations. The expreſs order of his majeſty the emperor, is, that M. Rumbold ſhall be ſeized, and that you make ſure of all the papers which may be found in his houſe. I invite you in conſequence, M. Marſhal, to take all the neceſſary meaſures for the moſt prompt execution of this operation.

"FOUCHE."

The following State Paper will preclude the Neceſceſſity of any Obſervations on this Outrage of diplomatic Privilege. It is a Copy of the Communication which the Britiſh Court directed to Mr. Jackſon, our Miniſter at the Court of Berlin, to preſent to the Miniſter of his Pruſſian Majeſty.

"His majeſty has received advice of an unexampled act of violence, committed at Hamburgh, on the perſon of Sir George Rumbold, his miniſter, to the government of that city, who was ſeized in his own houſe, during the night of the 25th of October, by a detachment of French ſoldiers, and carried off, together with the documents relating to his miſſion.

"After the repeated proofs, which the conduct of the French government has afforded, of its abſolute contempt for every obligation of the law of nations, his majeſty cannot be ſurpriſed at the enormity of ſuch outrage on the territory of a feeble and defenceleſs ſtate.

"But his majeſty owes it not only to himſelf, and to the reſpectable and unfortunate city, whoſe rights have been more immediately attacked, but alſo to his relations with the reſt of Europe, and to the dignity of every power, that ſtill retains the deſire and the means to preſerve its independence, not to delay a moment his ſolemn proteſt againſt ſo atrocious an aggreſſion.

"Were it poſſible for ſuch an act to be rendered ſtill more inſulting and more horrible, it would be by the explanation which is underſtood to have been given of it by the French reſident at Hamburgh, viz. 'That it had taken place in conſequence of an order from the head of the police at Paris, directed to the commandant of the forces at Hanover.'

"His majeſty is convinced, that there will not be a ſingle power on the continent, which can remain inſenſible to the conſequences of a meaſure, that in

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* Grendel is a ſmall collection of country houſes, not far from the Hamburgh gate.

its principle, and by its example, immediately threaten's every court which may be within the reach of the French armies, and that at the ſame time tends to the deſtruction of the ſacred rights of every neutral territory, to the extinction of the uſual communications between independent ſtates, and to the total annihilation of the privileges of diplomatic miniſters, hitherto recogniſed and reſpected in all ages, and by all nations."

The communications which his majeſty's miniſters abroad were directed to preſent to the miniſters of the courts at which they reſided, were varied according to the circumſtances of the reſpective relations of thoſe courts with the Germanic empire. The following paragraph is attached to the note delivered to the Pruſſian miniſter.

"His Pruſſian majeſty unqueſtionably will not only participate in the ſentiments which muſt be common to every ſovereign; but the vicinity of his dominions, and his ſituation, both as director of the circle of Lower Saxony, and as guarantee of the Germanic conſtitution, will induce him to feel a deep and peculiar intereſt in this unparalleled tranſaction. His majeſty cannot therefore allow himſelf to entertain a moment's doubt that his Pruſſian majeſty will ſecond and enforce, in the moſt effectual manner, the repreſentations which have been made by the Senate of Hamburgh for the immediate releaſe of his majeſty's miniſter, and will further ſee the urgent neceſſity of taking ſuch meaſures as may be beſt calculated to obtain from the French government a public reparation adequate to the heinous nature of the indignity, and may alſo prevent for the future, the repetition of outrages, which threaten to deſtroy the remaining diſtinctions of civilized Europe.

"*Downing-ſtreet, Nov.* 5, 1804."

The only effect of this circular letter was to call forth equivocal anſwers from the different courts to which it was addreſſed. Sir George Rumbold, however, was releaſed from his confinement, and on the 18th of November he arrived in London. Here the matter reſted.

CHAP. XXVII.

Domeſtic Affairs.—Blockading Syſtem.—Account of Breſt Harbour.—Cantonments of our Troops for Winter.—Launch of the Hibernia Ship of War, Dimenſions, Tonnage.—Lord Mayor's Day.—Speech of the Chief Baron to his Lordſhip.—Fête to the Volunteer Craven Legion.—Sunday Schools.—Plowing Match.—Manufactories.

HAVING now taken a view of our colonial affairs, our domeſtic concerns naturally claim our attention; thoſe of a public nature are of courſe entitled to the lead. Our blockading ſquadron off Breſt* maintained their ſtation with a ſteadineſs and naval ſkill that reflected the higheſt honour on the officers and men.

It is almoſt unneceſſary to obſerve, that from the ſtate of the Continent, it was abſolutely neceſſary that every preparation ſhould be made at home to put the nation in a ſtate of ſecurity, ſo as to ſet the threats of the foe at defiance, and conſequently to trace the patriotiſm and martial genius of the nation, and the talents of adminiſtration in the conduct of affairs that demanded more than an ordinary degree of intellectual exertion. We have traced theſe exertions from month to month, and ſhall continue to do ſo in the courſe of our hiſtory. In this purſuit, the firſt point that claims our attention is an Official Paper that was iſſued in the ſeveral brigades and corps taking up their cantonments for the winter; it was dated head-quarters, Canterbury, Nov. 1, 1804. The leading order ran in theſe words: "Every corps will continue to conſider itſelf as liable as to be called upon at the ſhorteſt notice to move, or change its ſituation; and commanding generals, or commanders of regiments, will reſpectively give the requiſite orders and inſtructions to that end, that no hindrance or obſtacles may ariſe on a ſudden emergency; and with this view it is particularly enjoined, that officers are not permitted to be abſent from their quarters but by proper authority, according to the known rules of

* Breſt is the naval depôt, or arſenal belonging to France, on the ſide of the Atlantic, or as it might, perhaps, with truth be added, throughout the whole of its territory; is ſituated in lat. 48. 23. N. long. 42. 25. W. of Greenwich; N. W. lies the iſland of Uſhant, between which and the coaſt are a number of rocks and ſmall iſlands, which would render the paſſage of a fleet between that and the main extremely difficult and dangerous. Almoſt at the entrance of Breſt harbour are two bays, nearly oppoſite to each other; that to the northward, called Bertheaume Road; that to the ſouthward, Camaret Bay. The whole of the coaſt is extremely well fortified, and defended by innumerable batteries; the harbour is capacious, and the port furniſhed with immenſe magazines for the reception of naval ſtores of every kind. The rope yards are extenſive. The ſtore houſes, the docks, and every other neceſſary convenience and erection for the equipment of a fleet, have been rendered as perfect, probably, as human ingenuity and the liberal expenditure of an immenſe ſum could effect; the town itſelf is extremely well fortified, according to the ſyſtem of Vauban. Thoſe who wiſh to enter the bay of Breſt, may run along the coaſt on either ſide with ſafety, but not through the wind channel, on account of the rocks called the Fillets, as are only perceptible at low water; as alſo of one called the Mingau, which, except at high water, is always above the ſurface. Thoſe who come from the northward, ſhould keep along the north coaſt, carefully; but ſuch as run in from the ſouthward, ſhould, in the ſame manner, keep along the Camaret ſide, keeping the caſtle of Breſt always in ſight. Without the point of Pentateuch, when the two ſteep points which keep cloſe together on the coaſt to the eaſt of Cameret, are made, and the caſtle of Breſt is loſt behind the point of Pentateuch, a veſſel is in danger of being on the Fillets.

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the ſervice; and that a regular attendance at the parades, as well as other duties of the regiment, are on no account to be diſpenſed with. The different ſtations of the commanding generals were then ſpecified; namely, Dover, Deal, Canterbury, Aſhford, Feverſham, Oſpurge, Chatham, &c.

As every circumſtance that relates to the navy deſervedly finds a ready acceptance with the Engliſh reader, the following, perhaps, may not be deemed unworthy of a place in this department of our hiſtory. On the 20th of November 1804, the Hibernia, of one hundred and twenty guns, was launched from Plymouth Dock. As ſhe was the largeſt man of war ever built in England, and of the greateſt force; and as it is hoped that ſhe will be diſtinguiſhed in our naval annals, and do honour in particular to the name ſhe bears, we ſhall annex the dimenſions, tonnage, &c. of this floating forteſs.

Guns, 32, 24, 18, and 9-pounders	120 guns.
Length of keel - - - -	167 feet.
Length from figure head to the taffrel	241
Length of gun deck - - -	201
Extreme breadth - - -	53
Ditto depth - - - -	60
Ditto hold - - - -	22
Tonnage - - - - -	2,499 tons.

In our domeſtic affairs, whatever concerns the rank and importance of the city of London, has confeſſedly a decided claim; a foreign writer (M. Miſſen) ſays, "that in his day three of the grandeſt ſpectacles in Europe were the inauguration of the pope, the marriage of the doge of Venice to the Adriatic, and the lord mayor's ſhow in London. This laſt, amidſt all the viciſſitudes of time and public opinion, has maintained, and we truſt will continue to maintain, its original ſplendour. This ſolemn inveſtiture of the city Prætor took place as uſual on the 9th of November, in this year. As it was uſhered in and accompanied with all the wonted ceremonies on this occaſion, it is merely mentioned with a view of introducing a few paſſages from lord chief baron Macdonald's ſpeech to the lord mayor elect, Peter Perchard, Eſq. which, to the generality of our readers, will point out in a certain degree the importance of this high office.

"My Lord,

"The truſt repoſed in thoſe who hold your ſituation, is one of the higheſt importance: for you muſt be ſenſible how much the peace, tranquility, and good order of the whole country depend upon the preſervation of good order in the metropolis. Any commotion or diſorder in the city of London, muſt materially affect the peace and proſperity of the farthеſt corners of the empire. Your lordſhip muſt alſo be ſenſible of the uſe which corporations are intended by the laws to ſerve. It is to preſerve the conſtitution unimpaired in Church and State, and to diſcourage fanciful innovations. For this purpoſe very conſiderable privileges have been conferred upon different corporations, particularly that of London. You alſo know the difficulties of your ſituation, and how much they muſt be ſmoothed by your good intentions. For precipitancy and raſhneſs generally lead to the greateſt miſchiefs. The city of London has been delivered to you in peace, proſperity, loyalty, and happineſs. That you will deliver it to your ſucceſſor in a ſtate equally happy, we have the ſtrongeſt aſſurance from the long tried reſpectability which you have carried with you from a private ſtation, and from the talents and fidelity of thoſe who ſurround you."

Perhaps it is not ſaying too much that the domeſtic part of Engliſh hiſtory is diſtinguiſhed by features very different from thoſe of other countries in the ſame department. Even our national entertainments on many occaſions are worthy of commemoration, when a ſpirit of patriotiſm wings the glaſs, and adds a zeſt to the convivialities of the ſocial board. Under this deſcription it is preſumed that we may rank the following. On Friday the 16th of November a grand Fête was given by Lord Ribbleſdale, at Giſborne Park, in Yorkſhire, to the officers and friends of the Craven Legion of volunteers, of which his lordſhip was colonel. All the principal families in the neighbourhood were invited to a ball and ſupper. The fine Gothic lodge at the entrance into the park, and the approaches to the houſe, were lighted, and guards mounted. The ſuite of apartments leading to the ball room, were fitted up with great magnificence and taſte. The dining room, a ſpacious lofty dome, richly and elegantly adorned in ſtucco, lighted by a Grecian luſtre from the centre of the cupola, and on this occaſion by a ſplendid ſtar of variegated lamps, with the complimentary initials C. L. (Craven Legion.) The merry dance, with all kinds of the choiceſt refreſhments, continued till near twelve o'clock, when the company ſat down to a moſt ſumptuous entertainment. A vaſt abundance of game, and a profuſion of all ſeaſonable rarities, that either the town or country could ſupply, were ſerved up with the greateſt taſte, and enjoyed with that ſenſible warmth of glee and harmony, which refined manners and reciprocal affections only can excite.

In the din of war, and tumultuous conflict of public opinion and jarring intereſt, it is pleaſant to reflect that the intereſts of religion were not forgotten. In the courſe of this month it appeared from the half yearly report of the "Society for the ſupport of Sunday ſchools in the counties of England and Wales," that from the commencement of the inſtitution, the ſociety has afforded aid, either in books or money, to two thouſand three hundred and twenty-nine ſchools, containing one hundred and ſix

thouſand eight hundred and eighty-four ſcholars, for whoſe uſe they have diſtributed eight hundred and ninety-two thouſand eight hundred and fifty-eight ſpelling books, forty-four thouſand five hundred and ſeventeen teſtaments, and ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and one bibles, beſides a ſum of 4,122*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.* granted for the payment of ſuch teachers in thoſe ſchools as required pecuniary rewards. Sixty-four men ſchools were eſtabliſhed in the preceding half year.

From the cultivation of the mind it is natural to proceed to the cultivation of the ſoil, and as emulation is the ſoul of the one as well as the other, we need ſcarcely ſay that both have been found of the greateſt advantage. It is in England only that the plough is a candidate for public trophies. In this month the premiums offered by the Farmer's Club at Naibeth, in Pembrokeſhire, were ploughed for on the farm of J. H. Foley, Eſq. of Ridgeway, on a piece of old ley, that had not been broken up for upwards of fifty years; each plowman having a pair of horſes without a driver. Perhaps, a more amuſing, intereſting, and a more gratifying theme of reflexion, could not be exhibited; and as ſuch it is merely mentioned. Thoſe who excelled were rewarded in proportion to their merit, and thoſe who failed were cheered with the hopes of future ſucceſs. A ſummary of the principal manufactures of Great Britain, in the month of which we are now treating, may be conſidered as worthy of record:

	Annual value, £.	Perſons employed.
Woollen - -	15,500,000	425,042
Leather - -	10,500,000	241,818
Cotton - -	9,500,000	322,140
Silk - - -	2,700,000	60,000
Linen and flax -	2,000,000	60,000
Hemp - -	1,500,000	35,000
Paper - -	900,000	30,000
Glaſs - -	1,500,000	36,000
Potteries - -	2,000,000	45,000
Iron, tin, and lead -	10,000,000	200,000
Copper and braſs -	3,500,000	60,000
Steel plating, &c.	4,000,0000	70,000

CHAP. XVIII.

Eaſt Indies.—Reflexions.—Gallant Action between an Engliſh Cruiſer, and a French Privateer.—State of Affairs in Ceylon.

WE are now come to the laſt month of the year 1804. In the outſet it is pleaſing to reflect, that when ſtates, founded in all the wiſdom of antiquity, apparently inſured by ſucceſſive dynaſties, hereditary prejudices, and religious ſentiments, were diſſolving into their primary elements, and yielding to the almoſt irreſiſtible influx of revolutionary opinion enforced by arms, that the Britiſh empire remained unmoved like a pyramid deeply inſerted in a rock, and that the integrity of the united kingdom, with all its colonial appendages, were maintained and ſtrengthened in ſuch a manner as to bid defiance to the ſurrounding ſtorm. In purſuance of our plan, we ſhall begin with the Eaſt. The ſyſtem of policy adopted in the government of that country, and unfortunately purſued, gave to thoſe who turned their attention to its tranſactions, and who could look into "the ſeeds of time," little hopes of the continuance of a peace in that empire. The native princes were jealous of each other, and he that courted the favour of the Britiſh government was ſure to be viewed with increaſed diſtruſt by the reſt; ſo that all confidence, which is the ſoul of treaty, was out of the queſtion. We hope, however, experience will teach the councils of this country that wiſdom, which will lead to the extinction of thoſe jealouſies; and that the true intereſts of all will be conſulted in ſuch a manner, ſo as to render the magnanimity and juſtice of the Britiſh nation paramount to every other conſideration.

On Saturday the 8th of December the purſer of the Tigris arrived at the India Houſe: ſeveral letters were received by the ſame conveyance. The intelligence brought by theſe letters was, that the diſtricts ceded by the late Nizam to the Mahratta ſtates had been reſtored, in conſequence of the new arrangements reſulting from the late war; and ſeveral crores of rupees had been paid to the reſtored Nizam, as an indemnity for the revenues of thoſe provinces while in the hands of the Mahrattas. The Tigris brought an account of a very gallant action between an Engliſh cruiſer, the Wilhelmina, and a large French privateer, in the Indian ſeas.

The Wilhelmina, Captain Lambert, mounting eighteen nine-pounders, and having on board one hundred and twenty men, cruiſing off Trincomalée, on the 11th of April 1804, fell in with an enemy's veſſel off Friar's Hood, which bore down to attack him. The enemy had thirteen ports on each ſide, and appeared a very ſuperior ſailer; but the gallantry of Britiſh tars was never known to give way to the foe, even when her force and equipment doubled our own. The enemy reconnoitered the Wilhelmina by going three or four times completely round her. She then commenced a warm cloſe action, which was kept up with great ſpirit an hour and a half. The Wilhelmina had at this time her fore-top-maſt ſhot away, and nearly the whole of her rigging damaged, when ſhe poured a complete broadſide into her antagoniſt, which cauſed her to bear up, and ſtand away. Captain Lambert had

twelve men wounded, and one killed. From the deſcription of the enemy's ſhip, it was found to be the Pſyche, the veſſel that captured the Admiral Alpin. She received conſiderable damage in the action. The Frenchman mounted twenty-ſix twelve-pounders on her main deck, twelve twenty-four pound carronades on her quarter deck and fore-caſtle, and two cohorns in her poop. The engagement was at half cable's length diſtance. The ſecond captain, two lieutenants, and thirty men, were killed on board the Pſyche, together with thirty-ſeven officers and men badly wounded.

The Ceylon Gazette of the 18th of April 1804, brought intelligence from Batticalloa, that on the 27th ult. a large body of the enemy, conſiſting of one hundred and eleven Malays, ten gun Laſcars, eighteen Caffres, and upwards of three thouſand armed Candians, entered that province, and advanced to Nay Patamona. Lieutenant Arthur Johnſon, commandant of the fort, went out immediately to meet them, with part of the garriſon; but they did not wait his arrival, and fled with precipitation beyond their own limits, not having time to commit any eſſential depradations. Thirty-ſix of the above-mentioned Malays, and ſix Bengal Laſcars, who were of the number of thoſe taken at Candy, came over to us, and repreſented the whole Candian country in a ſtate of great miſery and terror. This miſery and terror was daily encreaſing, and all preparations made by the Candian government, for a general invaſion of the Britiſh provinces, completely fruſtrated by the ſpirited incurſions lately made into their own territories. Several of their garriſons had been ſurprized, and great quantities of grain and cattle brought down in ſafety to Putlain, and what could not be carried off was deſtroyed. All the grain in Bovillam, that populous and fertile country, to the amount of eight hundred thouſand parraks, was burnt. On the 19th ult. Captain Andrew Macpherſon, of the Madras volunteers, entered the Candian province of Saffregam, from Nambepane; and Lieutenant Roſſi, of the Malays, the province of the four Corles, from Aerſavalla, and met near Alavetta on the 19th, having completely deſtroyed all the proviſions which were collected, and deſolated the whole country which lay on our frontiers, between the rivers of Columbo and Cattura.

The firſt Adigaar had, about the ſame time, proceeded with a very conſiderable force from Batooghedore to Colonna, with the intention of invading the province of Matura, but retreated precipitately, on the approach of Captain Mudge, commandant of the garriſon of Matura; who, paſſing the Candian limits, laid waſte the whole Colonna Corle, and returned to his ſtation on the 13th inſt. It is much to be lamented that the conqueſts of Britons ſhould be traced only in deſolation, and that the unoffending inhabitants of a country ſhould pay ſo dearly for the ambition of a few leaders. The Engliſh having once ſhewn their invincibility, ſhould reſort to means, perhaps better calculated than the ſword, to convince the natives that it was the wiſh of our government that they ſhould live happily under. We ſincerely hope that ſuch means will not be left untried. The Candians are, it is true, in a ſtate of nature, but ſtill they are men, and as ſuch ſuſceptible of gratitude and kind uſage.

The Diana merchant ſhip, which arrived at Portſmouth on the 14th of December from Barbadoes, brought an account of a gallant action which had been fought between three Weſt Indiamen, and a large French privateer.

The Ceres, Captain Beresfield, of three hundred and ſeventy-two tons, eighteen guns, and thirty-ſix men; and the Penelope, Captain Robinſon, of two hundred and twenty-five tons, ſixteen guns, and twenty-two men, both belonging to alderman Rowcroft, of the city of London, rendezvouſed at Cork, ſome time in the preceding month, with the intention of ſailing along with the Weſt India fleet, under convoy of the Princeſs Charlotte frigate; but, to their mortification, they found that the fleet had quitted that port on its voyage a day or two before. Theſe veſſels met at Cork the Thetis, Captain Mounley, of Lancaſter, which, like themſelves, had been diſappointed of convoy. The Thetis conſiſted of two hundred and ninety tons, and carried nine-pounders, and thirty men; they agreed to purſue their voyage in company with each other. Nothing material occurred on their paſſage, till they arrived within a day's ſail of Barbadoes, when they perceived at a diſtance a ſtrange ſail bearing towards them; this was on the 7th of November. The headmoſt ſhip concluding it was an enemy, ſlackened ſail, to ſuffer her companions to come up, that they might place themſelves in an advantageous ſituation for action. On the veſſel nearing them they perceived her to be a large privateer, and that ſhe was determined to attack them. The Ceres bore down to meet her, and received the firſt broadſide; the privateer being well manned, and with expert ſeamen, ſhe was ſoon in a ſituation to pour into her a ſecond broadſide; when the captain of the Thetis (ſhe being a light ſhip) perceiving the ſituation of her companion, ran his ſhip with great gallantry between the privateer and the Ceres, and received the whole of her broadſide. The Penelope now joined in the action, and the battle became deſperate. The merchantmen got their guns to bear upon the enemy, and was ſoon convinced of the great impreſſion their fire made upon him, by the appearance of his rigging, &c. The privateer finding himſelf ſo roughly handled, at length tacked about, and made all the ſail he could to get away; they however, willing to follow up the advantage they

they had gained, gave chace, and the enemy, being ſomewhat crippled, they ſoon came up with him, when the action was renewed, and a running fight kept up for ſome time, during which the three merchantmen peppered the privateer, that her foremaſt, mizen-maſt, and bowſprit, were all carried away, and there was every reaſon to ſuppoſe great ſlaughter had been made among the crew. Our ſhips alſo ſuſtained ſome damage, and loſt a few men. When the privateer found he could no longer make any way, he lay to, and in that ſituation ſtill prepared to defend himſelf; but the merchantman being convinced of the impracticability of taking poſſeſſion of the enemy (admitting that he ſhould ſtrike) from his great ſuperiority of numbers, proceeded to accompliſh the remainder of their voyage. The value of the veſſels and their cargo was eſtimated at three hundred thouſand pounds.

The following day the three merchantmen reached Barbadoes, and immediately communicated to governor Maxwell an account of the action. The governor ſaid, he had good reaſon to know that their opponent had done more miſchief in that part of the world than any other of the ſame deſcription had ever done before. The privateer was called the Bonaparte; ſhe carried twenty-twelve and eighteen-pounders, and two hundred and fifty men.

It will always be a pleaſing reflection and a ſource of national pride, that in our naval accounts of the war, which we are now narrating, that in tempeſts, through the goodneſs of Divine Providence, our ſhips generally eſcaped; and that in almoſt every engagement, Britiſh courage triumphed over even ſuperiority of numbers; to the many actions of this nature, we have to add the following: Apprehenſions having been entertained that hoſtilities with Spain were unavoidable, our cruizers kept a ſharp look-out, and were very ſucceſsful in their captures. On the 27th of November, Captain Sir Richard Strachan, of the Donegal, took a large Spaniſh frigate off Cape St. Vincent, after a chaſe of forty-eight hours, and ſixteen minutes action, in which the Spaniſh captain was killed. The prize was from Cadiz, with diſpatches for Teneriffe and the Havannah, laden with ſtores. The Donegal had alſo captured another Spaniſh ſhip, ſuppoſed the richeſt that ever ſailed from Cadiz. It was ſaid that her cargo was worth two hundred thouſand pounds. On the 29th of the ſame month, our ſquadron (nine ſail of the line) on the ſame ſtation, captured the following ſhips:

	£.
Noſtra Signora del Roſario, value	10,000
Il Fortuna - - -	8,000
La Virgine Aſſumpto - -	6,000
St. Joſeph - - -	12,000
Apollo - - - -	15,000
Signora del Purefacatione - -	40,000
Fauket - - - -	1,000
Guſtavus Adolphus - -	1,000
A Settee - - - -	600
A ſhip with naval ſtores - -	40,000

It did not require any uncommon ſtock of political ſagacity to foreſee that a war with Spain was inevitable: if the cabinet of that kingdom was left to the freedom of its own dictates, matters might have been eaſily accommodated; and perhaps on laſting terms too, as from the relative ſituation of the two countries it might have been founded on mutual intereſt. But it was well known that Spain, which at one time aſpired to univerſal monarchy, was at the time, as well as the moment we are writing, proſtrate at the feet of Bonaparte; and that ſhe was obliged to ſubſcribe to whatever he dictated; ſo that in fact Spain was a political province of France, and in that medium only our miniſters were conſtrained to view her. The court of St. James's knew that Spain, by the treaty of Ildephonſo, was obliged to furniſh France with an immenſe ſum of money; the only aid ſhe could afford, which would enable her to continue the war with this country.

Mr. Frere, our miniſter at Madrid, made all the allowances for the peculiar ſituation of that court, conſiſtent with the dignity of the country he had the honour to repreſent. The capture of the four regiſter ſhips on the 5th of October, made a moſt public ſenſation even in the very heart of Spain; in the maritime towns it was, if poſſible, ſtill greater; yet the merchants of both countries hoped that a reconciliation ſtill might take place, but they hoped in vain. On the 14th of December the king of Spain publiſhed a manifeſto, which no doubt was manufactured in the cabinet of St. Cloud. In this ſtate paper, as it might be expected, the Spaniſh monarch recapitulates the ſacrifices he had made to maintain, on his part, the treaty of Amiens; and, above all, the aſſurances he gave to the Engliſh agent at Madrid, as well as by his miniſter at London, to the Britiſh government, of his decided and firm reſolution to remain neutral during the war; "making no doubt that he ſhould quickly have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing that theſe ingenuous aſſurances were well received by the court of London." Theſe obſervations are followed by ſome paſſages that cannot be omitted in a queſtion of ſuch moment, in which the juſtice, liberality, and even generoſity of the Britiſh nation, are deeply involved. "Nevertheleſs," ſays the Manifeſto, "that cabinet (St. James's) which muſt have reſolved in ſilence beforehand, and for its own particular ends, upon the renovation of the war with Spain, and which it was always able to declare, not with the forms and ſolemnities preſcribed by the law of nations, but by means of poſitive aggreſſions, which ſhould turn to its

its own profits, fought the moſt frivolous pretext to bring into doubt the conduct of Spain, which was truly neutral, and to give demonſtrations at the ſame time, to the deſires of his Britannic majeſty, to preſerve the peace, all with the intention of gaining time, cajoling the Spaniſh government, and holding in uncertainty the opinion of the Engliſh nation upon its own premeditated and unjuſt deſigns, which could in no manner be approved by it. Thus it is, that in London it appeared artfully to accept various reclamations from Spaniſh individuals, which were addreſſeed to it, while its agents in Madrid magnified the pacific intentions of their own ſovereign: but they never ſhewed themſelves ſatisfied with the frankneſs and friendſhip with which all their notes were anſwered, rather anxious for proclaiming and magnifying armaments which had no exiſtence, and pretending, contrary to the moſt poſitive proteſts on the part of Spain, that the pecuniary ſuccours given to France were not merely an equivalent for the troops and ſhips which were ſtipulated in the treaty of 1796, but an indefinite and immenſe ſtock, which did not permit them to conſider Spain in any other light than as a principal party in the war.

"Moreover, as there was not time entirely to baniſh the illuſion under which they laboured, they exacted, as the preciſe condition on which they would conſider Spain as neutral, the ceſſation of every armament in her ports, and a prohibition of the ſale of prizes brought into them; and, notwithſtanding that both of theſe conditions, although urged in a tone ſuperlatively haughty and unuſual in political tranſactions, were immediately complied with, and religiouſly obſerved; they perſiſted, nevertheleſs, to manifeſt their want of confidence, and they quitted Madrid with eagerneſs, immediately after receiving diſpatches from their court, of which they did not communicate a particle of their contents.

"The context," continues the Manifeſto, "which reſults from all this between the cabinets of London and Madrid, muſt be ſufficient to ſhew clearly to all Europe, the bad faith, the ſecret and perverſe aims of the Engliſh miniſtry; even if they had not manifeſted them by the abominable crime of the ſurprize, attack and capture of the four Spaniſh frigates, which, navigating in the full ſecurity which peace ever feels, were fraudulently attacked in conſequence of orders from the Britiſh government, ſigned on the very moment, in which it was faithleſsly exacting conditions for the prolongation of the peace, in which every poſſible ſecurity was given to it, and in which its own veſſels were provided with proviſions and refreſhments in the ports of Spain.

"Thoſe very veſſels, which were enjoying the moſt perfect hoſpitality, and were experiencing the fidelity with which Spain was proving to England the good faith of her engagements, and how firm her reſolutions were to maintain her neutrality; thoſe very ſhips carried, concealed in the boſom of their commanders, the unjuſt orders of the Britiſh cabinet for aſſaulting Spaniſh property on the ſeas; iniquitous orders, and profuſely circulated, ſince all its veſſels of war on the ſeas of America and Europe, were already detaining and carrying into its harbours as many Spaniſh veſſels as they met with, without reſpecting even the cargoes of grain, which were coming from all parts to ſuccour a faithful nation, in a year of the greateſt calamity.

"Barbarous orders, ſince they deſerve no other name, to ſink every Spaniſh ſhip under an hundred tons; to burn thoſe which they found on ſhore on the coaſt, and to make prize of, and carry to Malta, thoſe only which exceeded one hundred tons. The maſter of a caud, of Valentia, of fifty-four tons, has made this declaration, that he effected his eſcape in his launch upon the 16th of November, on the coaſt of Catalonia, when his veſſel was ſunk by an Engliſh veſſel, whoſe captain took from him his papers and flag; and informed him that he had received theſe expreſs inſtructions from his court.

"In ſpite of ſuch atrocious actions, which proved to perfect evidence the covetous and hoſtile views which the Engliſh cabinet had meditated, it was ſtill able to carry on further its perfidious ſyſtem of binding the public opinion, alledging, for this purpoſe, that the Spaniſh frigates had not been carried into the Engliſh ports, in quality of prizes, but as being detained until Spain ſhould give the deſired ſecurities, that ſhe would obſerve the ſtricteſt neutrality.

"And what greater ſecurities could or ought Spain to give? What civilized nation, until this hour, has made uſe of means ſo unjuſt and violent to exact ſecurities of another? Although England ſhould find at laſt any claim to exact from Spain, in what manner ſhould ſhe juſtify it, after a ſimilar atrocity? What ſatisfaction ſhould ſhe be able to give for the lamentable deſtruction of the frigate Mercedes, with all its cargo, its crew, and the great number of diſtinguiſhed paſſengers who have periſhed, the innocent victims of a policy ſo deteſtable.

"Spain would not comply with what ſhe owes to herſelf, nor think herſelf able to maintain her well known honour and dignity amongſt the greateſt powers of Europe, were ſhe any longer to ſhew herſelf inſenſible to ſuch manifeſt outrages, and did not take care to revenge them with the nobleneſs and energy that belong to her character.

"Animated with theſe ſentiments, the magnanimous breaſt of the king, after having exhauſted (in order to preſerve the peace) all the reſources compatible with the dignity of his crown, finds himſelf

in the hard predicament of making war upon the king of England, upon his ſubjects and people, omitting the formalities of ſtile by a ſolemn declaration and publication, owing to the Engliſh cabinets having begun and continued to make war without declaring it."

The king of Spain proceeded to ſtate that he did not doubt "that all his ſubjects, inflamed with that juſt indignation with which the violent proceedings of England muſt inſpire them, would not omit any of thoſe means to which their valour ſhould prompt them, of co-operating with his majeſty towards the moſt compleat vengeance for the inſult of the Spaniſh flag. The Spaniſh ſubjects were then invited to arm corſairs againſt Great Britain, and to poſſeſs themſelves with reſolution, of her ſhips, and property, by every poſſible means."

CHAP. XXIX.

Proceedings of the Britiſh Cabinet in conſequence of the Spaniſh Declaration of War.—Rear Admiral Ruſſel's Letter to the Dutch Admiral Kekkert.—Robbery of Mr. Wagſtaff, the Meſſenger.—Opinions of the Judges on the Education of the Branches of the Royal Family.

IN conſequence of the Spaniſh declaration of war, it became unavoidably neceſſary that the Britiſh cabinet ſhould immediately adopt ſuch meaſures as the circumſtances of the caſe ſuggeſted as the moſt likely to counteract the hoſtile preparations of the enemy, the firſt ſtep was to publiſh the following:

Order of Council forwarded to the proper Officers at all the Out-ports, and to the Vice-Admirals of the maritime Counties.

"At the court at the queen's palace, the 19th Dec. 1804, preſent, the king's moſt excellent majeſty in council.

"Whereas information has been received that an embargo has been ordered to be laid on all Britiſh ſhips in the ports of the kingdom of Spain: it is this day ordered by his majeſty, by and with the advice of his privy council, that no ſhips or veſſels belonging to any of his majeſty's ſubjects, be permitted to enter and clear out for any of the ports of Spain, until farther orders: and his majeſty is farther pleaſed to order, that a general embargo or ſtop be made of all Spaniſh ſhips and veſſels whatſoever, now within, or which hereafter ſhall come into any of the ports, harbours, or roads, within the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, together with all perſons and effects on board the ſaid ſhips and veſſels; but that the utmoſt care be taken for the preſervation of all and every part of the cargoes on board any of the ſaid ſhips, ſo that no damage or embezzlement whatever be ſuſtained.

"S. COTTRELL."

This was followed by a declaration of war on our part, on the 25th of January 1805, of which we ſhall ſpeak in its place.

We ſhall now inſert a letter written by rear-admiral Ruſſel to rear-admiral Kekkert, commander in chief in the Texel. The omiſſion of it would be an act of injuſtice to the feelings of the writer.

"His Majeſty's Ship Eagle, North Seas, Dec. 2, 1804, p. m.

"SIR,

"I Have this moment received your flag of truce, conveying to me the honourable Captain Colvill, late of his Britannic majeſty's ſhip the Romney, wrecked upon your coaſt, with eight of his officers, whom you have firſt humanely ſaved from impending deſtruction, and whom your government has, with its ancient magnanimity, releaſed and reſtored to their country and friends on their paroles of honour. They are all, Sir, moſt ſenſibly affected with heartfelt gratitude to the Batavian government for their emancipation from captivity, to admiral Kekkert, for their preſervation from the jaws of death, and to all the Dutch officers and inhabitants of the Texel, for their kindneſs and moſt humane attention. This, Sir, nobly alleviating the rigours of war, as the Chriſtian heroes of your country and mine were wont formerly to do in thoſe ſeas, before a conſiderable portion of European intellect was corrupted by falſe philoſophy. Captain Colvill will communicate to the right honourable the lords commiſſioners of the Admiralty your propoſal for the exchange of priſoners. Accept, Sir, of my ſincere thanks, and the aſſurance that I am, with great reſpect, &c.

"T. M. RUSSELL.

The ſeizure of Sir George Rumbold was followed by an act which cannot be paralleled in the worſt times of European hiſtory; namely, the robbery of Mr. Wagſtaff, the meſſenger, with diſpatches, &c. On the 7th of December 1804, Mr. Wagſtaff left London with diſpatches for St. Peterſburgh and Berlin. On the 14th of the ſame month, he took a carriage with intent to proceed in the uſual way through Berlin, for his ultimate deſtination. At Nohrdoff, he was joined by a Hanoverian meſſenger, who was travelling the ſame route. They arrived without any accident at Lubec. Having paſſed through that town, as they travelled through a wood, they obſerved a man on horſeback, dreſſed in a cloak; he appeared to take particular notice of them, and took the opportunity of frequently looking into the carriage. As the travellers were well armed, only one man to be ſeen, and it being

being noon day, they had little apprehenſions of danger. They were however ſoon convinced of their miſtake. Five men ruſhed out of their ambuſh, and joined the perſon whom they had firſt ſeen; theſe ſix proceeded with great haſte towards the carriage; each of them was armed with a carbine, having a fixed bayonet. They ſurrounded the carriage, and in a peremptory tone demanded their diſpatches. They accordingly obtained from the meſſengers two leathern bags, which contained the diſpatches belonging to both. The meſſengers now expected they would be permitted to depart, but they were not ſo fortunate; ſentinels were placed over them, they were taken into a part of the wood, where the meſſengers were ordered to alight from the carriage, on which the banditti (who ſpoke French) pulled out ſome cords; each of the priſoners was deſired to pull off his great coat, which the robbers immediately put on, and proceeded to bind the priſoners with the cords to a tree; they then told them that if they attempted to regain their liberty till the expiration of an hour and a half, by calling for aſſiſtance, or ſtruggling to untie themſelves, they would return and put it out of their power to repeat either one or the other. The robbers proceeded to rifle a trunk and portmanteau, which they had brought into the wood for that purpoſe; and having taken every thing valuable out of them, quitted the priſoners, whilſt they once more reminded them of the danger that would follow the leaſt violation of the commands they had enjoined. The unfortunate perſons bore their ſituation with great patience, till the pains ariſing from the tightneſs of the cords became intolerable; and about an hour of the time being elapſed, each of them began to ſtruggle for his liberty; at length Mr. Wagſtaff obtained the liberty of one of his arms, which enabled him to liberate himſelf and his unfortunate companion. The moment they got diſengaged, they heard a ruſtling noiſe among the buſhes, which they were fearful proceeded from the return of the banditti. This idea filled the Hanoverian with ſo much fear, that he would not attempt to eſcape, but entreated Mr. Wagſtaff to bind him again to the tree, that he might be found at his *poſt* when the enemy returned. They received intelligence however by a waggoner that the whole of the banditti had been ſeen on horſeback riding toward Ratzeburgh. On this intelligence they ſet out to the next village, where they found their poſtillion, who drove them to Schwerin, which they reached in the evening. At this place Mr. Wagſtaff diſpatched a letter to Mr. Jackſon, the Britiſh miniſter at Berlin, apprizing him of the loſs of the diſpatches, and returned to England."

It appeared from ſubſequent circumſtances, that this nefarious tranſaction was planned by the French government, with a view of getting at the underſtanding which exiſted at the time between the courts of London and St. Peterſburgh.

The education of the branches of the royal family, muſt at all times be a matter of the deepeſt intereſt to the Britiſh ſubject, particularly in proportion to their approximation to the throne. The princeſs Charlotte of Wales had now arrived at that period of life, when it was deemed neceſſary that this important article ſhould be taken into conſideration. It certainly was a matter of ſo much delicacy, that to indulge any opinion on it would not be pardonable in an individual, after the illuſtrious characters who have been conſulted on that weighty point. It was not the firſt time this ſubject was agitated, and that the reader may form his own judgment on this queſtion, we ſhall add the following paper, which will be found to be valuable in every point of view in which it can poſſibly be placed, either as a private, public, or conſtitutional queſtion, and which is worthy of a place in a work of this kind, perſuaded that ſo valuable a document on ſo intereſting a point cannot be unentertaining to the reader.

Opinion of the Judges on the Right of the King to the Care and Education, and the Diſpoſal in Marriage of his Grandchildren, Feb. 1, 1717.

To the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

"May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

"In humble obedience to your majeſty's commands, ſignified to us by the right honourable the lord chancellor, requiring the opinion of all your majeſty's judges upon the following queſtion, viz.

'Whether the education and the care of the perſons of his majeſty's grand children now in England, and of prince Frederick, eldeſt ſon of his royal highneſs the prince of Wales, when his majeſty ſhall think fit to cauſe him to come into England, and the ordering the place of their abode, and appointing their governors and governeſſes, and other inſtructors, attendants, and ſervants, and the care and approbation of their marriages, when grown up, belongs of right to his majeſty as king of this realm, or not?'

"We whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, being ten of your majeſty's judges, together with the other two judges, having taken the ſame into conſideration, and after the moſt diligent ſearch that we could in this time make into acts and proceedings of parliament, treaties, public inſtruments and records, hiſtories and law books, and conſideration of the powers and prerogatives which from time to time, in very many inſtances, have been exerciſed and owned to belong to your majeſty's royal anceſtors and predeceſſors, with relation to the marriages and care of the perſons of the branches of the royal family, and of the great concern of the whole kingdom in ſo important a truſt, and after having,

purſuant

purſuant to your majeſty's farther command, ſignified in like manner to us, heard a learned ſerjeant at law, who by the command of his royal highneſs, laid before us ſeveral things relating to the queſtion aforeſaid; and after conferences and deliberations upon all the matters aforeſaid, and what occurred to us and the other judges thereupon, we are humbly of opinion that the education and the care of the perſons of your majeſty's grand children now in England, and of prince Frederick, eldeſt ſon of his royal highneſs the prince of Wales, when your majeſty ſhall think fit to cauſe him to come into England, and the ordering the place of their abode, and appointing their governors and their governeſſes, and other inſtructors, attendants and ſervants, and the care and approbation of their marriages when grown up, do belong of right to your majeſty, as king of this realm.

" All which we moſt humbly ſubmit to your royal majeſty's great wiſdom.

(Signed) PARKER. R. TRACY.
P. KING. R. DORMER.
T. BURY. J. PRATT.
L. POWYS. J. MONTAGUE.
J. BLENCOE. FORTESCUE, A."

Mr. BARON PRICE, and Mr. JUSTICE EYRE, detailed their opinions at conſiderable length on this important queſtion. The preamble ran thus:—

To the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

" May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

" In humble obedience to your majeſty's commands, ſignified to your judges by the right honourable the lord chancellor, we have taken into conſideration the following queſtion (as given above).

" And we are humbly of opinion, that the education and care of the perſons of your majeſty's grand children, the ordering the place of their abode, and appointing their governors, governeſſes, and other inſtructors, attendants, and ſervants, belong to the prince, their father. But that the care and approbation of their marriages when grown up, belongs to your majeſty, as king of this realm,

" This, Sir, is our *humble* opinion, but when we acquaint your majeſty that the care and approbation of the marriages of your grand children belong to your majeſty as king of this realm, we deſire to be underſtood as ſpeaking of a care and approbation not *excluſive* of the prince their father."

Having adduced many arguments in ſupport of this opinion, they added, " We find no inſtance where a marriage has been treated by the crown for any perſon of the royal family, without the conſent of the father, and we beg leave to aſſure your majeſty that there is no one expreſſion in any of our law books that warrants any ſuch aſſertion.

" As to the other part of the queſtion, in anſwer to which we cannot concur with the other judges, it is our duty humbly to lay before your majeſty, that in our opinion the father hath in all caſes a right to the cuſtody and education of his children, and this we take to be clear from the general rule of law.

" This opinion is bottomed on Littleton, Coke, Vaughan, &c. Having ſtated the reaſons which induced Bracton and Fleta to differ from this law, they thus added, " that as it is well known that theſe two writers founded their obſervation on the plan of the Imperial laws, which never were received or acknowledged in this country." After a number of legal and hiſtorical arguments, they concluded with theſe words:—

" Thus have we humbly laid before your majeſty what we have to offer in relation to the books and precedents that have fallen under our conſideration upon this head, which we cannot think ſufficient to infer a prerogative in your majeſty as king of this realm, in the care and education of your majeſty's grandchildren during the life, and without the conſent, of their father; a prerogative, as we apprehend, hitherto unknown to the laws of England.

" All which is moſt humbly ſubmitted to your majeſty's great wiſdom.

(Signed) " ROBERT PRICE.
" R. EYRE."

CHAP. XXX.

SUMMARY RETROSPECT OF THE PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES OF THE YEAR 1804.

Navy.—Volunteer Syſtem.—Defence of the Country.—Change of Adminiſtration.—New Cabinet.—War with Spain.—Uſeful Arts.—Trade.—Agriculture.—Ireland, Trade of that Country.—Learning.—Travels.—Baron Rumbold's College of Fort William.—Vaccine Inoculation.—Foreign Affairs.

HAVING now recorded the principal tranſactions of the year 1804 in the order of time in which they occurred, it remains to take a ſummary retroſpect of that eventful period, in which this country contended ſingle handed with a powerful and inveterate enemy. If we look to the favourite ſervice, we ſhall find juſt cauſe of national exultation in the gallantry of our fleets. No enterprize could be too arduous for their courage and nautical ſkill, and the gratitude of the country kept pace with our naval victories. The importance of our navy was more than ever appreciated: whilſt Bonaparte was adding one territory after another to the natural boundaries of France, we ſaw that all his

conqueſts on the Continent could not enable him to diſpute the empire of the main, or to put any one of his menaces againſt this country into execution. Our volunteer ſyſtem, which may be ſaid to have grown up all at once, gradually aſſumed a conſiſtency and form that would have inſpired the moſt irreſolute with confidence. This immenſe body, informed by one patriotic ſentiment, gave birth to many diſcuſſions in both houſes of parliament; the ſubject undoubtedly was worthy of the grand council of the nation; and we are fully perſuaded that whatever difference of opinion aroſe on that occaſion originated in the pureſt motives. The known reſtleſs ambition of the ruler of France, evinced in the aggreſſions he had already committed on unoffending nations within his graſp, and his hatred above all to this country, left no room to hope that time would diminiſh either one or the other. It was eaſy to ſee that England muſt of courſe become a military nation; that is, that every man of a certain age ſhould learn the uſe of arms. The mode in which this was to be carried into effect with the leaſt poſſible expence of time and money, was the queſtion; and on a queſtion of ſuch moment, and at the ſame time entirely new in the ſyſtem of national defence, it is not to be expected that it was to be digeſted in ſuch a way as to meet with the approbation of all. Great reliance undoubtedly may be placed in the public ſpirit of this country; every man is ready to do his duty, to give up a certain portion of his time to the ſervice of the ſtate, to undergo privations, but it is neceſſary at the ſame time to point out the means in a ſatisfactory manner by which that duty can be performed with due effect. Theories may be very plauſible, but it is experience alone that can determine the value of them. On a ſubject of this important nature miniſters ſhould not be influenced by any party ſpirit, they ſhould liſten to advice, it matters not from what quarter it may come; "in the multitude of counſellors there is ſafety;" all temporary expedients ſhould be diſcarded, they die away with the moment that gave birth to them; whilſt a permanent plan, founded in true wiſdom, and congenial to the minds of the people, will ſurvive the ſhocks of time, and be numbered in the end with the pillars of the conſtitution. The volunteer ſyſtem then is the ſpontaneous growth of the native genius of the united kingdom, emulation is inherent in it, but not one ſpark of envy; and at the ſame time it is calculated to diffuſe thoſe ſentiments of liberality, which are ſo dear to every generous heart. The materials are excellent, when properly applied, but they ſhould be only touched by the hand of a great maſter. Having diſpoſed of this ſubject, we ſhall proceed to thoſe which offer themſelves in the range of their importance.

Every plan that ingenuity could ſuggeſt for the internal defence of the country was diſcuſſed, and many carried immediately into execution, eſpecially thoſe ſanctioned by experience. Our ſituation as an iſland was conſulted, and all the advantages that ſuch a ſituation could impart were reſorted to, or put into a train of being adopted, as occaſion might require; ſome indeed, and amongſt theſe men of known talents, complained that their plans had been overlooked, and that they were rejected merely becauſe they originated with gentlemen who were attached to a party that did not implicitly ſubſcribe to all the political opinions of the miniſter. We are ſorry to ſay there is too much truth in this. The Oppoſition, as it was emphatically called in thoſe days, conſiſted of men of the firſt abilities in every department of public information. Many of them had bled in the cauſe of their country, by ſea and land, and of courſe their opinions ought to have great weight, eſpecially in a criſis that involved the very exiſtence of the ſtate. The public had time to form a due eſtimate of the adminiſtration of Mr. Addington, mild and economic, but ſtill they felt that it wanted vigour. This ſentiment was ſo general that Mr. Addington found it was neceſſary to yield to it. This miniſter, with a diſintereſtedneſs that ſhould never be forgotten, ſacrificed all the flattering proſpects that his high ſituation commanded on the altar of patriotiſm, in hopes that he would be ſucceeded in office by a miniſter that would collect all the talents of the country about him without diſtinction; but Mr. Addington was diſappointed in this expectation, as well as the country. Mr. Pitt, who had already unſucceſsfully held the reins of power, ſtill confident of his own merits, arranged an adminiſtration, by no means calculated to inſpire public confidence, the main ſpring of every miniſtry. Mr. Pitt had the faireſt opportunity on this occaſion to evince that liberality of ſentiment, which ought to actuate a great mind. Mr. Fox was his illuſtrious but generous rival. The country called on theſe two great men to unite their powers in the cauſe that is dear to civilized ſociety. Mr. Fox was ready to obey the call; but Mr. Pitt, from his conduct, ſeems to have thought that his own talents were ſufficient; but time has proved that he was deceived in that opinion, as well as in many others of a leſs important nature, which can be only placed to the account of that ambition which invariably marked his conduct as a man and a miniſter. The nation did not expect much from the new cabinet*, and in this they were not diſappointed.

The

* The new miniſtry conſiſted of the following members:

Lord chancellor - -	Lord Elden.
Chancellor of the exchequer, and firſt lord of the treaſury - -	Mr. Pitt.

The firſt act of the new miniſtry, that peculiarly arreſted the attention of the country, was a war with Spain; the arguments on that ſubject will be found *pro* and *con* in the parliamentary part of our hiſtory; thoſe that even approved it were obliged to acknowledge that it was a meaſure of neceſſity on our part, and that it could not be juſtified on any other ground. Spain at the time was as much a political province of France, as Normandy, or any other part of that country, and ſhe could oppoſe no reſiſtance to the imperious mandate of Bonaparte; of courſe, in ſuch a ſituation, the court of Madrid was rendered incapable of maintaining its engagements with this country, with all the fidelity that might be expected from an independent ſtate.

It is a pleaſing circumſtance, that in the midſt of war, the uſeful and even the elegant arts were cultivated, and carried to a high degree of perfection. Machines were invented that abridged labour, uſeful diſcoveries were made in chemiſtry and mineralogy, inland navigation was extended, and materials hitherto of little worth, apparently were brought into uſe, and added to the liſt of our manufactures. The Society of Arts in the Adelphi, rewarded the efforts of genius, and continued to excite a ſpirit of emulation in the votaries of thoſe arts that embelliſh human nature*.

The trade of England was progreſſively encreaſing; the ingenuity of our artizans, the fair dealings of our merchants, the activity of their capital united, lent it every aid of which it was ſuſceptible, under all the circumſtances of the day. Agriculture at length obtained that rank in England, which it had once acquired amongſt the wiſeſt of the Greeks and Romans, with all thoſe ſuperior advantages which the diſcoveries in chemiſtry can impart. The country gentlemen were emulous of improving their eſtates; experimental farms for this purpoſe were ſet apart, but unfortunately the *mania* of large farms, threw the petty landholder into the claſs of the daily labourer, and by this means the balance of ſociety was in a great meaſure deſtroyed. This is an evil that cannot be too much deplored; but it is hoped that the humanity and good ſenſe of the landed intereſt will ſee it in that point of view, and as the remedy is in their own hands, that they will apply it in time.

The moderate adminiſtration of the earl of Hardwicke, in Ireland, began to cheer the drooping ſpirits of that nation, and to inſpire a confidence in the government. As a preliminary ſtep towards the extinction of that animoſity, which had divided the inhabitants of that fruitful iſland into political and religious parties, it was propoſed to plant ſchools in different parts of the kingdom, founded on the ſyſtem of national education, which Mr. Orde had developed ſome years ago in the Iriſh houſe of commons†. This meaſure would be attended with the moſt ſalutary effect. The human mind would be new modelled, and man rendered what his Creator intended he ſhould be, a ſocial being, obedient to laws, and alive to the dictates of reaſon: a great deal might be done for the Iriſh at a little expence; they are a docile people, endowed with talents, that only want to be cultivated to render them at once uſeful and ornamental members of the community.

The cities of Cork, Waterford, and Lymerick, in the ſouth-weſt of Ireland, began to feel the benefit of the Union in point of trade, &c. as well as the town of Belfaſt, and city of Londonderry, in the north; the ſituation of theſe ports are peculiarly adapted to the trade of the weſtern world, which may be carried to a great extent, if ſufficient capitals could be eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe. We are ſorry to remark, however, that the fiſheries of Ireland were in a manner abandoned; but we are not without hope, that ſome public ſpirited gentlemen will yet unite to promote what may be ſaid to be an inexhauſtible mine of wealth.

Firſt lord of the admiralty -	Viſcount Melville.
Maſter general of the ordnance	Earl of Chatham.
Preſident of the council -	Duke of Portland.
Lord privy ſeal - -	Earl of Weſtmoreland.

SECRETARIES.

Foreign department - -	Lord Harrowby.
Home department - -	Lord Hawkeſbury.
War department - -	Earl Camden.

MINOR ARRANGEMENTS.

LORDS OF THE ADMIRALTY.

Lord Fitzharris,	Mr. Scott,
Lord Louvaine,	Mr. Long.
The hon. H. Wellesley,	

Secretaries of the treaſury, Mr. Huſkinſon, and Mr. Sturges Bourne.

Board of controul, lord Caſtlereagh, preſident.

Treaſurer of the navy -	Mr. Canning.
Secretary at war - -	Mr. W. Dundas.
Chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaſter	Lord Mulgrave.
Lord chamberlain - -	Earl of Dartmouth.
Maſter of the mint - -	Mr. Roſe.

Comptroller of the houſhold	Lord G. Thynne.
Attorney-general - -	Mr. Percival.
Solicitor-general - -	Mr. Dallas.

IRISH ARRANGEMENTS.

Lord lieutenant - -	Duke of Montroſe.
Commander in chief - -	Lord Cathcart.
Secretary to the lord lieutenant	Sir Evan Nepean.
Chancellor of the exchequer	Mr. Foſter.

* This ſociety was eſtabliſhed in 1754. The permiſſion given in 1760 for the artiſts of that day to exhibit their pictures in the ſociety's rooms, gave riſe to the noble and annual exhibition, ſince made in the Royal Academy's apartments in Somerſet Houſe. The mode of electing members is founded on the moſt liberal principles, an honour not denied to the fair ſex. The officers of the ſociety are annually elected by ballot, and every meeting of the ſociety or committee is open to every member. Upwards of ſixty thouſand pounds has been expended ſince the commencement of the ſociety in premiums and bounties.

† This plan is to be carried into immediate effect under the auſpices of the preſent viceroy, the duke of Bedford.

The immenſe coal mines in Ireland remained almoſt untouched. The advantages which the Iriſh would derive from working this uſeful ore, is incalculable; it would add vigour to their infant manufactures, for the comparative cheapneſs of labour in that country was more than counterbalanced by the exceſſive dearneſs of fuel.

With regard to the progreſs of learning in 1804, ſeveral works iſſued from the Engliſh preſs, which reflected great credit on the genius, taſte, and induſtry of the writers in the different departments of literature. Mr. Mungo-Parke reſumed his travels in Africa; Mr. Gell explored the remains of Homeric Troy; lord Valentia ſailed to the Eaſt, in botanic purſuits; and ſeveral gentleman began to form collections in the mineralogical and botanic kingdoms. The publication of ſeveral foreign works were looked for with great anxiety, particularly the travels of baron Homboldt, who arrived about the time we are writing of in this country *.

As we have touched on the ſubject of literature, the moſt intereſting to civil ſociety, we have to notice that the lovers of claſſical antiquities were gratified this year with the arrival of ſix volumes of the *paperi*, dug out of the ruins of Herculaneum. They were preſented by the king of Naples to his royal highneſs the prince of Wales. It is a moſt important event to the votaries of letters, that the prince has patronized this undertaking with ſo much ardour and liberality. Our men of reſearch will vie with each other in their ſuggeſtion of the means in the decyphering thoſe nearly obliterated manuſcripts.

Our readers may wiſh to have a ſhort ſtatement of the circumſtances that induced the prince to take ſteps to promote this great work. In the year 1800 the rev. John Hayter, a gentleman in every reſpect qualified for the arduous taſk, viſited Italy, under the auſpices of his royal highneſs, to collect thoſe precious remains, by the permiſſion of his Neapolitan majeſty, to unrol and tranſcribe them. This gentleman was generouſly moved to this undertaking by the love of literature, and by the accounts of the very ſlow progreſs which up to that time had been made in the developement of theſe manuſcripts. In 1802 Mr. Hayter, after a becoming expreſſion of his gratitude to the prince, gave a narrative of the progreſs of his miſſion, in which he gives the following account of theſe manuſcripts.

" The number of the manuſcripts ſaved from both thoſe cities †, is ſaid to be about five hundred; but, if I am rightly informed by thoſe whoſe official ſituation muſt give them a competent knowledge of the ſubject, your royal highneſs, by facilitating the developement of theſe volumes, will probably be the means of further excavation, and of reſcuing from their interment an infinite quantity of others. About thirty years ago, his Sicilian majeſty ordered the developement, the tranſcription, and reprinting of theſe volumes, which had been ſaved, to be undertaken. This operation was accordingly begun, and has never been diſcontinued till the late invaſion of the French. But this mode, however excellent, was extremely ſlow; it has been performed by a ſingle perſon, with a ſingle frame only, under the direction of the marquis del Vaſto, chamberlain to the king, and preſident of the royal academy.

" The frame conſiſts of ſeveral taper and oblong pieces of wood, with parallel threads of ſilk, that run on each ſide, the length of each piece: when the frame is laid on any volume, each piece of wood muſt be fixed preciſely over each line of the page, whilſt the reſpective threads, being worked beneath

* The baron at the period alluded to was about thirty-two years of age. At a very early period of life he commenced his travels; and for nineteen years was principally employed in contemplating the phyſical and moral ſtate of the countries through which he paſſed. Having made himſelf well acquainted with the European world, he embarked for America: the firſt place he landed at on the Continent was Cumana; thence he paſſed along the coaſt of Paria, and through ſeveral Indian tribes, until he reached Chamays. Paſſing through the province of New Andaluſia, he ſtopped at Barcelona, the Caraccas, and Portabello. He then traverſed the deſart of Apure, where the mercury of Fahrenheit is often one hundred and twenty degrees in the ſhade. He proceeded by water on the Apure, the Oronoco, (whoſe courſe as laid down in the maps is extremely erroneous) the Atabapo, and the Tonia, and then by land to Pemichin, Black river, Caſſiguare, to the mouth of the Oronoco, at St. Thomas. On this river there is an immenſe fall of three hundred feet in a diſtance of three miles.

Paſſing through the Carribean tribes, he reached Barcelona, and thence directed his courſe through the Cumana to the Havannah. From thence he embarked and paſſed to Batobano, and Carthagena; he then proceeded down the river Madelona to Honda, and then by land through the foreſts of Peru; where the tree, from which we derive the Peruvian bark, towers above the oak, with which it is mixed. Here at an elevation of nine thouſand two hundred feet above the level of the ſea, was found the wax palm tree, near the region of ſnow. Paſſing through Buga, Popargon, and Paſto, he arrived at Quito. From this point he explored with great patience and minuteneſs, the moſt intereſting volcanoes. Amongſt which he gained the ſummit of Pichincha, after repeated efforts. His predeceſſor attempted in vain to aſcend this eminence, when the baron obtained a full view of the crater; he found all below him in agitation, inſomuch, that during half an hour there were between fifteen and twenty earthquakes.

After exploring the country round Quito about a year, he proceeded to Maynas and Lima. At Lima he embarked on the Pacific for the bay of Guayacuil; whence he proceeded on the ocean to Aicapulca, in the province of Mexico. Having explored the various departments of this province, and paid a particular attention to its mountains, mines, &c. he embarked on the gulph of Mexico for the Havannah, after having travelled a diſtance computed at twenty-four thouſand Engliſh miles *.

† Herculaneum, and Pompeii.

* For a particular account of the Voyages and Travels made by perſons of various nations, ſee the Collection now publiſhing by Cavendiſh Pelham, Eſq. in a work intitled " THE WORLD, or the Preſent State of the Univerſe."

each

each line, and aſſiſted by the correſponding piece of wood above, raiſe the line upwards, and diſcloſe the characters to view."

The college of Fort William, which had been erected for the ſtudy of the Oriental languages, diſtributed premiums and honorary diplomas to thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the acquiſition of thoſe tongues. The following were the two prize themes propoſed in the year 1804, for the exerciſe of academic talent. "Is the knowledge of the Aſiatic languages of greater advantages to the public ſervice in India, than any other branch of learning?"

"Praiſe of the Arabic language."

The Jennerian ſyſtem of vaccination gained a number of proſelytes. The clergymen of the Baptiſt perſuaſion addreſſed a circular paper to their hearers, in which they recommended the practice of it, as a mild preventive of the ſmall pox, a malady that had hitherto given the moſt certain cauſe of alarm, and ſwelled the bills of mortality in many parts of the globe*. The concluding parts of this addreſs runs in theſe words: "That you may not remain ignorant of ſo ineſtimable a bleſſing, this ſhort ſtatement is preſented to you; and as you value the life of your infant, and the ſafety of your neighbourhood, you will immediately avail yourſelves of the advantages offered to you; for doubly poignant muſt be your ſorrow, if, by neglecting ſo to do, your child ſhould periſh, or be materially injured by the ſmall-pox."

Having now recapitulated the principal tranſactions of the year 1804, which more immediately related to the intereſts of this country; it is preſumed that this ſubject cannot be diſmiſſed without a word or two on the affairs of France. The elevation of Bonaparte to the Imperial throne was an event of the moſt extraordinary nature in the annals of modern hiſtory. A man of obſcure birth†, and not even a native of France, to ſeize all at once on the reins of empire, will ſcarcely be credited by poſterity; and what is ſtill more extraordinary, to be able to render his family hereditary in the regal line of France. This will lead to reſults that cannot as yet be calculated, and will undoubtedly have a great influence on the future relations of this country with the ſurrounding nations.

BIOGRAPHY.

HAVING compleated the civil and political part of the Hiſtory of England for the year 1804, we are now come to that miſcellaneous portion of it, in which every claſs of readers is intereſted. In this department the Biography of living characters naturally claims the lead; and in this line thoſe who have contributed to the proſperity and glory of their native country, either by arts or arms, ſhould be the firſt on the liſt. It is a debt which all nations, barbarous or civilized, have cheerfully paid, and in which England has outrivalled Rome in her brighteſt day in monuments, medals, poetry, and proſe.

Voltaire has juſtly obſerved, that the ocean is the favourite theme of the Britiſh nation; that it may be ſaid to be the very element in which they exiſt; that it is the ſcene of their proudeſt deeds, and that even children can liſp the victories of Hawke, Boſcawen, &c. In this conſtellation of heroes, admiral lord COLLINGWOOD is juſtly numbered as a ſtar of no ſmall magnitude, a man indebted ſolely to his merit for that exalted character which he will always hold in the naval annals of the Britiſh empire.

* Dr. Buſching ſays, that the annual mortality of the globe exceed twenty-five millions; and the number carried off by the ſmall-pox in that period may be eſtimated at two millions.

† The following is the genealogy of the Bonapartes:—Mad. Ranioglini, of Baſle, married M. Ranioglini; and, 2dly, M. Feſch. She had by theſe marriages Lætitia Ranioglini, and M. Feſch, now cardinal Feſch. Lætitia Ranioglini married Carlo Bonaparte, a recorder of a petty tribunal of Ajaccio. Lætitia Bonaparte was afterwards miſtreſs of count Marbœuf, governor of Corſica. Her children, by Carlo Bonaparte and count Marbœuf, are:—

His Imperial highneſs Joſeph Bonaparte, who married her Imperial highneſs M. M. Clary, daughter of a ſhip-broker at Marſeilles.

His Imperial majeſty Napoleon Bonaparte, who married madame Beauharnois, firſt the wife of count Beauharnois, and afterwards the miſtreſs of Barras.

Citizen Lucien Bonaparte: he was at firſt an abbe. In 1793 he was employed in the waggon ſervice of the army of Provence, at 100l. a year. His firſt wife was a *pot-girl* in the tavern of one Maximin, near Toulon; ſhe died at Neuilly, in 1797, from bad treatment. His ſecond wife is madame Jauberthou, the divorced wife of an exchange-broker at Paris; ſhe was his miſtreſs for a year; as ſoon as ſhe was pregnant he married her.

His Imperial highneſs Louis Bonaparte married mademoiſelle Beauharnois, daughter of her Imperial majeſty, by her firſt huſband.

Citizen Jerome Bonaparte married Miſs Paterſon, a very reſpectable and beautiful young lady, of Baltimore.

Her Imperial highneſs princeſs Eliza, the ſiſter of her Imperial majeſty, married, at Marſeilles, Bacchiocci, ſon of a waiter at a coffee-houſe and marker at a billiard table at Aix-la-Chapelle and Spa, in 1792; the ſon carried on a ſmall trade in cotton, in Switzerland.

Her Imperial highneſs princeſs Matilda Bonaparte married general Murat, ſon of an oſtler at an inn three miles from Cahors, in Quercy. Murat, in 1793, propoſed to change his name to Marat.

Her Imperial highneſs princeſs Paulini Borgheſe married, firſt, general Le Clerc, who was the ſon of a wool dealer at Pontoiſe: he purchaſed wool from the country people, and reſold it at Paris to the upholſterers. His mother, mad. Le Clerc, was a retail dealer in corn and flour: her brother had been ſentenced to be hanged for robbery.

Cuthbert

Cuthbert Collingwood was born at Newcaſtle upon Tyne; it would be ſuperfluous to trace his deſcent through a long line of anceſtry, which many a *ſot* and *coward* can do. His parents were reſpectable; their induſtry enabled them to give him a good education, and their good ſenſe to direct it to that object which was the favourite one—the ſea. By this means he became the founder of a family, that we truſt will always emulate thoſe deeds that raiſed him to that proud pre-eminence. His filial duty, even when his means were ſlender, is well known to thoſe who had the beſt opportunities of bearing teſtimonies to it; amongſt theſe lord Eldon, the ex-chancellor, who was his ſchool-fellow, and who has been often heard to declare, that Cuthbert Collingwood "was the beſt of ſons." The ſubject of this outline, at a very early age, had a ſtrong predilection for a naval life; and after ſix or ſeven years education at the grammar ſchool, under the care of the rev. Mr. Morges, he entered in the year 1761, under the patronage of his maternal uncle, captain (afterwards admiral) Braithwaite, who had at that time the command of the Shannon frigate, into which he was made poſt on the 6th of April 1761. Thus our young tar entered on that career which was congenial to his genius, under the inſtruction and protection of an affectionate relative, and a man of firſt-rate nautical ſkill and experience.

He ſerved many years with his uncle, and gradually roſe to thoſe preferments, which are laudably held out as an incentive to noble deeds. He was a midſhipman in the Gibraltar, in 1766; and from 1767 to 1772, a maſter's mate in the Liverpool, when he was taken into the Lenox, captain (now admiral Roddam) whoſe connexion and regard for the family, added to the high opinion which he entertained of the talents and ſpirit of young Collingwood, and his brother Winfred, induced him to extend his friendſhip to both. This brave and diſcerning commander recommended Cuthbert to vice-admiral Graves, and afterwards to vice-admiral Sir Peter Parker. He had now paſſed thirteen years in the ſervice, without promotion, ſo little did his proſpects at firſt ſetting out in life keep pace with his merit; but he was not diſheartened; to ſerve his country in any honourable ſituation, was to him a ſufficient reward. On the 27th of February 1774, he went into the Preſton, under the command of vice-admiral Graves, to America; and the year after was promoted to the rank of fourth lieutenant in the Somerſet, on the day of the battle at Bunker's Hill, where he was diſpatched with a number of ſeamen to ſupply the army with whatever was neceſſary in that ſervice. In 1776, lieutenant Collingwood ſailed for Jamaica in the Hornet ſloop, and ſoon after the Lowеſtoffe came to the ſame ſtation, of which lord Nelſon was at that time ſecond lieutenant, and with whom he had been from their firſt acquaintance in habits of mutual friendſhip. His friend Nelſon had entered the ſervice ſome years later than himſelf, but was made lieutenant in the Lowеſtoffe, captain Locker, in 1777, which ſerved to unite them in cloſer ties of amity; and upon the arrival of admiral Sir Peter Parker to re-aſſume the command upon that ſtation, they found in him a common patron, who, while his country was receiving the benefit of his own important ſervices, was laying the foundation of thoſe future benefits which were to be derived from thoſe promiſing objects of his patronage; and here began their ſucceſſion of fortune, which ſeemed to have continued to the laſt; when he whom the ſubject of this ſketch had ſo often ſucceeded in the early ſtages of his promotion, reſigned the command of his victorious fleet into the hands of a well tried friend, whom he looked to as a fit ſucceſſor in the laſt and triumphant ſtage of his glory, as he had been before in the earlier ſtages of his fortune. For it is worthy of remark, that as often as one got a ſtep in rank, the other ſucceeded to the ſtation, out of which his friend had been raiſed; firſt in the Lowеſtoffe, in which upon the promotion of lieutenant Nelſon into the admiral's own ſhip the Briſtol, lieutenant Collingwood ſucceeded to the Lowеſtoffe; and when the former was advanced in 1773 from the Badger to the rank of poſt captain in the Hinchinbrooke, the latter was made maſter and commander in the Badger; and again upon his promotion to a larger ſhip, captain Collingwood was made poſt in the Hinchinbrooke.

In this ſhip captain Collingwood was employed in the ſpring of 1780, upon the expedition to the Spaniſh main, when it was propoſed by the river San Juan, and the lake Nicaragua and Leon, to paſs by a navigation of boats in the South Sea. The plan, which it is a ſhame to repeat, was formed without a ſufficient knowledge of the country, which preſented a ſucceſſion of difficulties that could not be ſubdued by human ſkill or perſeverance. The rapidity of the river, encreaſed by ſeveral falls over the rocks, rendered the navigation of it impoſſible; and the climate was ſo unhealthy, that death was inhaled in every gale. At the ports of San Juan, captain Collingwood joined the Hinchinbrooke, and took the command; but captain Nelſon, who was promoted to a larger ſhip, had imbibed the infection of the climate before he left the port, accompanied by a fever, of which he could not get rid till he returned to England, and even then it was a long time before he felt himſelf reinſtated in his health. The ſtrength of captain Collingwood's conſtitution, enabled him to ſtruggle, and in the end to triumph over many attacks of ſickneſs, to which moſt of his ſhip's company had fallen victims, having buried in four months no

leſs than one hundred and eighty out of two hundred. The climate was not leſs fatal to the other ſhips engaged in this expedition, which ſuffered in the ſame, or in a ſtill greater proportion. The men on board the tranſports all died, and ſome of the ſhips having none left to man them, ſunk in the harbour; but tranſport ſhips were not wanted, for the troops they brought paid the debt of nature.

In the midſt of this mortality it pleaſed the Diſpoſer of all events to reſerve his life for thoſe exalted purpoſes, in the execution of which he has ſo invariably diſtinguiſhed himſelf. He was next appointed to the Sampſon, of ſixty-four guns, in which he ſerved to the peace of 1783, when ſhe was paid off, and he was appointed to the Mediator, and ſent to the Weſt Indies, where he again met his friend Nelſon, who at that time commanded the Boreas frigate, upon the ſame ſtation. The friendſhip which had united theſe two young men, whoſe names will go down hand inhand to the lateſt poſterity, was evinced by the letters which the latter wrote to captain Locker during this period, in one of which, dated on board the Boreas, September 24, 1784, he ſays, "Collingwood is at Grenada, which is a great loſs to me, for there is nobody I can make a confidant of." In another, dated November 23, "Collingwood deſires me to ſay he will write you ſoon ſuch a letter, that you will think it a hiſtory of the Weſt Indies. What an amiable good man he is!" Again, March 16, 1785, St. Kitt's—"What a charming good man, he is a valuable member of ſociety." Off Martinique, March 5, 1786, he writes, "This ſtation has not been overpleaſant; had it not been for Collingwood, it would have been the moſt diſagreeable I ever ſaw." In this ſhip, and upon this ſtation he remained until the latter end of 1786, when upon his return to England, and the ſhip being paid off, he took the opportunity of viſiting his native country, which renewed all the pleaſures of his ſchool-boy days, and gave an additional zeſt to the feelings of blood and friends, from whom he had been ſo long ſeparated, and to whom his perſon was in a great meaſure a ſtranger.

In this retirement, and the endearing ſociety of a large circle of friends, after a ſervice of twenty-five years, he continued to enjoy himſelf in Northumberland, until the year 1790, when on the expected rupture with Spain, on account of the ſeizure of our ſhips at Nootka Sound, he was again called into active life in the armament then fitting out, and appointed to the Mermaid, of thirty-two guns, under the command of admiral Cornish, in the Weſt Indies; but the diſpute with Spain being adjuſted in an amicable manner, and the proſpect of a continuance of peace, he returned to his native country, and in this interval of repoſe married a lady of great perſonal merit, and of a family of highly reſpectable connections. The lady whom he had married was Sarah, the eldeſt of the two granddaughters of John Eraſmus Blackett, Eſq. one of the aldermen of Newcaſtle, and brother of the late Sir Edward Blackett, bart. of Matſen, in Northumberland. By this lady he has two daughters, both living with their mother at Morpeth, the place of his lordſhip's reſidence.

On the breaking out of the war with France, in 1793, he was called to the command of the Prince, rear-admiral Bowyer's flag ſhip, with whom he ſerved in this ſhip, and afterwards in the Balfleur, until the engagement on the 1ſt of June, 1796. In this action he diſtinguiſhed himſelf with great bravery, and the ſhip which he commanded is known to have had its full ſhare in the glory of the day. Though it has been the ſubject of converſation with the public, and was the ſource of ſome painful moments in the captain's own mind, that his ſervices on this occaſion was paſſed over in ſilence in the official diſpatches of lord Howe to the Admiralty.

Rear-admiral Bowyer's flag, in conſequence of her honourable wound in this day's action, no longer flying on board the Balfleur, captain Collingwood was appointed to the command of the Hector, and afterwards to the Excellent, in which he was employed in the blockade of Toulon; and in this ſhip he had the honour to reap freſh laurels in the brilliant victory off Cape St. Vincent, on the 14th of February 1797. In this day's engagement, which will always rank with the brighteſt in the page of naval hiſtory; the penetrating genius of Nelſon was conſpicuous; what he did on that memorable day will be recorded in the hearts of his countrymen. The hero of the Nile could not ſo highly and ſo juſtly appreciate the value of captain Collingwood, than that when the ſhip which he commanded was ſent to reinforce this ſquadron, he exclaimed with great joy and confidence in the talents and bravery of her captain, "See here comes the Excellent, which is as good as two added to our number;" and the ſupport which he in particular this day received from this ſhip, he gratefully acknowledged in the following laconic epiſtle:

"Dear Collingwood, a friend in need is a friend indeed."

And in a ſhort detail of the tranſactions of his own ſhip, as it ſince appears from one of his letters to captain Locker, to be, if he approved, inſerted in the papers; we have this beſt of all authorities, from the beſt of all judges, commodore Nelſon's own account of what his friend Collingwood did on that memorable day. "At this time the Salvador del Mundi, and San Iſidor, dropped a-ſtern, and were fired into in a maſterly ſtyle by the Excellent, captain Collingwood, who compelled the San Iſidor to hoiſt Engliſh colours; and I thought the large ſhip, San Salvador del Mundi, had alſo ſtruck; but

captain Collingwood diſdaining the parade of taking poſſeſſion of a vanquiſhed enemy, moſt gallantly puſhed up with every ſail ſet to ſave his old friend and meſs-mate, who was to appearance in a crippled ſtate. The Barfleur being a-head, the Culloden crippled and a-ſtern, the Excellent ranged up within two feet of the San Nicholas, giving a moſt tremendous fire. The San Nicholas luffing up, the San Joſeph fell on board her; and the Excellent paſſing on for the Santiſſima Trinidada, the captain reſumed his ſtation a-head of them, and cloſe along-ſide."

Admiral Collingwood continued in the command of the Excellent, under the flag of lord St. Vincent, till 1799, when his ſhip was paid off; and on the 14th of February, in the ſame year, on the promotion of flag officers, he was raiſed to the rank of rear-admiral of the white; and the 12th of May following, hoiſted his flag on board the Triumph, one of the ſhips under the command of lord Bridport, on the channel ſtation. In the month of June 1800, he ſhifted his flag to the Barfleur, on the ſame ſtation; and in 1801, was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the red, in which ſhip he continued upon the ſame ſervice, to the end of the war, without any opportunity of doing more than effectually blockading the enemy's fleet in their own port, at a time when they impotently menaced this country with invaſion.

On the breaking out of the war in 1803, admiral Collingwood was again called into ſervice. On the promotion of admirals on the 23d of April 1804, he was raiſed to the rank of vice-admiral of the blue, and reſumed his former ſtation off Breſt. He was called to a more active ſervice in May 1805, having been detached with a reinforcement of ſhips to the blockading fleet at Ferrol and Cadiz. On the return of lord Nelſon, in the month of September, he reſumed the command, and vice-admiral Collingwood was his ſecond. The plan that was laid to lure the enemy out of port, ſucceeded. On the 29th of October, lord Nelſon received the agreeable information that the combined fleet (eighteen French, and fifteen Spaniſh) had put to ſea. The particulars and reſult of that action is ſufficiently known. It fell to the lot of admiral Collingwood, in the Royal Sovereign, to lead his column into action, and to break firſt through the enemy's line, which he did in a ſtyle that drew the admiration of both fleets. "Look at that noble fellow," ſaid lord Nelſon, "obſerve the ſtyle in which he carries his ſhip into action." On the death of lord Nelſon, the completion of that glorious victory devolved on vice-admiral Collingwood, who, as he had ſo often done in the early part of his life, now for the laſt time ſucceeded him in an arduous moment, and moſt difficult ſervice. He had ſucceeded him as lieutenant; he had followed him in the ſhip in which he was promoted to the rank of maſter and commander; he had been made poſt in the Hinchinbrooke, upon his friends removal to a larger ſhip; and now at laſt, to cloſe the ſcene, he ſucceeded him as commander in chief.

Right honourable HENRY GRATTAN.

In the ſhort liſt of real Iriſh patriots, the name of GRATTAN will always ſhine with unclouded effulgence. From the firſt moment that he appeared in public life to the preſent, his bittereſt enemies have not been able to point out the leaſt inconſiſtency in his political life, or the leaſt ſpeck in his private character; conſiſtent and exemplary in both. This united ſhield has from time to time blunted the poiſoned arrows that have been ſhot at him in thoſe days when party prejudice and ſordid intereſt united to hunt down a man that had uniformly oppoſed their inroads on that conſtitution which he admired, and which every man muſt admire, that can ſeriouſly contemplate that venerable ſtructure either in the whole, or in parts. That night of intellectual darkneſs, thank Heaven, is now paſſing away, and it is earneſtly hoped that the political horizon will never be hung with ſuch heavy clouds again.

Mr. Grattan was born in Dublin in 1751. His father was recorder, and a repreſentative in parliament for that city. His talents and integrity as a barriſter, inſured him a conſiderable portion of practiſe in his profeſſion; and his amiable qualities in ſocial life a circle of friends, in which he had the honour of numbering that never to be forgotten Iriſh patriot, Dr. Swift.

His mother was a lady of rare mental endowments, of which ſhe was not vain, for ſhe was only ambitious to be what in reality ſhe was, an affectionate wife, a tender mother, and a pious woman. She was ſiſter to the rev. dean Morley, a gentleman of learning, great cervantic humour, and wit without gall, which firſt attracted the notice of lord Townſhend, the lord lieutenant of Ireland at the time, whoſe hoſpitable board was always encircled by men of talents, and that ſpecies of gaiety, that can enliven even the cares of ſtate, without ſinking into buffonery, that muſt on reflection diſguſt a highly cultivated mind. Dr. Morley wrote ſome papers in a periodical work, called *The Bachelor*, publiſhed in the capital of Ireland, during the adminiſtration of lord Townſhend; which as they were indebted for their excellence to power, the evaneſcent circumſtances will always retain their original brilliancy, and peculiar turn of thought and happineſs of expreſſion.

Mr. Grattan had the advantage of being deſcended of a good family, and what is of more importance, educated under the ſuperintendance of a father, who was an excellent ſcholar himſelf, and wiſhed to indulge that native bent of genius, of which

which nature had given his ſon a portion with a liberal hand.

Our pupil having with an induſtry that could not be fatigued, and an emulation that outſtripped his claſs fellows, paſſed over the rugged paths that lead to the enchanting fields of Roman and Grecian flowers and fruits, was alternately charmed with the tuneful numbers of the poets, and the lofty and impreſſive ſounds of the hiſtorians and orators of thoſe countries. He had an excellent memory, and perhaps Trinity College, Dublin (in which he was educated) could never boaſt of a ſtudent of his years of equal judgment, or a more refined taſte. At the ſame time that he was charmed with the wits of Greece and Rome, he was ſenſible that the Britiſh poets and hiſtorians had found equal favour in the ſmiles of the Muſes; and that to offer up the merits of the moderns on the ſhrine of the ancients, would be an act of injuſtice, unworthy of a mind that was determined to profit by the productions of both.

His progreſs in academic ſtudies was ſo rapid, that he was adviſed by ſome of his friends to read for a fellowſhip in his native alma-mater. The delicacy of his frame, and the cumbrous load of monkiſh learning neceſſary to carry off the prize in that purſuit, were obſtacles of ſo formidable a nature, that it did not require much perſuaſion to induce him to abandon that object. The ſtudy of the law preſented itſelf as a road to preferment, of which genius is always ambitious, and ought to be ſo. Accordingly he entered himſelf a ſtudent of the Middle Temple, and was called to the Iriſh bar in 1772. His proſpects in a profeſſion in which he had laboured with uncommon aſſiduity, were not ſo bright as he had reaſon to expect. If he had perſevered, it is not to be doubted but he would ere this have been an ornament to the profeſſion; but he was born for the Senate, and fortune for once favoured nature. He was indebted for his ſeat in parliament to an unexpected circumſtance. In the the early part of his life he had the good fortune to be elected a member of a ſociety, compoſed of characters who could reliſh

"The feaſt of reaſon, and the flow of ſoul."

Lord Charlemont, and his brother the honourable colonel Caulfield, were members of this club. In this conſtellation, Mr. Grattan was conſidered as a ſtar of no inferior magnitude. Shortly after this inſtitution had taken place, colonel Caulfield was drowned in his paſſage from Parkgate to Dublin, with the celebrated Theophilus Cibber, and others. This melancholy event occaſioned a vacancy in the borough of Charlemont, and the noble proprietor conceived that he could not pay a higher compliment than to nominate Mr. Grattan as his ſucceſſor in the repreſentation of it.

At the time that Mr. Grattan's tongue, to uſe the expreſſion of an illuſtrious Roman, took up armour in "his country's cauſe," he had to contend with a party, powerful in number, and by no means deficient in talent, and well verſed in thoſe mean artifices that are but too often practiſed to win over the wavering to their cauſe. At the period we allude to, it may be well ſaid, in the language of Pope,

"Truths would you teach, or ſave a ſinking land,
All fear, none aid you, and few underſtand."

Our patriot was not however a man of that deſcription, that was to be diſmayed by numbers; he felt that he ſtood on conſtitutional ground, that he was engaged in a good cauſe, that truth, like the ſun, would diſſipate the fogs and miſts that benighted the public mind, and that perſeverance would be ultimately crowned with ſucceſs. The greateſt difficulty of all that he had to combat was the opinion of the people; they had been ſo often deceived by courtiers in the maſk of patriotiſm, that they began to think at laſt that "every man," in the words of Sir Robert Walpole, "had his price." During the vice-regal adminiſtration of the duke of Bedford, in 1757, the Iriſh Catholics began to feel that their peaceable demeanour, and their loyalty on many trying occaſions, had recommended that highly reſpectable body of people to the notice of government; the legiſlature were diſpoſed to ſoften the rigour of their fate, and to wipe ſome of the penal laws from the ſtatute books, which were already repealed, on the heart of every liberal Proteſtant in Ireland, of whom it may in juſtice be ſaid, the number is not few. Nay, it may be ſaid, they are the majority of the eſtabliſhed Church in that part of the united kingdom. Mr. Grattan was the ſteady advocate of the Catholic, and on every occaſion ſupported thoſe meaſures that tended to a relaxation of the popery laws. It could not be expected that propoſitions of this nature would meet with a general approbation; ſome of thoſe that could not view it through the ſame enlarged medium of enlightened minds, were alarmed at the progreſs of liberality and found policy. The following is an extract from one of Mr. Grattan's ſpeeches, on the ſubject of which we are now ſpeaking.

"You are ſtruggling with difficulties you imagine; you are miſtaken; you are ſtruggling with impoſſibilities. To enchain the mind—to caſe in the volatile eſſential ſoul—nor tower, nor dungeon, much leſs parliament, can be retentive of thoſe fires kindled by yourſelves in the breaſts of your fellow ſubjects. I would have you at this time diſtruſt that religious vanity which tells you that theſe men (the Catholics) are not fit for freedom: they have anſwered that vanity in a ſtrain of oratory peculiar to the oppreſſed; it is the error of ſects to value themſelves more upon their differences than their religion;

religion; and in these differences, in which they forget the principles of their religions, they imagine they have discovered the mystery of their salvation; and to this supposed discovery they have offered human sacrifices; what human sacrifices have we offered, the dearest, the liberties of our fellow subjects; distrust again that fallacious policy which tells, that your *power* is advanced by their *bondage*; it is not your power, but your punishment; it is liberty without energy, you know it; it presents you with a monopoly, and the monopoly of others, not your own; it presents you with the image of a monster in a state, when the heart gives no circulation, and the limbs receive no life; a nominal representative, and a nominal people; call not this your misfortune, it is your sentence, it is your execution. Never could the law of nature suffer one set of men to take away the liberty of another, and that of a numerous part of their people, without feeling a diminution of their own strength and freedom; but in making laws on the subject of religion, we forget mankind until their own distraction admonishes statesmen of two truths; the one, that there is a God; the other, that there is a people; never was it permitted to any nation; they may perplex their understanding with various apologies, but never long was it permitted to exclude from essential, from what they themselves have pronounced essential, blessings: a great portion of themselves for periods of time, and for no reason, or what is worse, for such reasons as you have advanced. Conquerors, or tyrants, proceeding from conquerors, have scarcely ever, for any length of time, governed by those partial disabilities; but a people so to govern itself, or rather under the name of government, so to exclude one another, the industrious, the opulent, the useful, that part that feeds you with its industry, and supplies you with its taxes, weaves that you may wear, and ploughs that you may eat; to exclude a body so useful, so numerous, and that for ever; and in the mean time to tax them *ad libitum*, and occasionally to pledge their lives and fortunes! For what! For their disfranchisement. It cannot be done; continue it, and you expect from your laws what it were blasphemy to ask of your Maker. Such a policy always turns on the inventor, and bruises him under the stroke of the sceptre or the sword, or sinks him under the accumulation of debt, and loss of dominion. Need I go to instances? What was the case of Ireland, enslaved for a century, and withered and blasted with her protestant ascendancy, like a shattered oak, scathed on its hill by the fires of its own intolerance. What, lost England, America, but such a policy? an attempt to bind men by a parliament wherein they are not represented; such an attempt as some would now continue to practise on the Catholics, and involve England; but the contrary policy? I have seen their principles of liberty advanced very far by yourselves. I have heard addresses from counties and cities here, on the subject of the Slave Trade, to Mr. Wilberforce, thanking him for his efforts to set free a distressed people; has your pity traversed leagues of sea to set down by the black boy on the coast of Guinea; and have you forgot the man at home by your side, your brother? Come then, and by one great act cancel this code, and prepare your mind for that bright order of time which now seems to touch your condition; but I have tired you; suffer me to sit down, and thank you for your patient attention."

It may justly be said of Mr. Grattan, that he brought about a revolution in the minds of the Irish; that he was the first that taught them to weigh and appreciate their own consequence in the scale of empire; to estimate the value of good and wholesome laws; to prize the blessings of the British constitution; and to point out the means by which those blessings could be obtained and secured in a constitutional manner. He very properly deprecated all violence and intemperate zeal, as well in politics as religion, he trusted to argument and perseverance. He well knew that Heaven had blessed the Irish with a large portion of good sense, and grateful hearts; that they would listen to sound reasoning, and be swayed by maxims grounded in experience; that time would dissipate prejudices; and that they would in the end learn to know that the strength of a nation consisted in unity of political sentiment, founded in the immutable laws of reason and equity.; that wealth was not the standard of happiness; and that titles which dazzled, were often the ensigns of splendid misery, and disappointed ambition; that brotherly love was the very essence of religion, and above all the peculiar badge of Christianity. The placeman, the pensioner, the needy courtier, and the hungry dependent, opposed the progress of these liberal opinions; but as they could not do it by argument, or any fair mode of reasoning, they resorted to all those arts, that cunning and self-interest could suggest. They endeavoured to represent Mr. Grattan as one that wished to fan the sparks of faction into flame; that aimed under the mask of patriotism, to raise himself into consequence on the shoulders of the people; that he was the apostle of Catholic emancipation at the expence of the Protestant ascendency; that his speeches smelt of the lamp, and that his oratory, instead of carrying home conviction to the breasts of those that heard him, was calculated to tickle the ear, mislead the judgment, and to captivate the imagination. Mr. Grattan was not to be dismayed by such insinuations and side wind attacks. He had embarked in a grand cause, the de-

very of the human mind from the bondage of ſuperſtition and ignorance, the nobleſt taſk that ever God aſſigned to man in any age, or in any country. He was eminently fitted for this great undertaking; a tenacious memory, a ſound judgment, a brilliant imagination, and a ſtore of learning that ſupplied him with a never failing ſource of examples, facts, and ſentiments, that derived additional luſtre from the happineſs of the mode in which he introduced or illuſtrated them with the beams of native genius, and that richneſs of expreſſion which ſo eminently diſtinguiſhes all his orations. Such was the eſtimation in which he was held by his countrymen, that a peaſant could ſcarce be found even in the extremity of the kingdom of Ireland, that could not repeat "the thoughts that breathed, and the words that burned in almoſt every one of his ſpeeches; they felt the force and juſtneſs of them; they came home to their minds, and their boſoms.

Mr. Grattan's public character, is ſo intimately interwoven with the hiſtory of his native country, that it is impoſſible to ſeparate the one from the other. He entered on his ſenatorial career in the beginning of an eventful period. The noble ſtruggle which the Americans made in the cauſe of liberty and independence, infuſed a ſpirit of thinking into the nations of Europe; and experience has evinced that it is almoſt impoſſible to arreſt the human mind in its career, when it is once ſet in motion. Lord North, a weak, but in other reſpects a well-diſpoſed miniſter, was ſo wrapt up in the hopes of ſubjugating the Americans, that he ſhut his ears even to arguments that fell little ſhort of mathematical demonſtration of the impoſſibility of ſuch an attempt; he depended on the phyſical ſtrength of Great Britain and Ireland; he thought it was inexhauſtible, but time and experience proved that it was not.

Towards the end of the ſummer of the year 1779, while the combined fleets of our enemies rode triumphant in the channel, and menaced Ireland with immediate invaſion, the affrighted maritime towns made application to government for protection; the eſtabliſhed forces of the nation having been called away to ſupport the war in America, the lord-lieutenant was forced to confeſs himſelf unable to afford any effectual aſſiſtance in this alarming ſtate of urgent neceſſity; the people of Ireland reſolving to defend themſelves; government forgetting their jealouſy in their fears for the ſafety of the empire, yielded to the impulſe of the nation, and with reluctant confidence placed arms in the hands of men that ſhewed themſelves worthy of the important truſt: the fleets of the enemy alarmed at the military preparations throughout Ireland, beheld the banners of defiance, and fled precipitate from the coaſts of that iſland. It was this circumſtance that gave riſe to the *Iriſh Volunteers**. They firſt united in a body to defend the country againſt foreign invaſion: at their own expence, their number daily encreaſed. The fear of an invaſion having ſubſided, the people were accuſtomed to aſſociate in arms, and ſenſible of their importance, began to ſpeak and think with more freedom of the diſtreſſed ſituation of their country: convinced of their rights, they demanded nothing more; they thought it was juſt that whilſt they joined in protecting the empire from the common enemy, their native country ſhould be made of ſome value to themſelves. Mr. Grattan moved in the Iriſh houſe of commons, "that it was not by temporary expedients, but by a FREE trade alone this country (Ireland) could be ſaved from impending ruin." His ſpeech in ſupport of this reſolution was perhaps the moſt brilliant, argumentative and impreſſive, that ever was delivered in a popular aſſembly.

This reſolution was unanimouſly carried. The words *Free trade* echoed throughout the kingdom, and the people pledged themſelves to ſupport the requiſition of the commons. A free trade, with the

* Mr. Dobbs, an Iriſh barriſter, publiſhed a very intereſting work, under the title of "The Progreſs of the Iriſh Volunteers, from the 12th of October 1779, to the 15th of November 1782." The following extract is taken from this publication, which is now become very ſcarce

"An expedient free trade, and the fallacy of it, was ſoon underſtood. The plain and ſimple doctrine, that we could not be free, if any power on earth could make laws to bind us, ſave our king, lords, and commons, quickly prevailed. This became the ſentiment of almoſt every man. It could not be openly, but it was inſiduouſly attacked. Thoſe attacks raiſed many powerful advocates for Iriſh liberty. The public mind became enlightened; and it was in vain, that the ſupporters of adminiſtration preſſed them to attend to their free trade, and relinquiſh their freedom. With their information, the power of the people was alſo encreaſing. A variety of cauſes all tended to add to the volunteers. The gentlemen who had hitherto taken the moſt active part, were moſtly of what is called the country party. Government not able to ſuppreſs, wiſhed its ſupporters alſo volunteers. On this principle many new corps were raiſed, differing much in political ſentiments, but who were become equally uſeful to their country. Another cauſe operated ſtrongly; it became highly faſhionable. Volunteer rank was an object of ambition, and it was conſidered as the moſt glorious deſtination of a gentleman, to be at the head of a well appointed corps. Among the lower orders of men, the ſmartneſs of thoſe who had enrolled themſelves became an object of envy and emulation. The idea of glory, which attended it, alſo had its weight; and every able young man felt aſhamed, that he was not amongſt the guardians of his country. The fair alſo, materially ſerved the volunteer cauſe. Countrymen from being ſlovenly in their dreſs, and and aukward in their manners, became neat in their perſons, and comparatively poliſhed and refined. They were alſo to be the protectors of their miſtreſſes, and obtained (from the ſofter ſex in their turn) an envied precedence. In ſhort, theſe various cauſes operated ſo powerfully that almoſt every man who could, became a volunteer. But the volunteers, though powerful, had no fixed object, no bond of union, no communication. Detached in ſeparate companies, they as yet wanted that connection, which alone could make them truly beneficial."

acquieſcence

acquiescence of England, was the consequence of these spirited measures. But England, whilst she yielded to the strong remonstrances of the Irish nation, endeavoured to make the acquisition of lesser value, by forcing, through the weight of parliamentary influence, such regulations as were inapplicable, and injurious to the purposes of commerce. These pitiful subterfuges, unworthy the enlightened policy of a great minister, awakened the attention, and confirmed the spirit of the Irish. They began to see that it was idle, and in vain to expect that the freedom of trade would be inviolate, whilst the freedom of the constitution still remained unasserted. Mr. Grattan taught his countrymen to feel and maintain those wise and generous sentiments in a manner becoming their dignity. He directed the efforts of the volunteers* in a constitutional line, to the attainment of an object that merited all their attention, a repeal of an act of the sixth of George I. for securing the dependency of Ireland. He supported the claim of his fellow subjects in parliament to that freedom to which they were entitled by Magna Charta.

On the 20th of April 1780, Mr. Grattan, unawed by power, strengthening from ministerial efforts, and brightening from collision, moved, "That the king's most excellent majesty, and the lords and commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to lead Ireland."

As this act is now repealed, and of course no longer to be found on our statute, we insert it as a mere historical document, especially as it is in the hands of very few †.

Mr. Grattan had now reached to the summit of his wishes; he had fought the good fight, and obtained for his country a free trade, and the repeal of the sixth of George I. Even the ministers of the crown in the house of commons, complimented him on his perseverance; unshaken patriotism, and his eloquence, always employed in the noblest of causes, that of humanity and rational liberty. Mr. Heley Hutchinson, his majesty's principal secretary of state, speaking in the Irish senate of the part which Mr. Grattan took in the resumption of his country's rights, said, "that he (Mr. Grattan) must ever live in the hearts of his countrymen; that the present age, and posterity, would be indebted to him for the greatest of all obligations, and would be, he hoped at a great distance of time, inscribed on his tomb, that he had redeemed the liberties of his country."

On the 27th of May the parliament of Ireland met, when his grace the duke of Portland made a speech from the throne, fraught with every sentiment of benevolence and parental affection on the part of the crown, and of liberality on the part of the parliament of Great Britain. How deeply those sentiments were felt may be collected from Mr. Grattan's speech, when he moved the address; for the gratification of the reader, we shall give some extracts from it.

Extracts from Mr. Grattan's Speech in the Irish House of Commons, on the Repeal of the sixth of George I.

"I understand that Great Britain gives up *in toto* every claim to authority over Ireland. I have not the least idea, that in repealing the sixth of George I. Great Britain should be bound to make any declaration, that she had formerly usurped a power. No; this would be a foolish caution, a dishonourable condition. The nation that insists upon the humiliation of another, is a foolish nation. Ireland is not a foolish nation. Another part of great magnanimity in the conduct of Great Britain is, that every thing is given up unconditionally. This must for ever remove suspicion. On former occasions, when little acts of relief were done for

* Mr. Fox's opinion on the volunteers in the house of commons in 1779.

"The Irish associations had been called illegally legal, or illegal, he declared he entirely approved of them. He approved of that manly determination, which, in the dernier resort, flies to arms in order to obtain deliverance. When the last particle of good faith in men is exhausted, they will seek in themselves the means of redress; they will recur to first principles, to the spirit, as well as the letter of the constitution; and they can never fail in such resources, though the law may literally condemn such a departure from its general and unequal tried rules; truth, justice, and public virtue, accompanied with prudence and judgment, will ever bear up good men in a good cause, that of private recollection."—*Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. XV. p. 129.

† "Whereas attempts have been made to shake off the subjection of Ireland unto, and dependence upon the Imperial crown of this realm, which will be of dangerous consequence to Great Britain and Ireland. And whereas the lords of Ireland, in order thereto, have of late, against law, assumed to themselves a power and jurisdiction to examine, correct, and amend the judgments and decrees of the courts of justice in the kingdom of Ireland; therefore, for the better securing the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain, may it please your majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said kingdom of Ireland hath been, is, and of right ought to be, subordinate unto, and dependent upon the Imperial crown of Great Britain, as being inseparably united, and annexed thereunto; and that the king's majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force, and validity, to bind the people and kingdom of Ireland. And be it further enacted and declared, by the authority aforesaid, that the house of lords of Ireland have not, nor of right ought to have, any jurisdiction to judge, or affirm, or reverse any judgment, sentence, or decree, given or made in any court within the said kingdom; and that all proceedings before the said house of lords, upon any such judgment, or decree, are hereby declared to be utterly null and void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever."

Ireland,

Ireland, it was premiſed, that it was expedient to do them. No ſuch word is now made uſe of. Never did a Britiſh miniſter ſupport ſuch honourable claims on ſuch conſtitutional arguments. We have now recovered a conſtitution, and our buſineſs is not to advance, but to maintain it. Ireland will manifeſt as much magnanimity in the moderation, by which ſhe maintains her conſtitution, as by the exertions through which it has been recovered. The unanimity with which the Britiſh houſe of commons acceded to our claims, muſt for ever do them honour; and the ſingle negative in the lords, whilſt it in no wiſe diminiſhes their praiſe, has its uſe; it ſerves to diſcover, and for ever to exclude from truſt or confidence in either nation, the man who could not only oppoſe the intereſt and happineſs of both, but alſo the ardent wiſhes and deſires of his ſovereign to make his people happy. We ought not to forget the able ſupport given by thoſe perſons who compoſed the late adminiſtration of Ireland; it muſt be highly agreeable to thoſe who compoſe the preſent.

"As Great Britain and her miniſters have unconditionally agreed to the demands of the Iriſh, I think the ſpirit of the nation is called upon to make an unconditional grant to England. The ſea is the element to which nature points as the ſource of Britiſh glory; it is there we can moſt effectually aſſiſt her. Twenty thouſand ſeamen would be a noble ſupport; and we, who have been ſquandering the public money, in all the waſte of blind prodigality, cannot ſurely now deem 100,000*l.* too large a ſum when applied to the common defence of the empire: the ſum is trifling, but the aſſiſtance of twenty thouſand Iriſhmen would be great; and gentlemen will now, when they retire to their different counties, have a full opportunity in aſſiſting to raiſe thoſe men, of manifeſting their zeal for the common cauſe of Great Britain and Ireland. There are alſo other means of ſupport in our power to give to Britain, though they cannot immediately be entered upon. This country is moſt happily ſituated for the conſtruction of docks, and the readezvous of ſhipping; whatever neceſſary expence might be incurred by ſuch neceſſary works, would be paid by the expenditure of the money amongſt ourſelves, and might be ſupported by a prudent and economical management of the public revenues, in the ſavings of the army, and in every different claſs of extraordinaries. An expence of 17*l.* *per cent.* in the collection of the revenue, cannot be juſtified: the commiſſioners will now ſee that money is to be paid for labour, and not for proſtitution; therefore let us now enter, heart and hand, into the great work of reformation, by giving our ſupport to that miniſtry, which has reſcued this country from oppreſſion, and will reſcue it from corruption. On this principle I ſhall move you an addreſs, devoid of all that fulſome panegyric ſo commonly offered to his majeſty; for I think that truth will be the higheſt compliment to him."

The addreſs which Mr. Grattan moved on this memorable occaſion, which may be well called the reſurrection of Iriſh independence, embraced the leading points of the ſpeech we have juſt tranſcribed.

Mr. Brownlow, a ſteady and unbiaſſed patriot, ſeconded the addreſs, which might be well called the voluntary and unſtipulated tribute of a great and grateful people. The addreſs was carried *una voce.*

No ſooner had this motion been diſpoſed of, than Beauchamp Bagnal, a man of ſound ſenſe and independence, both of mind and fortune, a tried and ſteady patriot, whoſe genius, like his native ſoil, owed more to nature than to art or culture, roſe, and after congratulating his country, Great Britain, his majeſty, and his miniſters, for having obtained the greateſt of all political bleſſings he called upon the houſe to confer ſome ſignal mark of a great and a grateful nation upon their illuſtrious benefactor, Mr. Grattan, whoſe efforts in procuring them thoſe bleſſings had been timed and conducted with ſo much wiſdom; and conſidering this great and good man as the father of his regenerated country, he further called upon them to look upon him as the ſpecial inſtrument, which benign Providence had uſed to convert the oppreſſion and bondage of their country into freedom and independence. He therefore gave notice, that on the morrow he would move that the houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee to take into conſideration what ſum they ſhould grant for the purchaſing an eſtate, and building a ſuitable manſion for their illuſtrious benefactor, Henry Grattan, Eſq. and his heirs for ever, in teſtimony of their gratitude for the unequalled ſervice done for the kingdom. The ſum of 50,000*l.* was unanimouſly voted the next day in a committee of the whole houſe.

Mr. Grattan had now reached the ſummit of his popularity in Ireland, not on haſty wing, nor yet by adventitious circumſtances, but by a due progreſſion, ſanctioned by reaſon and ſound policy. He in common with his countrymen were of opinion, that the repeal of the ſixth of George I. was ſufficient to extinguiſh every ſpark of jealouſy and narrow policy which had hitherto interrupted that harmony which was eſſential to the glory and proſperity of the whole empire.

Mr. Flood did not ſubſcribe to this ſentiment, he thought a *ſimple repeal* of that act ought to be followed up by a ſolemn *renunciation* on the part of the parliament of Great Britain. Many ſuppoſed that Mr. Flood held out this propoſition merely to ſhew that his patriotiſm and political penetration were ſuperior to thoſe of Mr. Grattan, and that

every ſtep ought to be taken to prevent the recurrence of ſuch a meaſure. If the latter was the real motive, it did great credit to Mr. Flood. In point of talent that great orator was ſecond to no man; but, perhaps, he was jealous of the unbounded popularity of his rival in eloquence, and conceived at leaſt that he was entitled to ſhare his fame. Be this as it may, this difference of opinion, whether founded in reaſon, patriotiſm, or jealouſy, led to a warmth of language between theſe two great ſtateſmen in the Iriſh ſenate, which the friends of both ſincerely lamented. Out of reſpect to the character of the one, and the memory of the other, we ſhall not repeat the perſonalities that paſſed on that occaſion; let the ill-natured, who would wiſh to perpetuate the remembrance of them, read the following paſſage in one of Mr. Grattan's ſpeeches, delivered ſome years afterwards in the Iriſh houſe of commons: "Mr. Flood, my rival as he is called, and I ſhould be unworthy the character of his rival, if in his grave I did not do him juſtice; he had his faults, but he had great powers, great public effect; he perſuaded the old, he inſpired the young; the caſtle vaniſhed before him; on a ſmall ſubject he was miſerable; put into his hand a diſtaff, and, like Hercules, he made ſad work of it; but give him the thunder-bolt, and he had the arm of a Jupiter; he misjudged when he transferred himſelf to the Engliſh parliament; he forgot that he was a *tree of the foreſt, too old, and too great to be tranſplanted at fifty*; and his ſeat in the Britiſh parliament is a caution to the *friends of Union to ſtay at home, and make the country of their birth the ſeat of their action.*"

It would exceed the limits to which we are neceſſarily confined in the biographical department of our hiſtory, to follow Mr. Grattan through all the ſtages of his political career, in which the mutual happineſs of Great Britain and Ireland was, and invariably continues to be, the ſole object of his conduct and votes in the ſenate. His eloquence is in a great meaſure peculiar, energetic, well arranged, and replete with argument, which is ſtill rendered more forcible by the happineſs of the language in which it is conveyed. Such is the fluency of his delivery, that he is never at a loſs for a word, and that which firſt preſents itſelf is the beſt. In reply he is great, and is ſo well prepared by nature and ſtudy, that he can never be taken by ſurprize on any queſtion. The ſhafts of his wit are poliſhed, and always winged with an unerring hand; but his judgment is his ruling divinity. His perſonal courage has always placed him above the attacks of thoſe who were

"Willing to wound, but yet afraid to ſtrike."

Mr. Grattan married in 1783 miſs Fitzgerald, an amiable and highly accompliſhed lady; his great end in the education of his children is to make them uſeful members of ſociety, in which pleaſing taſk, it is allowed that he has ſucceeded to the utmoſt extent of his wiſhes.

CHAP. XXXI.

Agriculture.—Planting.—Uſeful Inventions.—Fine Arts, Series of Paintings and other Ornaments lately exiſting on the Walls of the Houſe of Commons.—Picturesque Repreſentations of the Manners and Amuſements of the Ruſſians.—Literature.—Effects of Vaccination.

THE order preſcribed in the execution of this work now brings us to that part of it, which ought to be one of the leading objects of all our views and diſcuſſions in parliament; namely, the extenſion and protection of the uſeful arts, in the cultivation of which every individual is ſo deeply intereſted: as alſo our domeſtic occurrences, which, though of leſs weight in the hiſtorical ſcale, are ſtill entitled to a place in a work of this kind. Agriculture, which may be called the firſt of all the arts that contribute to the real wealth of a nation, has of late years derived the greateſt advantage from the ſtudy of chemiſtry, and the writings of men of extenſive erudition and experience in all that relates to the plough. Theſe writers have reſcued huſbandry out of the hands of the illiterate farmer, who thought it beſt "to keep in the ſafe track of his father's before him." If he at the ſame time wiſhed to profit by writings on this ſubject, they were too numerous and expenſive; the firſt only ſerved to diſtract his attention, and the ſecond was a heavy tax on his purſe. This complaint in a great meaſure was remedied in 1804, by the publications of ſome gentlemen, who ſelected the moſt valuable articles in geological productions, ſo as to reduce agriculture to a practical ſyſtem, within the comprehenſion of the huſbandman. "This," in the words of Dr. Dixon, "is a ſubject that comes home to Britiſh boſoms: and it is not ſurpriſing that conduct thus worthy of imitation, has been very generally imitated by many of our principal nobility and gentry; and, that, aided by the eſtabliſhment of a public board, it has ſucceeded in giving to the ſtudy of this intereſting art the prevalence (while its own vaſt importance muſt inſure it from the tranſitory duration) of a *faſhion.*" Agriculture and planting may be ſaid to be twin ſiſters; but we are ſorry to ſtate, that the latter has been very much neglected, and that ſuch gentlemen as have turned their attention to planting, prefer the ornamental to the uſeful. Thoſe that plant the oak, it is true, cannot expect to ſit under the ſhade of it; and that

is the reaſon perhaps that this uſeful tree has not found ſo many friends as it ſhould, a fact to be lamented in a country, which, figuratively ſpeaking, is indebted for its ſafety and glory to an acorn. Several gentlemen of large landed property have however laid out plantations, and the example it is hoped will be followed by others; it is not to be wiſhed that this ſhould extend beyond certain limits, which good ſenſe will preſcribe.

The next article that naturally preſents itſelf to our conſideration is the invention of uſeful inſtruments in the courſe of this year. It cannot be expected that we ſhould notice all; a few perhaps will be ſufficient. Mr. William Freemantle, of Hoxton, obtained letters patent for improvements in the conſtruction of ſteam engines: one of the principal improvements is in the cold water pump, which will obviate the inconveniencies ariſing from the inner lid of the aſcending columns of water, and alſo prove of conſiderable utility when the pipes leading to the pump barrel are too ſmall, or when the motion of the piſton in the barrel is very quick. This improvement conſiſts in placing an air veſſel ſo as to communicate with the aſcending column of water immediately below the lower valve of the pump. Now it is evident, that before water can be raiſed into the barrel, a partial vacuum will be made in the air veſſel, and the rarity of the air in it will be proportional to the weight of the veſſel above the ſurface of the water in the well, ſince the water can aſcend in the barrel only with a determinate velocity, which depends on the height of the piſton above the ſurface of the water in the well, and alſo on the diameter of the pipes. It ſometimes happens, that the velocity of the piſton exceeds that of the water, and a vacuum is formed between the bottom of the piſton and the ſurface of the column of water in the well; hence a violent concuſſion is produced, which is detrimental to the pump, and any apparatus connected with it; the air veſſels will prevent thoſe diſagreeable effects from taking place, for, inſtead of a vacuum being formed below the piſton, air will be extracted from the air veſſel; and, as the piſton deſcends, the preſſure of the air on the ſurface of the water in the well not being counterbalanced, will continue to riſe in the veſſel till the equilibrium is reſtored; and when the piſton aſcends again, the barrel will not only be ſupplied by the pipe, but alſo by the water in the air veſſel, ſo that the piſton muſt require leſs force to lift than if there were no air veſſel.

Meſſrs. John Cant, and John Millar, of Montroſe, invented a new method of *tanning leather*. According to their invention, they erect a boiler of copper, or any other metal that does not ſtain the tan, or liquor, which they fill half full of ground bark; and having filled it up with water, they boil it about three hours, till the tanning principle is completely extracted. The liquor is then ſuffered to run off by a cock, into pits, where it ſtands to cool. The hides are put into the liquors, and *handled* frequently, by taking them out, and putting them in again, becauſe the liquor is too powerful for them to remain long at a time in the firſt ſtages of the proceſs. They are then to be removed to freſh liquors from time to time, as the old is weakened, until the operation is complete.

By this method they collect a greater quantity of the tanning principle into a ſmall compaſs, conſume leſs bark, and find a great ſaving of labour and wages.

Another proceſs is uſed with hides and ſkins for dreſſing or currying, after being boiled; when they are well waſhed, they are put into a liquor that has been already uſed, from which they are put into other liquors, ſtronger and ſtronger, until they are tanned; if the leather is required with a white colour, or bloom, a ſmall quantity of the duſt of bark is mixed with the liquor. By this method, hides that have been ſhaved in the boils, may be better tanned in two or three weeks, and ſkins in ten or twelve days, than by the uſual proceſs in the one caſe, in nine months; and in the other, in ſix months.

For other operations, different modes are preſcribed; but the great advantage is that derived from extracting the tanning principle by means of boiling; as buſineſs to any extent may be carried on with about one-tenth part of the capital employed on the old plan. Beſides bark, the inventors make uſe of oak chips, and oak ſaw duſt; they have ſucceeded with the common heath, or heathen, and they find that the bark of moſt trees that produce hard wood, has a tanning principle in them; but, above all, they recommend the young ſhoots from the roots of oak trees, and the ſuperfluous twigs or branches that may be lopped off, ſo as not to injure the tree. Theſe, when cut in proper ſeaſon, may be chopped, ground, and boiled with bark, and will produce a ſtronger tanning liquor than very old bark from the trunk of trees, that have a thick ſtrong cruſt or rind upon them, and which cannot be got off from the bark. Theſe ſubſtitutes being made uſe of, will tend to lower the price of bark, which is the moſt expenſive article in the manufacture of leather.

Mr. Timothy Bentley, of Lockwood, in Yorkſhire, took out a patent for a method of *ſeaſoning new caſks*, and *purifying* muſty ones. This operation is performed by ſteam, which is conducted by a pipe, and ſmall branching tubes into the caſks, a few inches below the upper head, or at the bung-hole, the tap hole being at the loweſt part, that the foul particles may drain off with the water which the ſteam occaſions, while paſſing through the caſks. When they are cleared, the ſteam from the boiler

boiler is to be conveyed through a pipe into a cylinder, or any other air tight veſſel, in which is incloſed another veſſel, open at the top, and raiſed from the bottom of the outer veſſel, ſo as to allow the ſteam free acceſs to all parts of it. This inner veſſel is to contain a mixture of ſmall raw wort and ſprout hops, either with or without ſtale beer, or beer grounds; which, by means of the ſteam from the boiler, muſt be raiſed to a ſtate of ebulition. When the ſteam from the boiler is ſufficiently incorporated with that ariſing from the ingredients in the inner veſſel, it is to be conveyed into the caſks; in like manner as the ſteam from the boiler, or the ſmall raw wort and ſprout hops, with or without ſtale beer, or beer grounds only, may be brought to a ſtate of ebulition by being placed in the outer veſſel, and the ſteam conveyed thereto by proper tubes; or the mixture may be placed in the boiler, and then conveyed from that to the caſks.

The above applications will anſwer for brewers of ale, beer, or porter. For vinegar makers, the grounds of vinegar are to be uſed. For diſtillers of ſpirits, the rinſing of the caſks; and for cyder and ſweet makers, the lees or refuſe of their reſpective liquids.

Having noticed the moſt uſeful patents, the fine arts, preſent themſelves as the next object of our hiſtorical attention. In the courſe of this year Mr. Thomas Smith, of Newman Street, engraved a ſeries of plates of the paintings and other ornaments diſcovered in Auguſt 1800, on the walls of the preſent houſe of commons. On enlarging that houſe in conſequence of the act of Union, it was unexpectedly diſcovered that the walls of the building had been decorated with a variety of paintings on hiſtorical and other ſubjects. Mr. Smith, whoſe taſte is juſtly admired, obtained permiſſion to copy thoſe precious remains of antiquity. This ingenious artiſt propoſed at firſt to publiſh ſeven plates by ſubſcription, at three guineas and a half for each copy; but on a farther review of the work, it was found that to render the whole complete it would be neceſſary to extend the work to thirty plates. Moſt of the paintings and ornaments of the chapel were drawn and executed by Mr. Smith with acknowledged fidelity and taſte. In addition to this, this excellent artiſt has been able to exhibit a ſpecimen, the firſt of the kind, of a method of producing prints, not from copper, or any of the metal plates, but from a ſtone, on which the drawings have been made; and in order to add to the variety, ſome of the cuts are executed in aqua tinta, others in mezzitinto, and ſome have been engraven on iron and ſteel. "The Dream of Eve," decidedly painted by that eminent artiſt Mr. Fuzeli, and engraved in aqua tinta by Mr. Lewis, may be truly ſaid to have added to the powers of the pencil and the graver. Mr. Akerman alſo publiſhed a pair of prints from deſigns by Mr. Weſtall; under the print, which is entitled the *Birth of Shakeſpeare*, are the following appropriat lines, written by *Ben Johnſon*, a cotemporary poet:

"Triumph my Britain! thou has one to ſhew,
To whom all ſcenes of Europe homage owe.
He was not for an age, but for all time;
And all the muſes ſtill were in their prime,
When, like Apollo, he came forth to warm
Our ears, or, like a Mercury, to charm.
Nature herſelf was proud of his deſigns,
And joy'd to wear the dreſſing of his lines."

The companion print is entitled *The Birth of the tender Otway*. Mr. Weſtall, in theſe deſigns, has given additional proofs of that chaſte claſſical taſte which ſo early diſtinguiſhed the productions of his creative pencil. In theſe two prints he has given two female figures, and two beautiful children. The little Shakeſpeare, holding a lyre in his right hand, and a crown of laurel in his left, is truly emblematic; and the Otway is natural, and of courſe intereſting. It recals to memory the unfortunate death of that ſweet bard, whoſe melting numbers find a ready acceſs to every feeling heart. As to the ſubjects, they are allegorical, and in that light of courſe they are to be conſidered by the ſpectator.

In the courſe of this year a work long promiſed and eagerly expected, made its appearance; "A picturesque repreſentation of the manners, cuſtoms, and amuſements of the Ruſſians, with an accurate explanation of each plate, Engliſh and French. This ſplendid work is dedicated, by permiſſion, to his Imperial majeſty Alexander, of whom there is a portrait, from a picture painted by G. Kugelgan, engraved by Scriven, hiſtorical engraver to the prince of Wales. The antiquary, the geographer, the hiſtorian, and the politician, are deeply intereſted in whatever tends to ſhed light on the manners, cuſtoms, and even dreſs of the Ruſſians, a nation buried in the moſt profound obſcurity, and little known to Europe till the reign of that moſt extraordinary prince Peter, who was the firſt that planted the uſeful arts in that extenſive empire; whoſe plaiſter moulded them into the form of a nation, and raiſed them from the moſt abject ſtate of ſlavery and ignorance to a certain rank in the ſcale of civil ſociety. As thoſe people have gradually attained under the wiſe adminiſtration of Catherine II. and who may be truly called the Semiramis of a conſiderable influence in the cabinets of Europe, a work of this kind at preſent will form a conſiderable link in the chain of national knowledge. The authors of this publication profeſs that truth is the leading object of their purſuits, and that for the attainment of ſo laudable an end they have had many opportunities

opportunities, of which they have availed themſelves. For Mr. Atkinſon, who made and etched the drawings, as well as Mr. Walker, (who is engraver to his Imperial majeſty) reſided eighteen years in Ruſſia; the artiſt ſays, that he viſited and drew from nature every ſcene which he deſcribes. The ſketches are extremely forcible, ſpirited, and characteriſtic, and in the colours of nature. The great objects of their attention are character, action, and expreſſion, and not the remote particulars of dreſs.

Under that department of our hiſtory which relates to literature, the tranſactions of the ſociety of London has a long and well earned claim on the gratitude of every man that can duly appreciate the advantages to be derived from the improvement of the human mind. The moſt elaborate, and perhaps on the whole the moſt uſeful paper laid before this learned body in the courſe of the year 1804, was "an Enquiry concerning the nature of heat, and its mode of communication, by count Rumford." The principal deſign of this ingenious artiſt is to arrive at a more intimate knowledge of the nature and properties of heat, and its mode of action, by which the writer thinks that we may be enabled to excite it with more œconomy, confine it with greater facility, and direct its operations with more preciſion and effect.

The count begins with an accurate deſcription of the apparatus invented and made uſe of for performing the ſeveral experiments; from the firſt ſeries of theſe experiments he concludes "that all the heat which a hot body uſes, when it is expoſed in the air to cool, is not given off to the air, which comes into contact with it, but that a large portion of it eſcapes in rays, which do not heat the tranſparent air through which they paſs; but, like light, generate heat only when, and where, they are ſtopped and abſorbed." As the reſults of various other experiments made with a view to determine the relative quantities of rays emitted from the ſurfaces of different ſubſtances, from living animals, dead animal matter, &c. We are informed that thoſe ſubſtances which part with heat with the greateſt facility, are thoſe which alſo acquire it moſt readily, or with the greateſt celerity: and alſo that the greater the power is which an animal poſſeſſes of throwing off heat from the ſurface of his body, independently of that which the ſurrounding air takes off, the leſs will his temperature be affected by the occaſional changes of temperature which take place in the air; and the leſs will be oppreſſed by the extenſe heats of hot climates.

It is well known, ſays this philoſopher, that negroes and people of colour, ſupport the heats of tropical climates much better than white people. Is it not probable that their colour may enable them to throw off calorific rays with greater facility, and in greater abundance; and that it is to this circumſtance, they owe the advantage they poſſeſs over white people, in ſupporting heat? And ſhould it be true, that bodies are waſted, not in conſequence of the rays they emit, but by the actions of the frigorific rays they receive from colder bodies, yet, as it has been found by experiment, that thoſe bodies which emit extorpid rays in the greateſt abundance, are alſo moſt affected by the frigorific rays of colder bodies, it is evident that in a very hot country, where the air and all other ſurrounding bodies, are but very little colder than the ſurface of the ſkin; thoſe who by their colour are prepared and diſpoſed to be cooled with the greateſt facility, will be leaſt likely to be oppreſſed by the accumulation of the heat generated in them by reſpiration, or of that excited by the ſun's rays.

From various experiments related by the count, we learn, that calorific rays are thrown off in greater abundance from a *black* ſurface, than from one that was not blackened. Hence he thinks meaſures might be taken for the preſervation of the health of Europeans, who quit their native climate to inhabit hot countries; at leaſt, under ſuch circumſtances, he ſays, nothing ſhould prevent him from blackening his ſkin, or, at leaſt, wearing a black ſhirt in the ſhade, and eſpecially at night, in order to find out, if, by thoſe means, he could render himſelf more comfortable.

Several ſavage tribes which inhabit cold countries, beſmear their ſkins with oil, which gives them a ſhining appearance, and reflects rays of light very copiouſly from their ſurface. "May not, therefore, the frigoric rays, which arrive at the ſurface of their ſkin, be alſo reflected by the highly poliſhed ſurface of the oil with which it is covered?" In that caſe, inſtead of deſpiſing theſe poor creatures for their attachment to a uſeleſs and loathſome habit, we ſhould be diſpoſed to admire their ingenuity, or rather the goodneſs of their ſenſible guardian and inſtructor, who teaches them to like and to practiſe what he knows to be uſeful to them.

From other experiments count Rumford is diſpoſed to believe that the Hottentots derive advantages from beſmearing themſelves, exactly ſimilar to thoſe which negroes derive from their black colour. And he thinks that a knowledge of the phyſical advantages which thoſe ſavages derive from ſuch practiſes, may enable us to acquire the ſame advantages by employing more elegant means. "A knowledge of the manner in which heat and cold are excited, would enable us to take meaſures for thoſe important purpoſes, with perfect certainty; in the mean time we may derive much uſeful information, by a careful examination of the phœnomena which occaſionally fall under our obſervation.

"If it be true that the black colour of a negro, by rendering him more ſenſible to the few frigorific rays

rays which are to be found in every hot country, enables him to ſupport the great heats of tropical climates without inconvenience, it might be aſked, how it happens that he is liable to ſupport, naked, the direct rays of a burning ſun?

"Thoſe who have ſeen negroes expoſed naked to the rays of the ſun in hot countries, muſt have obſerved that their ſkins, in *that ſituation*, are always ſhining. An oil exudes from their ſkin, which gives it that ſhining appearance, and the poliſhed ſurface of that oil reflects the ſun's calorific rays. If the heat be very intenſe, ſweat makes its appearance at the ſurface of the ſkin. The watry fluid not only reflects very powerfully the calorific rays of the ſun, which fall on its poliſhed ſurface, but alſo by its evaporation, generates cold. When the ſun is gone down, the ſweat diſappears, the oil at the ſurface of the ſkin retires inwards; and the ſkin is left in a ſtate very favourable to the admiſſion of thoſe feeble frigorific rays which arrive from the neighbouring objects."

The count infers from the reſult of other experiments, that the *warmth* of any kind of ſubſtance uſed as clothing, or its power of preventing our bodies from being cooled by the influence of ſurrounding colder bodies, depends much *on the poliſh of its ſurface*; for upon careful examination, it will be found that thoſe ſubſtances which ſupply us with the warmeſt coverings, as furs, feathers, ſilk, &c. are not only ſmooth, but highly poliſhed: it will alſo be found, other circumſtances being equal, that thoſe ſubſtances are the warmeſt which are the fineſt, or which are compoſed of the greateſt number of fine poliſhed detached threads or fibres. The fine white ſhining fur of a Ruſſian bear is much warmer than coarſe hair; and fine ſilk, as ſpun from the ſilk worm, is warmer than the ſame ſilk twiſted together into coarſe threads.

Formerly this penetrating writer conſidered the warmth of natural and artificial clothing as depending principally on the obſtacle it oppoſed to the motions of the cold air by which the hot body is ſurrounded; but by a patient examination of the ſubject, he is now convinced, that the efficacy of radiation is much greater than he had ſuppoſed it to be. Only a very ſmall part of the heat which a hot body appears to loſe, when it is cooled in the air, is in fact communicated to that fluid; a much greater portion of it being communicated to other ſurrounding bodies at a diſtance.

If the hypotheſis of the communication, or rather *generation* of heat and cold by *radiation*, as explained by this philoſopher, be founded in fact, it will, he conceives, enable him to illuſtrate in a ſatisfactory manner, what is termed the *non-conducting* power of tranſparent fluids, with reſpect to *heat*; for if heat be really communicated, or excited, in the manner thus deſcribed, it is evident that a *perfectly tranſparent* fluid can receive heat only at its ſurface, and conſequently that heat cannot be propagated on ſuch a fluid by communication from one particle of the fluid to another.

It cannot be aſcertained whether any of the fluids with which we are acquainted, are *perfectly tranſparent:* but pure water, and air, and moſt other fluids which are tranſparent to the light, poſſeſs, probably, a high degree of tranſparency in regard to calorific and frigorific rays; or give a free paſſage to them when they have once paſſed their ſurfaces. An even or poliſhed ſurface has been found to facilitate very much the reflexion of the rays of light; the count therefore aſks, "May it not alſo, in all caſes, have an equal tendency to facilitate the reflection of calorific and frigorific rays?"

In ſome experiments with large cylindrical veſſels, where they were expoſed naked to cool in the air, their ſurfaces were poliſhed, and they were a long time in cooling. But when the ſurface of the veſſel was blackened, or covered with other ſubſtances, the veſſel was found to cool more rapidly. A large proportion of the frigorific rays from the ſurrounding colder bodies were, in the former caſe, reflected at the poliſhed ſurface of the metallic veſſel; but, in the latter caſe, more of them were obſerved.

When a large drop of water rolls about, without being evaporated upon the flat ſurface of a piece of red-hot iron, the ſurface of the drop is *poliſhed*; and the calorific rays being moſt reflected, the water is heated very little. If the iron be *leſs hot*, the water penetrates the pores of the oxide which covers the metal; the drop ceaſed to have a poliſhed ſurface acquires heat very rapidly, and is ſoon evaporated.

If a drop of water be placed on a clear and poliſhed ſurface of a metal, not ſo eaſily oxidable as iron, it will retain its ſpherical form, and poliſhed ſurface, under a lower degree of temperature than on iron.

If a large drop of water be put carefully into a clean ſilver ſpoon, previouſly heated very hot, the drop will ſupport the heat a conſiderable time; but, after the ſpoon has been ſuffered to cool down nearly to the temperature of boiling water, a drop of water will be evaporated inſtantaneouſly. Hence is inferred, that under high temperatures, air is attracted by metals, ſo much more ſtrongly than water, that even the weight of a drop of water is not ſufficient to force away the ſtratum of air which covers, and adheres to, the ſurface of a metal, on which the drop repoſes; but, as to the lower temperatures, this does not ſeem to be the caſe.

We ſhall cloſe this novel and intereſting part of the count's enquiries, with a relation of an expe-

riment, eaſily repeated, and which he made with a view of inveſtigating the cauſe of the ſlow operation of drops of water placed on hot metals.

Experiment.—Taking a clean poliſhed ſilver ſpoon, he blackened the inſide of it with the flame of a wax candle, and then put a large drop of water into it, which rolled about the ſpoon, without wetting its blackened ſurface. He then attempted to make the water boil over the flame of the candle, but found it impoſſible. If the bowl of the ſpoon were touched with the finger, a hiſſing noiſe announced that it was extremely hot; but the water remained quiet in the ſpoon, without being evaporated. Having in vain attempted to make this drop of water boil, he poured the drop into the palm of his hand, which was only warm, though the handle of the ſpoon was too hot to be held even with ſeveral wrappings of linen about it.

By holding the ſpoon with a pair of tongs over the flame of the candle for a longer time, the drop gradually *changed its form*, became leſs, and at length evaporated: from being ſpherical and lucid, it aſſumed an oblong form, and its ſurface became obſcure; and when it was evaporated, it left a ſkin behind it, which was compoſed of the particles of black matter, that had by degrees attached themſelves to its ſurface, and which, probably, had contributed not a little to its being at laſt heated and evaporated.

The change in the form of the drop of water, and the gradual loſs of its lucid appearance, led the count to ſuſpect that it had turned round during the experiment. But if it really did ſo, its motion muſt have been extremely rapid, or very ſlow; for though he examined it with the utmoſt attention, he could not perceive that it had any rotatory motion.

In the courſe of this year Mr. Colebrooke, a gentleman whoſe reſearches in oriental literature have been crowned with unexpected ſucceſs, preſented a very curious and highly intereſting paper to the ASIATIC SOCIETY, eſtabliſhed in Bengal, containing an account of the religious ceremonies of the Hindoos, particularly thoſe of the Brahmans. The value of this tributary production will be beſt appreciated from a few extracts.

Amongſt the moſt important duties attached to the life of the Brahmen, the ſtudy of the Vida, and daily ablution, take the lead; the next to theſe is the ſacrament of the manes, of deities, and of ſpirits, which conſiſts in offerings of fire, with prayers addreſſed to various divinities. The ceremony of conſecrating the fire, and of hallowing the utenſils of ſacrifice, form the ground work of all religious acts, and is thus performed:

In the firſt place the prieſt ſmears himſelf with cow dung, on a level piece of ground, four cubits ſquare, and free from all impurities. Having bathed and ſipped water, he ſits down with his face towards the weſt, and places a veſſel of water, with *cús-a* graſs on his left; then dropping his right knee, and reſting on the ſpan of his left hand, he draws with a root of *cús-a*, a line directed towards the eaſt. From the neareſt extremity of this line, he draws another, at right angles to it, and directed to the north. Upon this line he draws three others parallel, and equal in length to the firſt. The firſt line is yellow, and ſacred to the earth; the ſecond is red, and ſacred to fire; the third black, and ſacred to *Brahmá*, the creator; the fourth blue, and ſacred to *Indra*, the regent of the firmament; the fifth white, and ſacred to *Somah*; the next gathers up the duſt from the edges of thoſe lines, and throws it away towards the north-eaſt, ſaying, "what was *(herein)* bad, is caſt away;" and he concludes by ſprinkling water on the ſeveral lines.

Having thus prepared the ground for the ſacrificed fire, he takes a lighted ember, and throws it away, ſaying, "I diſmiſs far away carniverous fire; may it go to the realm of Yama bearing ſin." He then places the fire before him, ſaying, "Earth! ſky! heaven! fire alone remains here, may it convey my oblation to the Gods!" He next proceeds to place the *Brahmá*, or ſuperintending prieſt, which, in general, is nothing more than a bundle, containing fifty blades of *cús-a* graſs, to repreſent the *Brahmá*; but, upon very extraordinary occaſions, a learned *Brahmana* diſcharges the functions of the ſuperintending prieſt. The officiating prieſt takes up the veſſel of water, and walks round the fire, keeping his right ſide turned towards it; he then pours water near it, directing the ſtream towards the eaſt; he ſpreads *cús-a* graſs thereon, and croſſing his right knee over his left, without ſitting down, he takes up a ſingle blade of graſs, between the thumb and right finger of his left hand, and throws it away towards the ſouth-weſt, ſaying, "What was herein bad is caſt away." Next, touching the water, reſting the ſole of his right foot on his left ancle, and ſprinkling the graſs with water, he places the *Brahmá* on it, ſaying, "Sit on this ſeat until thy fee be paid."

If any prophane word have been ſpoken during the preceding ceremony, atonement muſt now be made, by pronouncing a certain text; and if it be intended to make oblations of rice, mixed with milk, curds and butter, this is the proper time for mixing them, and the prieſt afterwards proceeds to name the earth, in the following prayer, which he pronounces with a down-caſt look, reſting both hands on the ground: "We adore this earth, this auſpicious and moſt excellent earth; do therefore reſiſt our enemies; thou doſt take on thee the power and office of other deities." With blades of *cús-a* graſs, held in his right hand, he muſt next ſtrew

leaves of the ſame graſs on three ſides of the fire, arranging them regularly, ſo that the top of one row ſhall cover the roots of the other. He then bleſſes the ten regions of ſpace, and riſing a little, puts ſome wood on the fire, with a ladle full of clarified butter, which he meditates in ſilence on *Brahmâ*, the lord of creatures. After various other ceremonies, the prieſt ſprinkles the water all round the fire, while he pronounces this text: "Generous fun! approve this rite; approve the performer of it, that he may ſhare its reward. May the celeſtial luminary which purifies the intellectual ſoul, purify our minds, may the lord of ſpeech make our prayers acceptable!"

Holding *cús-a* graſs in both hands, he then reads an expiatory prayer, and throwing away the graſs, he then finiſhes the hallowing of the ſacrificial implements: a ceremony which neceſſarily precedes all other religious rites. Another oblation to fire, conſiſts of ſacrifice to the nine planets, accompanied by as many prayers.

Amidſt the many important diſcoveries in the ſcience of medicine, reſerved for our times, it would be unneceſſary, if we were even equal to the talk, to dwell on the importance of vaccination; and it is with pleaſure that we can bear teſtimony to the excellency of it. In the month of October 1804, the phyſicians of the rigenaé vaccine pock inſtitution, printed "a ſtatement of evidence from trials by inoculation of variolous and vaccine matter, to judge of the queſtion, whether or not a perſon can undergo the ſmall, after being affected by the cow pock." The reſult of the experiments related in this publication was, "that above fifty perſons who had been vaccinated three to five years ago, and ten who were vaccinated at a later period, were incapable of taking the ſmall-pox by inoculation in circumſtances choſen as moſt favourable for infection. For many of the ſubjects were expoſed to the effluvia from ſmall-pox patients, they were all inoculated in three times the uſual number of places; they were all inoculated with efficacious and recent matter, and with many of them unuſual pains were beſtowed to introduce the matter quite fluid immediately from the variolous patient. After a variety of remarks on the queſtion, made with judgment and candour, the phyſicians conclude in theſe words: "Hence then it ſeems to us, that, at the utmoſt, the adverſaries can only pretend to maintain two things. 1. That in a very ſmall proportion of inſtances, perhaps, one caſe out of ſeveral thouſands, the cow-pock fails to deſtroy the capability of the ſmall-pox in a ſhort time after vaccination. 2. That in a greater proportian of inſtances, the ſuſceptibility of taking the ſmall-pox will be found to have returned in a longer time, as three or more years after vaccination. But we ſubmit to the judgment of the whole medical world, whether or not, conſidering the body of poſitive evidence brought forward, the improbability of a greater number of failures of the cow-pock, in the practice of certain ſingle perſons (whoſe whole experience bears ſo ſmall a proportion to that of this inſtitution and its connection, than in the practice of thoſe of an hundred times its extent; and the numerous caſes aſſerted to be thoſe of the ſmall-pox, which, on inveſtigation, were found to be other eruptions; we ſay, conſidering all thoſe points, is it not more probable, that the adverſe inſtances are deceptions, than that they afford exceptions to a law of the human animal œconomy?"

CHAP. XXXII.

Juridical Proceedings—Deaths of eminent Perſons.—Mrs. Charlotte Lennox.—Dr. Percival.—Mr. Capper.

THERE were few cauſes of ſufficient intereſt agitated in our courts of law to intereſt the attention of the hiſtorian in the courſe of this year; and out of theſe few we have ſelected the following.

On the 24th of January 1804, Mr. Erſkine, in the king's bench, moved for a writ of *certiorari*, to remove into the court the conviction of Mr. Dowley before the magiſtrates of Surrey, for certain fines he had incurred while in the Southwark volunteer cavalry. Mr. Erſkine admitted the legality of the conviction under the forty-ſecond of the king, chap. 121, ſection 14, but conceived that taking the whole of the facts into conſideration, that it was a fit caſe for the deciſion of the court. Mr. Dowley admitted that he had enrolled himſelf in the corps already mentioned; but, in his defence, ſaid, "that he was no longer a member of that corps." He had received a letter from his commanding officer, informing him, that if he did not attend certain drills, he would be diſmiſſed. Mr. Dowley finding ſuch attendance would materially interfere with his buſineſs as a corn dealer, gave this reaſon in anſwer; and conceiving that it would be received as a ſufficient apology, ſent in his reſignation. This, however, was not accepted, the fines for non-attendance were impoſed; and a conviction taking place, a diſtreſs and ſale were made of Mr. Dowley's goods to the amount claimed. "The queſtion," Mr. Erſkine ſaid, for their lordſhip's conſideration, "whether or not Mr. Dowley, under the peculiar circumſtances of the caſe, was ſubject to the fines;" "and that," ſaid Mr. Erſkine, "will depend upon his right to reſign." The learned counſel then took a ſhort retroſpect of all the volunteer acts; concluding with "his firm conviction, that a volunteer enrolled under the acts alluded

luded to, had an unqueſtionable right to reſign; and that the legiſlature conſidered the ſervice purely ſpontaneous, truſting, for the ſame motive, to its continuance that gave it birth. At the ſame time he was aware, that the moment a member of a volunteer corps withdrew himſelf, or was diſcharged for neglect, or other cauſes, from that moment he became amenable to the compulſory ſtatutes; and, though he ſhould have been previouſly exempted from the militia ballot by reaſon of his enrollment, yet, if drawn under that exemption, he was liable to be called on; and if the vacancy that he ſhould have filled but for his then exemption, be filled up, he might be made to ſerve a ſupernumerary till a freſh vacancy ſhould occur." After alluding to the neceſſity which miniſters had of checking the volunteer ſervice of the country, which, he ſaid, had nearly ſwallowed up the male population of the kingdom, Mr. Erſkine called the attention of their lordſhips again to Mr. Dowley, who, he would affirm, had withdrawn his ſervices from no diſhonourable motives. "He was ready," continued the eloquent advocate, "to ſacrifice his life in the ſervice of his country, but it was important that he ſhould not ſacrifice his family." Mr. Erſkine concluded by ſaying, that there was no want of volunteers, nor any neceſſity of forcing a continuance of their ſervice longer than they were diſpoſed to give it. Lord Ellenborough deſired Mr. Erſkine to take the *certiorari*.

Soon after this a publication appeared, entitled, "The Opinion of Mr. Erſkine on the Volunteer Act," and which excited conſiderable attention. This opinion conſiſted of a long ſtring of obſervations upon the act, with a ſhort preface, in which the writer remarks, that the acts of parliament do not authorize the arbitrary alterations of the original engagements of the volunteers.

When the caſe came to be argued, the court acceeded to the opinion which Mr. Erſkine advanced in his motion for the *certiorari*.

Lady Auguſta Murray filed a bill in the court of chancery, *verſus* his royal highneſs the duke of Suſſex, and others; praying, amongſt other things, that the defendant, Mr. Coutts, might be reſtrained, by an injunction of the court, from paying to his royal highneſs the duke of Suſſex a ſum of 4000*l*. *per annum*, part of an annual penſion of 12,000*l*. ſettled upon his royal highneſs, and which ſum of 4000*l*. had been ſettled by deed upon lady Auguſta, in conſideration of her educating and maintaining the children ſhe already had, or might have, by his royal highneſs. It alſo ſtated, that Mr. Coutts received the 12,000*l*. under the authority of a power of attorney from the duke of Suſſex, who was at the time in Liſbon, and out of the juriſdiction of the court. The motion was reſiſted, upon the ground that Mr. Coutts was merely authorized to receive this money under a letter of attorney, and accountable to his conſtituent alone for the application of it. The lord chancellor ſaid, that he never recollected a ſimilar caſe, where the grantor of the deed was not before the court, and who, if preſent, might ſet up many objections, which might perhaps be fatal to the exiſtence of the inſtrument. His lordſhip added, that it was impoſſible, in that ſtage of the cauſe, to grant the injunction as prayed; but that he ſaw no objection to reſtrain Mr. Coutts from receiving the money at all at preſent; and, if the plaintiff choſe to make any other motion, he ſhould certainly hear it, aſſiſted by the judgments of the maſter of the rolls, and the lord chief juſtice of the common pleas. Here the matter reſted.

On Friday, January the 20th, 1804, F. Smith was tried at the Old Bailey for the wilful murder of T. Millwood. The circumſtances as they came out on the trial were, that the neighbourhood of Hammerſmith had been diſturbed for ſome time with a pretended ghoſt, attended by very ridiculous circumſtances. F. Smith was determined to put an end to the pranks of this ſpectre, by ſhooting at it, when, unfortunately, T. Millwood, a young man wholly unconnected with the plot, came in his way, and was ſhot. The jury firſt found the priſoner guilty of *manſlaughter*; but this verdict being improper, they, on the ſuggeſtion of the lord chief baron, and all the judges preſent, found the priſoner guilty of *Murder*. On the 24th of the ſame month Smith received his majeſty's pardon, on condition of being impriſoned one year, which he underwent.

We come now to notice the deaths of ſome eminent perſons in the courſe of this year. And in the liſt of thoſe whoſe writings have contributed to mend the heart and inform the underſtanding, Mrs. Charlotte Lennox is entitled to the lead. This lady died at the advanced age of eighty-four. The early proof ſhe had given of taſte and genius, recommended her to the acquaintance of Dr. Samuel Johnſon, who beſtowed no ſmall ſhare of attention to the cultivation of her talents. Her firſt publication appeared in 1752, under the title of "The Female Quixote," a work of acknowledged merit. This was ſoon followed by another production of equal excellence, "The Memoirs of Harriet Stuart." In the year following ſhe publiſhed "Shakeſpeare Illuſtrated," in two volumes 12mo. to which ſhe ſoon added a third. This publication conſiſts of the novels and hiſtories on which Shakeſpeare founded his plays, collected and tranſlated from the original languages. In this work ſhe exhibited uncommon ſtrength of mind, reſearch, and induſtry. She charges the conſiſtent bard however with having tortured ſome of thoſe ſtories into low contrivances, abſurd intrigues, and improbable incidents. In 1756 our authoreſs, who had already acquired a conſiderable

conſiderable portion of literary fame, publiſhed "The Memoirs of the Counteſs of Berci, taken from the French;" and a tranſlation of "Sully's Memoirs," 3 vols. 4to. in which the ſpirit of the original is ſo happily transfuſed, that it has gone through ſeveral editions. Such was the fertility of her pen, that in 1758 ſhe publiſhed "Philander," a dramatic paſtoral;" and "Henrietta," a novel of conſiderable intereſt; and in 1760, a tranſlation of "Father Brumoy's Greek Theatre," 3 vols. 4to. In this elaborate undertaking ſhe was materially aſſiſted by the earl of Cork and Orrery, and Dr. Johnſon. Two years after ſhe publiſhed "Sophia," a novel; and after an interval of ſeven years, ſhe brought out at Covent Garden theatre, "The Siſters, a comedy," taken from her novel of "Henrietta," which was condemned the firſt night of its repreſentation. This did not damp her exertions in the dramatic line, for, in 1773, ſhe furniſhed Drury Lane theatre with a comedy, entitled, "Old City Manners." She cloſed her literary career with "Euphemea," a novel of uncommon intereſt. Her father was a field officer, lieutenant-governor of New York, a gallant ſoldier, and an honeſt man. He ſent her to England at the age of fifteen to his ſiſter, a wealthy lady, who had often expreſſed a wiſh in her letters to have the ſuperintendance of her education, but who, unfortunately on her arrival, was out of her ſenſes, and never recovered them; ſoon after which the father died, and his fortune along with him, ſo that his beloved daughter was obliged to reſort to her literary talents for bread. The evening of her life was clouded with diſtreſſes; theſe however was occaſionally diſſipated by the kindneſs of friends, who equally admired her literary and moral character. The literary fund, that noble inſtitution, contributed to alleviate her wants.

In this year we have alſo to lament the loſs of Thomas Percival, M. D. F. R. S. member of the medical ſocieties of London, Edinburgh, &c. He was a phyſician of the higheſt eminence; his firſt publication, "Diſſertatio inaugratis de frigore," Lugd. B. 1765. This was followed by "Philoſophical, medical, and experimental Eſſays, London, 1767, 1772, 1773." "Philoſophical, medical, and experimental Eſſays, 1776." Theſe, with ſome other ſcattered pieces, inſerted in tranſactions of learned ſocieties, or in periodical publications, have been collected in two volumes octavo. Several of theſe tracts were deemed worthy of a place in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, and of the philoſophical and literary Society of Mancheſter, and other collections. "Obſervations and Experiments on the Poiſon of Lead, 1774." "A Father's Inſtructions, conſiſting of tales, fables, and reflections, deſigned to promote the love of virtue, a taſte for knowledge, and an early acquaintance with the works of nature, 1775, 1778." Two years after he added a ſecond volume, compleating the work. "On the Uſe of Flowers of Zinc in epileptic Caſes;" (Medical Commentaries, vol. II.) "Miſcellaneous and practical Obſervations." (Ibid. V.) "Account of the Earthquake at Mancheſter." (Ibid.) "The Diſadvantages of early Inoculation." "Experiments and Obſervations on Water." "Moral and literary Diſſertations, 1784." "On the Roman Colonies and Stations in Cheſhire and Lancaſhire." (Philoſophical Tranſactions, XLVII. 216.) "Account of a double child." (Ibid. 360.) "Experiments on the Peruvian Bark." (Ibid. LVII. 22.) "Experiments and Obſervations on the Waters of Buxton and Mancheſter." (Ibid. LXIV. 54. LXV. 322.) and Supplement, LXVI. 160.) "New and cheap way of preparing Pot-aſh." (Ibid. LXX. 545.)

In the obituary of the period our plan confines us to, we have to notice the death of a very *ſingular character*, Joſeph Capper, Eſq. many years an inmate at the Horns' tavern, Kennington. He was born in Cheſhire, of an humble deſcent. As he had many brothers and ſiſters, he came at an early age to London, in his own words, "to ſhift for himſelf," and was bound apprentice to a grocer. Having evinced a diſpoſition to render himſelf ſerviceable to his maſter, by the utmoſt attention to his buſineſs, he gained the confidence of his employer, which he never betrayed, and which was his boaſt through life. On the expiration of his apprenticeſhip, his maſter enabled him to commence buſineſs in the neighbourhood of Roſemary Lane. The integrity of his character enabled him to get credit to a large amount; and his obliging behaviour to his cuſtomers, and fair dealing, enabled him to maintain that credit. In proportion to his ſucceſs in buſineſs, he embarked in various ſpeculations, but in none was ſo fortunate as in the funds. By cloſe application and induſtry he acquired a ſum ſufficient to retire from buſineſs. Having loſt his old maſter, he was determined to enjoy the fruits of his induſtry in quiet, remote from the buſtle of the buſy world. This was beſt ſuited to a ſudden change of his diſpoſition, which, from being very ſocial, became moroſe and overbearing, ſo that he never ſeemed ſo happy as when placed by the ſide of a companion of a ſimilar caſt of mind. Having for many days traverſed the vicinity of the metropolis in purſuit of a lodging congenial to the "gloomy habits of his ſoul," without being able to meet with one of the kind, he one day, by mere chance, called at the Horns at Kennington, to refreſh himſelf, as he was overcome with fatigue, where, after taking a chop, he ſpent the day, and aſked for a bed in a blunt manner; when he was anſwered in the ſame tone by the landlord, that he could not have one. Mr. Capper was ſo captivated with a ſtyle ſo

peculiar to his own, that he refuſed to retire. After ſome altercation, however, he was accommodated with a bed, and never ſlept out of it for twenty-five years. During that time he made no agreement for lodging or board, but wiſhed to be conſidered only a cuſtomer for the day. For many years he talked about quitting his reſidence the next day. His mode of living was ſo peculiar, that he could not drink the tea out of any other than a certain favourite cup.

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

State of public Affairs at the Commencement of the Year 1805.—*Rupture with Spain.—Declaration of the Britiſh Government.—Negotiation for Peace with France.—Naval Actions.—State of Trade and Commerce, January* 1805.

DURING the preceding year the eyes of all Europe were fixed on the ſanguinary developement of the unbounded ambition of the emperor of the French. In purſuit of his ſchemes of univerſal aggrandiſement, he loſt ſight of every principle of juſtice and equity: he trampled upon the moſt ſacred laws of nature, violated the rights and privileges of nations, and inſulted ſovereign princes in the perſons of their ambaſſadors. But of all the outrages committed by Bonaparte, the ſeizure of Sir George Rumbold, the Britiſh envoy, appeared moſt ſenſibly to affect the continental powers. Even thoſe courts which were in confidential alliance with him, trembled at the deed. The king of Pruſſia, who had ſo long been the obſequious vaſſal of France, was rouzed to indignation at this event. He for once felt the heroiſm of a monarch, and in a very ſpirited remonſtrance reſented the indignity offered to his Britannic majeſty in the perſon of Sir George. Notwithſtanding the influence of Bonaparte was every day increaſing, every power, England excepted, ſtood in dread of him. The emperor of Germany, with effeminate vanity, had cauſed himſelf to be crowned a ſecond time, with the title of emperor of Auſtria. This ceremony was in humble imitation of the man who had driven him from his ca-pital, and robbed him of half his dominions.

The policy of Bonaparte in eſtabliſhing the Catholic religion in France, and the mock honours which he paid to Pius the Seventh, who at this time was in his dominions, had a wonderful effect, not only upon his own ſubjects, but thoſe alſo of neighbouring Catholic princes. Spain eſpecially was more than ever attached to the intereſts of France. Mr. Frere, the Engliſh ambaſſador, had repeatedly deſired an explanation of the increaſed naval armament which Spain was fitting out. In vain were all remonſtrances: the imbecility of the king, the intrigues of the queen and the prince of Peace; and, above all, the menaces of France, proved effectual in producing a rupture with Great Britain. The court of Madrid iſſued a manifeſto, or declaration of war, dated December 14, 1804, which chiefly reſted on the detention of the four regiſter ſhips as the baſis for hoſtilities being proclaimed*. The Britiſh cabinet were not to be intimidated by this hoſtile meaſure of the Spaniſh court. England was now contending againſt other powers: yet the energy of the nation was in no reſpect relaxed, or its reſources diminiſhed. A ſpirit of unanimity was diffuſed throughout the country, and the idea of a Spaniſh war, inſtead of producing deſpondency, had a contrary effect. The court of St. James's iſſued a declaration, ſtating the grounds of the war with Spain. This paper was drawn up with great perſpicuity: it exhibited a ſeries of intereſting facts, and combined irreſiſtible argument with all the dignity and energy of language. It aſſerted, "That from the moment hoſtilities had commenced between Great Britain and France, a ſufficient ground of war neceſſarily followed againſt Spain, on the part of Great Britain, from the treaty of Ildephonſo, if not diſclaimed by Spain.

That treaty in fact identified Spain with the republican government of France, by a virtual acknowledgment of unqualified vaſſalage, and by ſpecific ſtipulations of unconditional offence. By the articles of that treaty, Spain covenanted to furniſh a ſtated contingent of naval and military force for the proſecution of any war in which the French republic might think proper to engage.

Spain ſurrendered any right or pretenſion to enquire into the nature, origin, and juſtice of the war. She ſtipulated in the firſt inſtance a contingent of troops and ſhips, which of itſelf compriſes no moderate proportion of the means at her diſpoſal; but in the event of this contingent being at

* For his majeſty's manifeſto, ſee page 460.

at any time found inſufficient for the purpoſes of France, ſhe further bound herſelf to put into a ſtate of activity the utmoſt force both by ſea and land, that it ſhould be in her power to collect. She covenanted, that this force ſhould be at the diſpoſal of France, to be employed conjointly or ſeparately, for the annoyance of the common enemy; thus ſubmitting her entire power and reſources to be uſed as the inſtruments of French ambition and aggreſſion, and to be applied in whatever proportion France might think proper, for the avowed purpoſe of endeavouring to deſtroy the government, and the national exiſtence of Great Britain.

The character of ſuch a treaty (continues the declaration) gave Great Britain an inconteſtible right to declare to Spain, that unleſs ſhe decidedly renounced the treaty, or gave aſſurances that ſhe would not perform the obligations of it, ſhe would not be conſidered as a neutral power. This right, however, for prudential reaſons, and from motives of forbearance towards Spain, was not exerciſed in its full extent; and in conſequence of aſſurances of a pacific diſpoſition on the part of the Spaniſh government, his majeſty did not in the firſt inſtance, inſiſt on a diſtinct and formal renunciation of the treaty. The declaration then proceeds to ſtate a convention with France for a ſubſidy monthly; upon which it adds, "The report of ſome naval armaments in the ports of Spain had occaſioned a freſh correſpondence between his majeſty's miniſter and the Spaniſh government." In one of the notes preſented by the former, he declares, "that if the king was forced to begin a war, he would want no other declaration than what he had already made." The anſwers of the Spaniſh government were at firſt evaſive: his majeſty's miniſter cloſed the correſpondence on his part by a note delivered on the 18th of February; in which he declares, "that all further forbearance on the part of England, muſt depend upon the ceſſation of all naval armaments, and a prohibition of the ſale of prizes in their port; and unleſs theſe points were agreed to without modification, he had orders to leave Madrid. On the ſecond of theſe points a ſatisfactory anſwer was given, and orders iſſued accordingly: on the firſt a reference was made to former declarations. To the queſtion about diſcloſing the treaty with France, no ſatisfactory anſwer was ever given; as however no naval preparations appeared to be proceeding at that period in the ports of Spain, the matter was allowed to remain for a time. In July 1804, the government of Spain gave aſſurances of faithful and ſettled neutrality, and diſavowed any orders to arm in their ports; yet, in the ſubſequent month, when theſe aſſurances were recent, and a confident reliance repoſed in them, the Britiſh charge des affaires received advice from the admiral commanding his majeſty's ſhips off the port of Ferrol, that reinforcements of ſoldiers and ſailors had arrived through Spain, for the French fleets at Toulon and Ferrol. On this intelligence two notes were preſented to the Spaniſh miniſter, but no anſwer was received to either of them. Towards the end of the month of September information was received in London from the Britiſh admiral ſtationed off Ferrol, that orders had actually been given by the court of Madrid for arming, without loſs of time, at that port, four ſhips of the line, two frigates, and other ſmaller veſſels; that (according to his intelligence) ſimilar orders had been given at Carthagena and Cadiz; and particularly that three firſt rate ſhips of the line were directed to ſail from the laſt mentioned port; and as an additional proof of hoſtile intentions, that orders had been given to arm the pacquets as in time of war.

The declaration then animadverts in pointed terms on this direct and unequivocal violation of the agreement on which the continuance of peace had been acquieſced in. It is added, "no ſubſtantial redreſs, no ſatisfactory explanation was afforded, in conſequence of the repeated repreſentations which had been made; while under cover of his majeſty's forbearance, the enemy had received conſiderable remittances of treaſures, together with the facility of procuring other ſupplies. Every circumſtance of the general conduct of Spain was peculiarly calculated to excite the vigilant attention of Great Britain. The removal of Spaniſh ſhips out of their docks to make room for the accommodation of the men of war of France; the march of French troops and ſeamen through the Spaniſh territory; the equipment of naval armaments at Ferrol; the conſideration that the junction of this armament with the French ſhips already in that harbour would create a decided ſuperiority of numbers over his majeſty's ſquadron cruiſing off that port; the additional naval exertions, and the conſequent increaſe of expence which this conduct of Spain neceſſarily impoſed upon Great Britain; all theſe together required thoſe precautions both of repreſentation and action to which his majeſty had immediate recourſe. While official notice was given of his majeſty's intention to adopt thoſe neceſſary meaſures, the Spaniſh government was at the ſame time aſſured, that his majeſty ſtill felt an earneſt deſire to maintain a good underſtanding with Spain; but that the continuance of ſuch a ſtate of things muſt be ſubject to the condition of abſtaining on their part from all hoſtile preparations, and on making, without heſitation or reſerve, that full and explicit diſcloſure of the nature and extent of the ſubſiſting engagements with France, which had hitherto been ſo frequently and ſo fruitleſsly demanded. The preparations adopted by his majeſty were ſuch only as he deemed indiſpenſibly neceſſary to guard againſt the augmentation by Spain of her means

means of naval preparation during the diſcuſſions, and againſt the poſſible conſequences of the ſafe arrival of the expected American treaſure in the Spaniſh ports; an event which has more than once in former times become the epocha of the termination of diſcuſſions, and of the commencement of hoſtilities with Spain." This ſpirited memorial cloſes with the following words: "His majeſty appeals with confidence to all Europe for the acknowledgment of his exemplary moderation in the whole courſe of theſe tranſactions. His majeſty feels with regret the neceſſity which places him in a ſtate of hoſtility with Spain; and would with heartfelt ſatisfaction obſerve on the part of that country the aſſumption of a more dignified ſenſe of national importance, and a more independent exerciſe of fovereign rights. His majeſty would indeed be moſt happy to diſcover in the councils of Spain a reviving ſenſe of thoſe antient feelings and honourable propenſities which have at all times been ſo congenial to the Spaniſh character, and which, in better times, have marked the conduct of its government. His majeſty will, on his part, eagerly embrace the firſt opportunity that offers of reſuming a ſtate of peace and confidence with a nation which has ſo many ties of common intereſt to connect it with Great Britain, and which he has hitherto been ever diſpoſed to regard with ſentiments of the utmoſt conſideration and eſteem."

Downing Street, Jan. 1805.

This admirable ſtate paper was generally attributed to the pen of Mr. Canning. While hoſtilities were thus on the eve of being commenced with Spain, on the 5th of January a French officer arrived in the Downs in the Tickler gun brig, bearing a flag of truce. He brought an important diſpatch from M. Talleyrand to lord Harrowby, which was ſent expreſs to Boulogne, with orders that it ſhould be forwarded to ſome of the Britiſh cruizers. Theſe diſpatches contained ſome pacific propoſitions, which his majeſty afterwards alluded to in his ſpeech from the throne.

Notwithſtanding the recent outrages committed by the emperor of France, the overtures were not treated with contempt, but ſubmitted to the judicious and temperate inveſtigation of the cabinet miniſters. Thus did Great Britain, under circumſtances of peculiar aggravation, exhibit to the nations of Europe an example of ſingular moderation with reſpect to its moſt determined and inveterate enemy. The maritime glory of Britain was ſtill increaſing; its flag waved triumphant on the ocean, and its unrivalled nurſery of ſeamen were from time to time atchieving the moſt heroic deeds.

The London Gazette of January 8, contained a letter from commodore Sir Samuel Hood, who commanded at the Leeward Iſlands, to William Marſden, Eſq. incloſing an account of the capture of the Napoleon French privateer, mounting eighteen guns, and one hundred and fifty men, by the Barbadoes*, commanded by captain Nourſe, Captain Nourſe's letter was as follows:

"*His Majeſty's Ship Barbadoes, at Sea, October* 17, 1804.

SIR,

"I have the ſatisfaction to inform you that his majeſty's ſhip Barbadoes, under my command, at three A. M. this morning, fell in with a ſtrange ſail in the latitude of 17. 40. N. long. 59. 54. min. W. and after a chaſe of thirteen hours, the latter part ſome little firing from her ſtern, and our bow chaſers, ſhe ſtruck her colours, and proved to be the Napoleon French privateer, formerly the Duke of Kent packet, from Guadaloupe, commanded by Suyrvens Pitot, *enſeigne de vaiſſeau*, mounting eighteen guns, two of which were thrown overboard during the chaſe: ſhe had one hundred and fifty men on board, was out nine days, on her firſt cruiſe, and had not made any captures.

"I am, &c.

"JOSEPH NOURSE."

Commodore Hood, Commander in Chief.

The Gazette of January 22, contained a letter from lord Keith, K. B. admiral of the blue, to William Marſden, Eſq. incloſing a letter from captain Elphinſtone, ſtating, "That he fell in with and captured the French lugger privateer Le Vimeneux, Jan B. Pollet, captain, armed with fifteen guns, and having on board ſixty-nine men. It was againſt this lugger that the gallant, although unfortunate attempt was made by the boats of his majeſty's ſloop Rattler and Folkſtone lugger."

The Britiſh cruizers in the Weſt Indies were equally ſucceſsful in their enterprizes. Admiral Sir J. T. Duckworth, in his diſpatches, dated Port Royal, November 4, 1804, related, "That captain Boyer, of the Echo, drove on ſhore off the iſland of Bonair Curacoa, a French lugger, pierced for ſixteen guns, ten four-pounders mounted, and fifty men; which was afterwards cut out by two boats, commanded by lieutenant Jones. Captain Mudge, of the Blanche, captured the "La Gracieux," French ſchooner, fourteen guns, and fifty-ſix men. And lieutenant W. Fromon, of "La Superiure," captured, after a chaſe of four hours, Le Chaneur privateer, five guns, and ſixty-ſix men. This was

* The merchants of Barbadoes preſented this ſhip to his majeſty. It was her firſt cruiſe, and ſhe had been only four days at ſea when the Napoleon was captured.

accounted

accounted one of the fafteſt ſailing cruiſers that had been diſpatched from Guadaloupe.

The trade and commerce of Great Britain was more flouriſhing at the commencement of the year 1805, than at the cloſe of the preceding year. Very conſiderable quantities of Engliſh earthenware, and of felt hats, were ſhipped in January from London for the iſland of Malta.

The exports from London to Ireland, to Jamaica, and to the Eaſt Indies, were very large. The articles were of moſt excellent workmanſhip; in many of which the value of the raw material was not above one-tenth part of that of the workmanſhip. In the extent of its commerce and mercantile importance, the town of Liverpool increaſed beyond example. The multiplication of the canals; the Northwich ſalt works; the growing increaſe of the trade to Africa, were each ſources of its wealth and proſperity: but we may chiefly attribute its aggrandiſement to the unremitted induſtry and commercial ſkill of its inhabitants, and to their intrepidity in commercial ſpeculation. Thus, while France, by the meaneſt artifices and the moſt outrageous acts, was feebly menacing this happy iſland with deſtruction; while Spain was arming againſt it to join the confederacy, our trade and commerce was in the moſt flouriſhing ſtate: our ſhips ſailed over the boſom of the ocean freighted with rich and precious cargoes to every quarter of the globe; and Bonaparte had the mortification to experience, that inſtead of our "ſhips, colonies, and commerce periſhing," they were more flouriſhing than ever.

CHAP. II.

Meeting of Parliament.—King's Speech.—Debates on the Addreſs.—Speeches of Lord Hawkeſbury, Lord Grenville, &c.—Diſcuſſion of the King's Speech in the Houſe of Commons.

AT a criſis ſo momentous as the preſent, the nation waited with anxiety the opening of the third ſeſſion of the ſecond parliament of the United Kingdom. On the 15th of January, the day parliament was ſummoned to meet, his majeſty went in the uſual ſtate to the houſe of peers, and delivered the following ſpeech from the throne:

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"Since the end of the laſt ſeſſion, the preparations of the enemy for the invaſion of this kingdom, have been continued with inceſſant activity: but no attempt has been made to carry their repeated menaces into effect.

"The ſkill and intrepidity of my navy; the reſpectable and formidable ſtate of my army and militia; the unabated zeal and improved diſcipline of a numerous volunteer force; and the general ardour manifeſted by all claſſes of my ſubjects, have indeed been ſufficient to deter them from ſo preſumptuous and deſperate an enterprize. While this ſpirit continues to animate the country, and its voluntary exertions for its own defence ſubſiſt in their full vigour, we need not fear the conſequences of the moſt powerful efforts on the part of the enemy. But let us never forget that our ſecurity has ariſen from the reſolution with which we have met and provided againſt the danger, and that it can be preſerved only by ſteady perſeverance and unremitting activity. The conduct of the court of Spain, evidently under the predominant influence and controul of France, compelled me to take prompt and deciſive meaſures to guard againſt the effects of hoſtility. I have at the ſame time endeavoured, as long as it was poſſible, to prevent the neceſſity of a rupture: but, in conſequence of the refuſal of a ſatisfactory explanation, my miniſter quitted Madrid, and war has ſince been declared by Spain againſt this country. I have directed a copy of the manifeſto, which I have cauſed to be prepared on the occaſion, to be laid before you, together with ſuch papers as are neceſſary to explain the diſcuſſions which have taken place between me and the court of Madrid. You will, I truſt, be convinced by them, that my forbearance has been carried to the utmoſt extent which the intereſts of my dominions would admit; and, while I lament the ſituation of Spain, involved in hoſtilities, contrary to its true intereſts, I rely with confidence on your vigorous ſupport in a conteſt, which can be attributed alone to the unfortunate prevalence of French councils.

"The general conduct of the French government on the continent of Europe, has been marked by the utmoſt violence and outrage, and has ſhewn a wanton defiance of the rights of neutral territories, of the acknowledged privileges of accredited miniſters, and of the eſtabliſhed principles of the law of nations.

"Notwithſtanding theſe tranſactions, ſo repugnant to every ſentiment of moderation and juſtice, I have recently received a communication from the French government, containing profeſſions of a pacific diſpoſition. I have in conſequence, expreſſed my earneſt deſire to embrace the firſt opportunity of reſtoring the bleſſings of peace, on ſuch grounds as may be conſiſtent with the permanent ſafety and intereſts of my dominions: but I am confident you will agree with me, that thoſe objects are cloſely connected with the general ſecurity of Europe.

"I have therefore not thought it right to enter into any more particular explanation, without previous communication with thoſe powers on the Continent, with whom I am engaged in confidential intercourſe and connection, with a view to that important

portant object, and especially with the emperor of Russia, who has given the strongest proofs of the wise and dignified sentiments by which he is animated, and of the warm interest he takes in the safety and independence of Europe.

"*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

"I have directed the estimates for the public service to be laid before you. I regret the necessity of any additional burdens being imposed on my people; but I am sure you will be sensible how much their future safety and happiness depend on the vigour of our exertions, and that in the mode of raising supplies, you will continue to shew your anxiety for the support of public credit, and for restraining as much as possible the accumulation of the national debt.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"In considering the great efforts and sacrifices, which the nature of the contest requires, it is a peculiar satisfaction to me to observe the many proofs of the internal wealth and prosperity of the country. It will I am sure be your great object to maintain and improve these advantages: and at the same time to take all such measures as by enabling me to prosecute the war with vigour, may afford the best prospect of bringing it to a safe and honourable termination."

His majesty's speech being read by the lord chancellor, and afterwards by the clerk, lord Elliott rose to move the address. After lamenting that some person more eminently qualified as a public speaker had not undertaken to bring forward this motion, he complimented the house on the uniformity of sentiment which he trusted he should find to the address he was about to move. His lordship expatiated on some prominent parts of his majesty's speech. With regard to the first topic of the speech; the disappointment of the enemy's expectations, there could be but one opinion. Notwithstanding all the boasted preparations of France, the invasion which had so long been threatened had never been attempted. It must afford satisfaction to their lordships, that the wise measures adopted by his majesty's ministers had deterred the enemy from such a design. For this delay we were not indebted to any moderation on his part, or to any want of preparation. It was the effect of the wisdom of his majesty's councils; of the vigour and unanimity of parliament in support of the war; of the strength and discipline of our military and naval force; of the confidence and energy of the people. A new description of force had lately been raised, a volunteer army of four hundred thousand men. Respecting the conduct of Spain, when the documents were laid before parliament their lordships would have better opportunity of exercising their judgments. The general conduct of the French government afforded little hope of any sincere desire for peace. He could not explain those motives which occasioned the late overtures for peace. The enemy might hope to embarrass the government: to create divisions in parliament, or discontent in the country, by exciting too eager a desire for peace. His lordship concluded by moving an address to his majesty, which adopted and recapitulated the speech from the throne.

Lord Gwydir seconded the address. Referring to the boasted invasion of the enemy, he said, "He had not dared to undertake the great expedition with which he vainly hoped to subject a free and loyal people: but found his fleets and flotillas confined to his shores, and compelled to seek shelter under his batteries. With regard to the rupture with Spain, his lordship was convinced that when the documents on that subject were laid before the house, their lordships would find that the measure was indispensible. Ministers had not been precipitate in their conduct towards Spain. Were his majesty's ministers, by their forbearance, to permit the enemy to receive from another power those supplies which were to be employed for the destruction of this country? As the nature of the communication from France was not known, their lordships were not pledged to any thing beyond what the interests of humanity and the welfare of the country required. No peace could be secure which was not founded on the permanent and immutable interests, not only of the British empire, but of all the states of Europe. It was not a peace of mere words, a hollow and fallacious treaty, like the last, that could give safety, or confidence, to the country. It was necessary not to forget lessons of experience so recently received. The concessions imprudently made in the last peace, had induced the enemy to regard Great Britain as a vanquished nation. But whatever ground, said his lordship, there may be to hope for peace, the country must be prepared for war."

The earl of Carlisle entirely approved of the address; but was surprised the noble lord had not confined himself to the words used by his majesty in announcing the war with Spain, and in giving no opinion on the subject. He thought, perfect silence respecting hostilities with that country, would have been more prudent and suitable to the occasion, until the documents on which their lordships were to be guided were laid on the table. He was of opinion, as a private individual, that pecuniary assistance was hostilely given by Spain to France: but, unfurnished with any official information on the subject, he could not venture to make any such declaration in his parliamentary capacity. There were three points on this subject which would engage

gage their lordſhip's attention. The juſtice of the meaſure, its policy, and the manner of its commencement. How could it be underſtood that hoſtilities ſhould be commenced, and the country yet at peace: that hoſtilities ſhould be carried on againſt ſhips of war, and not againſt merchantmen? His lordſhip concluded by expreſſing his doubts as to the reſpectability of the military force of the country.

Lord Hawkeſbury obſerved, that if ever there was a moment when unanimity was deſirable, it was the preſent: he was therefore ſurpriſed at the animadverſions of the noble lord who had juſt ſat down. The ſentiments expreſſed in the addreſs were thoſe which every Engliſhman muſt approve. He was confident that when the documents were laid before the houſe relative to Spain, their lordſhips would find, that his majeſty's miniſters in every ſtep of the negotiation with that country, had acted with frankneſs, generoſity, and candour. He begged leave to obſerve, reſpecting the detention of the Spaniſh frigates, that it did *not* occaſion the war. That action was juſtifiable on every principle of the law of nations and ſelf defence, and had nothing to do with the queſtion of war or peace with Spain. The fact was previous, diſcuſſions had taken place, and his majeſty's miniſter had demanded diſtinct explanations on certain points from the cabinet of Madrid. It was alſo a fact, that his paſſports were demanded and received, and his miſſion compleatly at an end before the news of the detention of the frigates reached the court of Spain.

With reſpect to the military ſituation of the country, he would repeat what he had often ſtated, that it poſſeſſed at this moment a more formidable force than ever yet exiſted in any former war: the diſpoſable ſtrength was increaſed in a much greater proportion than the whole. This improvement was owing to the operation of the army of reſerve act, which, by introducing limited ſervice, has proved more beneficial in recruiting the army than any other meaſure ever adopted. The ſituation of the nation was truly a proud one. The military and naval force now actually embodied, lord Hawkeſbury eſtimated, between ſix and ſeven hundred thouſand men. It was only by keeping up this force that we could be rendered invulnerable.

The duke of Clarence vindicated lord Carliſle in the obſervations which he had recently made. His royal highneſs viewed it as highly proper that their lordſhips ſhould fully inveſtigate the commencement of the war with Spain. He was of opinion that the diſpoſeable force of the country might have received ſome augmentation from the meaſure which had been mentioned, and the utility of which was now generally allowed; but his highneſs was certain every one muſt be convinced of the impoſſibility of procuring men under that ridiculous and abſurd act which was paſſed at the cloſe of laſt ſeſſion, and which ought to be immediately repealed.

Lord Grenville applauded the addreſs; every part of it met with his concurrence. There were only two points of his majeſty's ſpeech to which he would advert. The firſt, was the pacific propoſitions of the enemy. Unacquainted with terms, he could only ſay, that peace was always deſirable; becauſe peace was the object of every war. He congratulated the houſe on the aſſurances held out in the ſpeech, that peace could only be concluded when conſiſtent with the welfare of the reſt of Europe; eſpecially with that power, our natural ally, Ruſſia. Thoſe opinions he had never ceaſed to maintain. He coincided with his noble friend (lord Gwydir) that the conceſſions made by the peace of Amiens taught the enemy to view this as a vanquiſhed country. The ſecond part of the ſpeech he ſhould advert to reſpected hoſtilities with Spain. When it was ſtated by his majeſty that Spain had declared war againſt him, it was proper that their lordſhips ſhould expreſs their readineſs to ſupport the dignity of his majeſty's crown, and maintain the intereſts of the country; beyond this their lordſhips were not pledged. The mere circumſtance of pecuniary ſupplies being afforded by Spain to France, unaccompanied with any ſtatement of the nature and extent of theſe ſupplies, he muſt own did not give any aſſurance of the juſtice of the war. It was a maxim long eſtabliſhed by the practice of the law of nations, that the ſupply of ſuccours under a defenſive treaty was not of itſelf an act of war. Whether ſuch was the caſe with Spain, he would not determine. He knew not the facts which were in poſſeſſion of government; but as the tranſaction now ſtood, it conveyed an unfavourable impreſſion of the conduct of his majeſty's miniſters.

The duke of Norfolk expreſſed his approbation of the addreſs, but was ſurprized that no notice had been taken of the Catholic queſtion in his majeſty's ſpeech. When the preſent miniſter reſigned, it was underſtood his retirement from office was connected with that queſtion; and he had hoped ſome meaſure for the benefit of that body would have been brought forward on his return to office. His grace then obſerved, that unleſs he received ſome ſatisfaction on this point, he ſhould withhold his aſſent to the addreſs. No reply was made to the duke; and the motion for the addreſs was unanimouſly agreed to.

Lord Grenville enquired when the papers relative to the rupture with Spain, would be laid on the table. Lord Mulgrave, in reply, ſtated, that no time would be loſt, and he was convinced they would effectually remove the unfavourable impreſſion his lordſhip ſeemed to entertain.

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The marquis of Abercorn addreſſed the houſe relative to his charges againſt the Iriſh judge Fox. He informed their lordſhips he was ready to proceed whenever it was their pleaſure. After ſome converſation between the marquis, lords Carlton, Grenville, and Hawkeſbury, it was agreed that the accuſation ſhould be laid on the table on the 21ſt inſt. and on the 23d their lordſhips would ſettle the mode of proceeding.

The ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, with a numerous body of members, having attended in the houſe of peers to hear his majeſty's ſpeech; upon their return, the ſpeaker having read the ſpeech from the chair, the honourable Mr. Dillon roſe to move the addreſs. He began with expreſſing his hopes that he ſhould find a ſpirit of perfect unanimity in the houſe in moving for an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty for his moſt gracious ſpeech. There were a number of paragraphs in that ſpeech which would diffuſe joy and ſatisfaction throughout the nation. With regard to the Spaniſh war, the houſe would be enabled to form a due opinion when the papers were laid before them. Reſpecting the pacific overtures from the enemy, it was a ſubject which muſt afford the utmoſt ſatisfaction to every member of the houſe. As to the defence of the country, it was now placed on the moſt reſpectable footing. Even Ireland, which was formerly the moſt vulnerable part of the United Kingdom, was now in the beſt ſtate of defence. He thought under all circumſtances, that the ſubject moſt likely to occaſion diſcuſſion was that part of his majeſty's ſpeech relative to Spain. Mr. Dillon cloſed with moving an addreſs, which, as uſual, was the echo of the ſpeech.

Mr. Charles Adams ſeconded the motion. He truſted it would meet with the hearty concurrence of the houſe. Bonaparte had not only failed in his projects againſt this country, but was actually ſhut up in his own harbours. He might ſay that he was at this moment blockaded up in every port, from the Adriatic even to the Texel. We had now a new enemy on the Continent; an enemy who muſt evidently have been led by weak councils, and overawed by a deſpotic ally. With reſpect to the declaration of war againſt Spain, he obſerved, that it was a meaſure of neceſſity; there were moments when too much caution became a crime, and ſunk into puſillanimity. He congratulated the country on its proſperous ſtate as to finances, and hoped the houſe at this criſis would carry up an addreſs to the throne with perfect unanimity.

Mr. Fox ſaid, that on the preſent occaſion he was obliged to make a few obſervations. He had no deſign to move an amendment to the addreſs; yet there were ſome parts of the ſpeech to which he thought the houſe could not give their concurrence. He expreſſed his ſurpriſe that while his majeſty in one part of his ſpeech had declared his wiſhes for peace; yet that in another part his majeſty ſaid, that he could not enter into ſuch negotiation until he had conſulted certain courts: theſe courts were not his majeſty's allies; for his majeſty had no allies. He expected that ſomething would have been ſaid reſpecting the Catholics in the ſpeech; until the ſubject of their emancipation was taken into conſideration, there was no ſtable or laſting ſecurity to any part of the United Kingdom, or even to Europe. He wiſhed Ireland to be defended by the union of all parties. The defence of the country he did not view as promoted by the late meaſures of government. As to the Spaniſh war, papers were to be laid before the houſe, to prejudge the ſubject would therefore be unwiſe. He however had no difficulty in ſaying, that the ſeizing of the Spaniſh frigates, loaded and deſtined as they were, was not much to the honour of this country. Mention had been made of the violation of the laws of nations by the French government: they no doubt ſhould be diſapproved of: but we ought to take care to be able to vindicate ourſelves when acting on ſuch principles with other nations. It was material that thoſe who ſtood forth for admiration, ſhould themſelves be juſt and moderate: it was material that we ſhould be pure, juſt, and moderate ourſelves; that ſurrounding nations, whether engaged with us or neutral, ſhould not have it to ſay, that they ſee nations vieing with each other in committing outrages in contempt of virtuous principles. He hoped we ſhould act fairly: as we were bound to ſhew a certain degree of moderation beyond even what ſtrict juſtice might call for in reſpect to the nation in queſtion.

Mr. Pitt obſerved, that it would not be neceſſary for him to detain the houſe long. He ſhould briefly advert to thoſe points which had juſt been animadverted upon by the right honourable gentleman oppoſite, and principally to his obſervation: "That his majeſty's miniſters did not wiſh to enter into a diſcuſſion with regard to peace, till his majeſty had time to communicate further particulars to the houſe." His majeſty had given the houſe notice that he was engaged in a confidential correſpondence with regard to that ſubject, and had adverted to the magnanimous intentions of the emperor of Ruſſia. It was a ſubject intimately connected with the repoſe of Europe, and therefore every one muſt acquieſce in the propriety of poſtponing any further inveſtigation till ſome future period. It muſt afterward become a matter fairly open to every gentleman's diſcuſſion. It muſt be obvious to every one, that in the tranſactions of his majeſty with other nations there might be periods when to be more particular on ſuch a ſubject would be highly impolitic and imprudent. On this account he hoped

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the houſe would be induced to acquieſce in the motion which had been made. With regard to the two other ſubjects which had been animadverted upon, they ſeemed to be ſtated merely as matters of omiſſion in his majeſty's ſpeech, and not as proper ſubjects of debate on that day. Moſt probably theſe ſubjects would, ere long, preſent wide fields for diſcuſſion. As to the ſituation of Ireland, he obſerved, that the broad way in which the honourable gentleman laid down his propoſition, it was to be inferred, that no advantages had ariſen to Ireland from the Union. From the time that the Union took place, the houſe had heard no propoſition regarding Catholic emancipation from that honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox) himſelf; he therefore wiſhed to know why his opinion rendered ſuch a meaſure more preſſing now than formerly. He had only to obſerve, that the honourable gentleman and the houſe need not be ſurpriſed that he (Mr. Pitt) had not recommended it. Had he thought ſuch a meaſure prudent, he would not have thought it conſiſtent to allow that ſubject to lie dormant till the preſent day. He believed that the motives which actuated him to delay might be very eaſily perceived by the houſe, and he truſted that gentlemen would be inclined to do juſtice to thoſe motives. He profeſſed himſelf to be perfectly ready on any future day to enter into a conſideration of the ſtate of the country in any way which the honourable gentleman might ſuggeſt. It would then appear how far the ſituation of the country is improved, and that the diſpoſeable force of it was much more conſiderable than gentlemen oppoſite were aware of. The honourable gentleman had thrown out ſuſpicions with regard to Spain, which, in a very ſhort time, he flattered himſelf would be proved to his ſatisfaction to be groundleſs. The ſeiſure of the Spaniſh veſſels, ſo far from being a departure from moderation and juſtice, it was what his majeſty was entitled to by ſtrict right, with a view, as far as poſſible, to keep open the means of reconciliation, and at the ſame time not to allow the enemy to gather freſh ſtrength in the interval, which might be unfavourable to this country. He had no doubt of being able to ſhew that his majeſty's conduct in regard to Spain, was not only an act of juſtice on his part, but an inſtance of the moderation of the nation.

Mr. Fox in explanation obſerved, that as the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer had not attended the houſe at the opening of the laſt ſeſſion, he would repeat the reaſons which had then induced him not to bring forward the meaſure. Had the right hon. gentleman been preſent, he would not have expreſſed his ſurpriſe in the manner he had done: for his own part, he was not ſurpriſed that an adminiſtration which came in to prevent Catholic emancipation, ſhould not have done it. He underſtood that laſt ſeſſions one of the principal objections to the bringing forward the queſtion was, that although it might be good if originating in government; yet, if it came from others, it was like to be be attended with very little advantage.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied; that the ground of his ſurpriſe was, that if the impreſſion on the honourable gentleman's mind was as he had this day expreſſed it, he had not made it the ſubject of a motion in the houſe.

Mr. Windham ſaid he ſhould not have troubled the houſe, had it not been for ſome expreſſions uſed by the chancellor of the exchequer. With regard to Catholic emancipation, he could not but think it was a circumſtance calculated to excite ſurpriſe, that it had not been brought before parliament; but it certainly had been delayed for the reaſon mentioned. Another was, that as there had been a miniſter decidedly averſe to ſuch a meaſure, it was ſuppoſed there was now one in favour of it. If it ſhould prove otherwiſe, any honourable gentleman might move the queſtion.

Upon the ſubject of the overtures of peace, Mr. Windham contended, that the houſe ought to know ſomething more of thoſe continental connections which had been alluded to in the ſpeech. He expected there would have been ſome communication on this point. He ſhould have been glad if there had been ſome more diſtinct view given of the ſubject than what related to the emperor of Ruſſia. He thought there was a paſſage in the addreſs which ſeemed to pledge the houſe to an approval of the war with Spain. No approbation whatever could the houſe give: neither could it give any final diſapprobation, as being without the neceſſary information. The houſe was not called upon for any determination, but the ſubject was one which demanded an expreſſion of the feeling of the houſe. He was ſo little ſatisfied with the military defence of the country, and being convinced it was not in a proper ſtate, if his honourable friend (Mr. Fox) did not revive the meaſure of laſt ſeſſion, he ſhould think it his duty to move for a committee to enquire into the ſtate of the army, and the means of defence. France, it was clear, had been guilty of a violation of the law of nations, eſpecially in the inſtance of captain Wright, a gentleman in the Britiſh navy, who was captured on board his own ſhip. Without the leaſt pretext he had been precluded from the operation of the laws of war, and for a long time confined a cloſe priſoner at Ghent, where probably he ſtill remained. He wiſhed for no anſwer on this ſubject at preſent from the chancellor of the exchequer: he only mentioned it, that miniſters might know it would hereafter become a ſubject of diſcuſſion. He wiſhed to recommend it to them, that if the French government were doing any thing

to tamper with the perſon to whom he alluded, to make every neceſſary enquiry. He hoped the caſe of that gentleman formed a part of the recent communication from France. If not, he truſted it would be brought in aid of their endeavours to bring about a reconciliation, if they were ſincere. If the means of obtaining ſatisfaction on this point failed, he expected that miniſters would have recourſe to repriſals againſt perſons who ſhould be in ſimilar ſituations in this country. Mr. Windham cloſed with informing the houſe, that he ſhould feel it his duty to move for a committee on the ſtate of the army, and the means of defence, ſimilar to that which was moved for laſt ſeſſions.

The addreſs was agreed to *nem. con.* and ordered to be preſented to his majeſty.

The addreſs of the peers was preſented to his majeſty at St. James's, January 16. To which his majeſty made the following anſwer:

"*My Lords,*

"I thank you for this dutiful and loyal addreſs: and I receive with the greateſt ſatisfaction the aſſurances of your cordial ſupport, and of your reſolution to adopt ſuch meaſures as may be neceſſary to maintain the honour and dignity of my crown, and the ſecurity and intereſts of my dominions. You may depend upon my beſt endeavours, and my moſt hearty concurrence in promoting thoſe objects which the ſecurity and welfare of my people may demand at this important conjuncture."

The addreſs of the houſe of commons was preſented on January 17, and received a ſimilar gracious anſwer from his majeſty.

CHAP. III.

Parliamentary Debates continued.—Additional Force Act.—Judge Fox.—War in India.—Inſolvent Debtors.—Spaniſh Papers.—Middleſex Election.—Miſcellaneous Occurrences.

THE debates in both houſes of parliament on the motions for the addreſs, though very important and highly intereſting, did not diſplay that force of oppoſition which had been expected. As Mr. Pitt juſtly obſerved, it was the omiſſions in his majeſty's ſpeech, more than any paſſage in the ſpeech itſelf, which excited ſome diſpleaſure. Mr. Windham was the only perſon who expreſſed his diſapprobation of the addreſs, as pledging the houſe to ſupport the war with Spain. He notwithſtanding apparently retracted his opinion, and concluded a vehement ſpeech with a long panegyric on captain Wright.

Mr. Francis moved in the houſe of commons, January 16, that there ſhould be laid before the houſe "Copies of all ſuch treaties, engagements, and correſpondence, as have taken place between the governments of Bengal, Fort St. George, and Bombay, and of the ſurviving Mahometan princes in the upper part of India, particularly with the Mogul;" which was ordered accordingly. Mr. Francis then gave notice that he would on a future day move for the production of ſome further papers reſpecting India; theſe papers related to the war with Holkar.

In the houſe of peers on Monday, January 21, the earl of Suffolk roſe, and obſerved, that it had been his intention in the courſe of laſt ſeſſion to have ſubmitted to their lordſhips a motion relative to the ſtate of Ireland. He had however been diſſuaded by friends whom he had conſulted from carrying that deſign into execution; and, ſaid his lordſhip, "I do not regret the delay, as there is now at the head of affairs a miniſter who might be expected to direct his peculiar attention to that country." Fortunate was it for Ireland; fortunate was it for England, and every part of the Britiſh empire, that the preſent miniſter was underſtood to be pledged to ſupport the queſtion of Catholic emancipation. He was uncertain whether any petition from the Roman Catholics would be preſented on this ſubject. If any ſuch ſhould be preſented, the ſubject would come regularly before parliament; if not, he ſhould take an early opportunity of calling the attention of their lordſhips to this important ſubject.

Lord Darnley wiſhed to obtain an account of the number of men raiſed under the act of laſt ſeſſion, commonly called, "The additional Force Act." He was not aware there could be any objection to the production of ſuch an account.

Lord Hawkeſbury ſaw no objection to the production of ſuch an account, and was willing that the noble lord ſhould move for it immediately.

Lord Darnley then read a motion, relative to the number of men raiſed under that act in Great Britain; and obſerved, it was his intention to follow this up with a ſimilar motion reſpecting Ireland.

Lord Hawkeſbury thought the motions might be blended together.

Lord Darnley replied, that he wiſhed to have the accounts ſeparate, as the act had operated as a tax on Ireland, and appeared to him to have impoſed a burthen on that country, contrary to the articles of Union.

The motions were then ſeparately put and agreed to.

The marquis of Abercorn, on the ſame day, preſented petitions from Mr. Hart, from certain jurors of the county of Fermanagh; and from the high ſheriff of the

the ſame county, complaining of the conduct of Mr. Juſtice Fox *, in his judicial capacity in Ireland. He then preſented ſeven articles of complaint. Theſe papers being laid on the table, the marquis moved, that the houſe do reſolve itſelf into a committee of the whole houſe on January 24, to conſider of the proceedings to be adopted on the charges.

The lord chancellor obſerved, that this was a caſe of great importance; and the mode in which the proceedings were to be conducted, well demanded the attentive conſideration of that houſe. They had no precedent for their guide; for theſe charges were the firſt which had been exhibited ſince the judges were rendered independent of the crown: but the particular act to which their attention would be directed was, that of the firſt of his preſent majeſty, by which the judges formerly removeable on the demiſe of the king were declared removeable only upon an addreſs of both houſes of parliament. Before their lordſhips were called upon to concur in an addreſs of this nature, it would be for their lordſhips to determine whether the charges were ſuch as that a judge ought to be called upon to anſwer for. The queſtion which ought to be conſidered was, whether the charges ought in the firſt place to be referred to a committee to examine them; or, whether notice ſhould be given to Mr. Juſtice Fox of their being preferred. It was then ordered that a committee of the whole houſe ſhould be formed on Thurſday, January 24.

In the houſe of commons on the ſame day, Mr. Francis roſe, and addreſſed the houſe reſpecting his intended motion as to the war in India. He ſaid that in the courſe of laſt ſeſſions a variety of papers had been moved for and ordered by the houſe, with a view to elucidate the cauſes of the war in India againſt the Mahratta chiefs, and chiefly againſt Scindia, and the rajah of Berah. Since the cloſe of the ſeſſion it was known, that the Mahratta chiefs had been obliged to ſubmit to ſuch terms as were impoſed upon them, and he had therefore been led to imagine that the war in India would have been ended. He had learned however from various documents publiſhed in the newſpapers (as quoted from India Gazettes) that another war had ariſen againſt a Mahratta chief named Holkar. It was to that war he now intended to direct the attention of the houſe, by moving for papers. He requeſted the attention of the houſe to an unhappy occurrence, which he firmly believed. In one part of a province, formerly ceded to us by ſome of the Mahratta ſtates, a party of Holkar's cavalry had ſurrounded our troops, and had cut to pieces nearly three hundred ſepoys, and fifty European artillerymen. Both of theſe loſſes were great, the laſt in particular, becauſe he could aſſure the houſe that fifty European artillerymen were invaluable in India. Theſe diſaſters prompted him to wiſh the houſe to enquire into the cauſes of this Mahratta war. Before he made his motion, Mr. Francis ſaid, he muſt appriſe the houſe that in a province of India, called the Guzerat, a conſiderable territory had been ceded to us by a prince of that province, to defray the expences of a force called a ſubſidiary force. A ſum amounting to no leſs than 360,000*l.* had been lent to that prince by the government of Bombay. Unleſs ſome information was to be given on this ſubject, as connected with the Mahratta war, he muſt be under the neceſſity of making it the ſubject of a ſeparate motion. He then concluded with moving, "That there be laid before the houſe copies or extracts of all diſpatches or correſpondence received from India, relative to the war with Holkar, ſo far as is conſiſtent with the public ſervice, or good faith with the perſons from whom they have been received."

Lord Caſtlereagh ſaid, when he conſidered the *cautious* manner in which the motion was worded, he could have no objection to accede to it. He diſapproved however of the manner in which the honourable gentleman had thrown out ſuſpicions in ſuch a public manner as to the conduct of any officer, eſpecially as that matter was now under the conſideration of a public tribunal. His lordſhip concluded by ſaying, that the accounts from Bombay ſhould be laid before the houſe at ſome future period.

Mr. Francis explained, and declared he did not ſo much as know the name of the officer to whom he had alluded, and therefore he could not mean any imputation on his character. The motion was then put and agreed to.

In the houſe of peers on January 22, lord Ellenborough roſe, and obſerved, that a miſconception having ariſen as to the Inſolvent Debtor's Bill, which was ordered to be committed, he thought it proper that its object ſhould be rightly underſtood. It was a great miſtake to ſuppoſe that this bill was introduced for the purpoſe of extending relief to any perſons to whom the act of the laſt ſeſſion was not intended to apply. The clauſe in the act was ſo poſitive with reſpect to the liſts to which the jailors were required to ſwear, that they could include in thoſe liſts only perſons who were in their own cuſtody from the 1ſt of January 1804; ſo that perſons who might have been removed by writs of Habeas Corpus from one priſon to another, though

* This gentleman was a ſingular inſtance of the viciſſitudes of life: from being uſher to a common day ſchool, he progreſſively advanced until he arrived at the high ſituation which he held when the weighty charges adduced againſt him were brought forward.

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they might have been in cuſtody from the date expreſſed in the act, were denied the benefit of that relief which the legiſlature wiſhed to grant them. In conſequence of this inconvenience, his lordſhip ſaid, he ſhould take the earlieſt opportunity of introducing a bill to fulfil the intention of parliament.

In the houſe of commons, January 23, Mr. Windham made his promiſed motions reſpecting the ſtate of the armed force of the country. He thought thoſe motions would be approved of: but as he ſuſpected there might be objections to laying before the houſe an account total of the public force, or of each of its particular branches, he would not apply for either. He then read the ſeveral propoſitions he had to ſubmit, which were as follow: "A return of the number of effective men raiſed under the additional force bill for England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland." "A return of the effective men who have enliſted for general ſervice, from the army of reſerve." "A return of the amount of the foreign levies." "A return of the men provided for two new battalions in Scotland, &c." The chancellor of the exchequer acknowledged that for himſelf he had no objection to lay before the houſe an account of the total amount of the public force, and to the propoſitions he would readily accede. It was his wiſh that the houſe ſhould be in poſſeſſion of all the particulars to which thoſe propoſitions referred, previous to the diſcuſſion of that ſubject, which the right honourable gentleman had announced to bring forward.

Mr. Grey in the houſe of commons, January 25, confeſſed that he had read over the papers now on the table, relative to the Spaniſh war, with much diſſatisfaction, as there appeared to him a conſiderable number of chaſms and omiſſions, which he would wiſh to ſee ſupplied previous to the day fixed for their diſcuſſion. He wiſhed for all accounts tranſmitted by Sir Edward Pellew, reſpecting the preparations going forward in Ferrol: copies of extracts of orders ſent to Sir Edward Pellew, and rear admiral Cochrane, reſpecting the commencement of hoſtilities: and the conduct of the Spaniſh government in the ſale of prizes in the iſland of Cuba, and other ports in the Weſt Indies, as well as in Europe. An account of naval ſtores and proviſions ſent on board our fleets off Spain; and a ſtatement of what paſſed betwixt the Spaniſh miniſter in this country, and our government, previous to Mr. Frere's leaving Madrid. Mr. Pitt wiſhed Mr. Grey to defer his motion until Monday: to which the latter agreed.

In the houſe of commons on Monday, January 28, Mr. Currey preſented a petition from certain electors of the county of Middleſex, ſtating, that George Boulton Mainwaring, Eſq. was not capable of holding a ſeat in parliament as knight of the ſhire for the ſaid county, in conſequence of wanting the due and legal qualifications. The petitioners further ſtated, that when G. B. Mainwaring was required by the ſheriffs to ſtate his qualifications, he replied, "That he was heir apparent to a man qualified to ſit in parliament, and that he poſſeſſed property in the county ſufficient to entitle him to become a repreſentative. The petition was ordered to lie on the table, and be taken into conſideration the 28th of February.

Mr. Grey, according to notice given, moved for the productions of thoſe papers before ſpecified, relative to hoſtilities with Spain.

The chancellor of the exchequer ſaid, that he wiſhed the houſe to be in poſſeſſion of all information relative to the Spaniſh war; but ſuch a multiplicity of motions would rather embarraſs than elucidate the ſubject, eſpecially as ſome of them were rendered unneceſſary, and might be anſwered by a reference to the dates of the papers then on the table: and alſo becauſe many of them differed only in words, and not in ſubſtance, from copies already produced. He did not however mean to oppoſe the production of any of the papers which were moved for. The ſpeaker having put the queſtion, "That there be laid before the houſe a copy of any ſecret treaty, compact, or convention, which may have been entered into for the neutrality of Spain, between the government of this country and his Catholic majeſty."

Mr. Pitt ſaid, he could not let the opportunity paſs of anſwering the houſe: that no ſuch treaty, or convention, was ever made, or did ever exiſt; it could not therefore be produced. The fact was, that the conditions on which his majeſty propoſed to recogniſe the neutrality of Spain, had been miſtaken by the Spaniſh ambaſſador, and confounded with that which Spain purchaſed from France, for a pecuniary ſubſidy, as ſtated by M. Cevello; but the real ground of that convention his court had refuſed to explain. He wiſhed the houſe to underſtand clearly, that no treaty whatever, recogniſing the neutrality of Spain, was entered into by his majeſty's miniſters, and the government of that country.

Mr. Fox was aſtoniſhed that the miniſter from this country ſhould have often, inadvertently, ſpoken of a convention of neutrality, and referred to it: though now he was aſſured by the right honourable gentleman, no ſuch convention was concluded. Nothing could be more ſtrange than two miniſters adjuſting the diſputes of their countries, gravely talking, and referring to conventions, when the ſame had no exiſtence but in their own imaginations.

The chancellor of the exchequer confirmed his former ſtatement, and added, that, ſtrange as it might appear, yet the Spaniſh miniſter ſpoke of the convention of neutrality entered into with France,

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as actually acknowledged by this country, which was the cauſe of the miſtake, or miſapplication of the term convention, in the ſenſe attached to it by the Spaniſh miniſter in his correſpondence.

Mr. Grey obſerved, that Mr. Frere, in his letter October 29, referred to the convention as an Engliſh convention, and not French. He ſtated explicitly that the ſhips of war belonging to Spain, ſhould be put on the footing on which they ought to be, according to the convention with England. He concluded by obſerving, that as the papers could not be ready for the uſe of the members ſo early as it was deſirous; and as it was neceſſary that they ſhould be well underſtood, that the diſcuſſion thereon ſhould be poſtponed for a further day, which was appointed accordingly.

Lord Mulgrave, January 29, called the attention of the peers to the diſcuſſion of the Spaniſh papers; and though he thought thoſe already brought forward were amply ſufficient, yet that every light might be afforded on this buſineſs, he ſhould preſent ſome additional papers; and it would be therefore requiſite to poſtpone the diſcuſſion, which ſtood for Thurſday, January 31.

Lord Hawkeſbury thought it would be better not to fix any particular day for the debate, until the additional papers were laid on the table.

Lord Grenville ſaid it was but fair to obſerve, that if it ſhould be propoſed to fix the conſideration of theſe papers for Thurſday week, there would be ſome oppoſition to that arrangement.

Lord Darnley obſerved, that he had fixed upon Monday for his motion on the additional Defence Act, becauſe he underſtood the Spaniſh papers were to be diſcuſſed on Thurſday; but as that diſcuſſion was to be poſtponed, he ſhould defer his motion.

Lord Mulgrave pointed out the full propriety of allowing time for the conſideration of papers of ſuch importance; and as he could not preſent the additional papers ſo early as he intended, he ſhould move that they be taken into conſideration on Thurſday week. This led to a converſation, when the order for the diſcuſſion of the papers on Thurſday the 31ſt, was diſcharged, and a future day appointed for that purpoſe.

Lord Marſham, the ſame day, moved in the houſe of commons the order for taking into further conſideration the report of the ſelect committee on the Middleſex election. His lordſhip then moved that ſeveral reſolutions, as precedents in ſimilar caſes, be read; which having been done, he ſtated, that he had now to propoſe to the houſe that the charge contained in the report againſt the ſheriffs Rawlins and Cox, be taken into conſideration on Friday, February 1, and that thoſe gentlemen be ſummoned to attend and be heard at the bar by their counſel in their defence. He ſaw no occaſion for bringing the witneſſes to the bar of that houſe; their evidence had been taken upon oath, and they had been croſs-examined by a learned counſel, and the whole had been taken down by a ſworn ſhort hand writer.

The ſpeaker obſerved, that there was not any queſtion before the houſe that could bring them to a deciſion as to the propriety or impropriety of what the noble lord had propoſed.

Mr. Francis ſaid there was no queſtion left to the diſcretion of the houſe, but the mere conſiderations of the reſolutions.

Lord Marſham replied, that the queſtion then for the conſideration of the houſe was, whether or not the committee were juſtified in the report they had made; and whether the houſe acted right in taking any further ſteps in conſequence thereof, which the committee were not empowered to do.

The ſpeaker obſerved, that from what the noble lord had ſtated, the only queſtions before them were, that the reſolutions againſt the ſheriffs be taken into conſideration on Friday next: that the ſheriffs do attend on that day, and that they be at liberty to bring their counſel. Theſe queſtions were ſeverally agreed to.

Though it was generally ſuppoſed that the breach between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington was irreconcileable, yet it was reſolved to bring him into the cabinet. Whether this reſolution owed its origin to the ſpecial interference of his majeſty; to a latent, yet exiſting friendſhip in the boſom of Mr. Pitt; or, with a deſign to prevent his enliſting under the banners of the Oppoſition, is uncertain; probably each of theſe conſiderations had their effect upon the cabinet. His majeſty, it was well known, had expreſſed a great eſteem for the ex-miniſter; and, on January 12, he was called up to the houſe of peers by the title of viſcount Sidmouth, of Sidmouth, in the county of Devon. Few men had acquired ſo high a ſhare of public approbation as Mr. Addington. In his official ſituation as ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, his abilities were eminently conſpicuous; they never could be eclipſed. When ſuddenly raiſed by the diſtinguiſhed favour of his ſovereign to the high and arduous office of chancellor of the exchequer, he had a thouſand difficulties to contend with. The aſpect of affairs was awfully critical; the reins of government had been abandoned by a miniſter whoſe abilities, talents, and tranſcendent eloquence, and whoſe financial knowledge were univerſally allowed to be ſupereminent. The country was exhauſted with an expenſive and ſanguinary war, and torn by inteſtine animoſities; at ſuch a period Mr. Addington made his "debut" as prime miniſter. Public prejudice was againſt him: the duties of the offices of ſpeaker of the houſe of commons and premier, were viewed as eſſentially different; and though the talents of Mr. Addington were acknowledged in the one ſituation,

he was viewed as incompetent for the other. Hence the preſs teemed with the groſſeſt and moſt ſcurrilous reflections, frequently of a perſonal nature, and adverting to the fact of his being the ſon of a phyſician. But during his ſhort ſtay in power he rendered eſſential and laſting ſervices to his country; the characteriſtics of his adminiſtration were unimpeached integrity and ſingular moderation. He healed the bleeding wounds of the country: he ameliorated the ſpirit of party: he united contending factions: he had the ſole merit of eſtabliſhing a volunteer force, unparalleled in the annals of Great Britain: he reſtored the bleſſings of peace for a ſeaſon, and when the inſidious and implacable conſul of France violated the ſacred treaty he had ſolemnly ratified at Amiens, when he threatened to "ſeek the lion in its den," Mr. Addington inſpired the country with a patriotic ardour, which rivalled the moſt illuſtrious æras in the annals of Greece or Rome. There was but one ſpirit; it was the ſpirit of loyalty and liberty. Add to this, he liberally encouraged arts, ſciences, and literature.

The elevation of ſuch a man* to the peerage, and the proſpect of his coalition with the new miniſtry, afforded general ſatisfaction. At the ſame time lord Mulgrave was appointed ſecretary of ſtate for the foreign department, in the room of lord Harrowby; and the earl of Buckinghamſhire (late lord Hobart) one of the Addington adminiſtration, was appointed chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter.

We ſhall cloſe this chapter with reporting the deceaſe of two eminent perſons, who died this month. On the morning of the 18th of January died at Lambeth Houſe, Dr. John Moore, lord archbiſhop of Canterbury, and primate of all England. His grace, like cardinal Wolſey, was of very humble origin; his father being a butcher at Glouceſter, in which city he was born 1731. He was initiated in claſſical learning at the free ſchool of Glouceſter, and through the interference of ſome friends, was ſent as ſervitor to Pembroke college, Oxford.

While at college, Mr. Moore was much reſpected for his application to ſtudy, and the correctneſs of his behaviour. During his reſidence at Oxford, one of thoſe ſingular events which unexpectedly lead to fortune, took place. The late duke of Marlborough being deſirous of procuring a preceptor for the marquis of Blandford, Mr. Moore was ſtrongly recommended to the duke. In this noble family Mr. Moore remained until the death of his grace, and the acceſſion of his pupil to the dukedom. Though the dutcheſs had exemplified ſo much hauteur as to forbid her ſon's preceptor to dine in her preſence; yet, in her widowed ſtate, ſhe expreſſed ſo much attachment for the young divine, as even to offer her hand to him. The prudence and diſcretion of Mr. Moore, made him decline the offer; and by this generous conduct he ſo endeared himſelf to his noble pupil, as to attach him to his intereſts for ever. The golden tide of proſperity now began to flow in upon Mr. Moore; his patron ſettled an annuity of 400*l. per annum* on him, and obtained for him, in 1769, a prebendal ſtall in the cathedral of Durham. In 1771, the duke perſonally requeſted of his majeſty the deanery of Canterbury, to which he was promoted. A mitre followed, for, in 1775, he was elevated to the ſee of Bangor; and, upon the death of Dr. Cornwallis, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in 1783, his lordſhip was tranſlated to the archiepiſcopal ſee†. Dr. Moore's conduct in this high ſituation was judicious, temperate, and dignified. His affability endeared him to all claſſes, eſpecially the inferior clergy; and his charity to the indigent, rendered him emphatically "A father to the poor." The lower claſſes, reſident in Lambeth, and its vicinity, always ſtiled him "The good Archbiſhop." His grace publiſhed only two ſermons, preached occaſionally.

On the 2d of January, Alexander Wedderburn, earl of Roſslin, and baron of Loughborough. He was deſcended from an antient and illuſtrious family in North Britain: his father was a lord of ſeſſion. Alexander was born in 1733; educated in a capital, which has been juſtly deſignated by Dr. Johnſon, as "the hot bed of Genius." He was alſo matriculated in a univerſity, whoſe fame is ever fair and flouriſhing: he had alſo the pre-eminent advantage of aſſociating with the moſt eminent beaux, eſprits of Scotland; Robertſon, the immortal hiſtorian of Charles the Fifth; Blair, the Saurin of Edinburgh; and Home, the author of Douglas. Amidſt ſuch a conſtellation of talents and genius, was young Wedderburn placed: no wonder then his mind was enlarged, and that he ſhould find the fire of ambition kindling in his heart. His views were directed to the bar; he was accordingly admitted a member of the faculty of advocates, and was inveſted with the gown in 1752. While practiſing in his profeſſion he received, or ſuppoſed he had received, a groſs inſult from the bench, in conſequence of which it has been affirmed that he

* The literary fund, a moſt excellent inſtitution, eſtabliſhed by the reverend David Williams, was placed in a moſt flouriſhing ſtate under the auſpices of Mr. Addington. Lord Hobart, and lord Pelham, honoured it with their patronage; and his royal highneſs the prince of Wales munificently placed himſelf at the head of the inſtitution.

† His majeſty ſtrongly ſolicited Dr. Lowth, the biſhop of London, to fill the vacant ſee; but he declined, on account of increaſing age and infirmities: the ſame offer was made to the amiable and learned Dr. Hurd, the preſent biſhop of Worceſter; who refuſed it, on account of his love and attachment to his dioceſe.

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pulled off his gown in open court, and declared publicly that he would abandon his country and profeſſion for ever. The fame of the earl of Manſfield, who was then chief juſtice of the king's bench, inſpired Wedderburn with a reſolution to croſs the Tweed, and try his fortune in England. He enrolled himſelf a member of the Inner Temple, London, 1753, and was called to the bar 1757. To eradicate the northern dialect, he at this time benefited by the inſtructions of Mr. Thomas Sheridan, author of the Dictionary, and Mr. Charles Macklin, the comedian. He is ſaid to have exhibited his powers as a public ſpeaker at the celebrated Robinhood ſociety. In 1763, he obtained a ſilk gown as king's counſel. Through the intereſt of Sir Laurence Dundas, Mr. Wedderburn obtained a ſeat in parliament for the borough of Richmond. He at firſt oppoſed the meaſures of adminiſtration, and made a ſpirited oppoſition to the expulſion of Mr. Wilkes. In 1771, the ardour of Mr. Wedderburn appears to have been very much abated, for he accepted the office of ſolicitor general, and ſtrongly ſupported the war with America. In 1778, he was nominated attorney-general; and, in 1780, was made chief juſtice of the common pleas, and called up to the houſe of peers by the title of baron Loughborough. The firſt exerciſe of his judicial character was in no reſpect calculated to create popularity. The dreadful riots which had diſgraced the metropolis had ſcarcely ceaſed, when his lordſhip was called upon in his official capacity to ſit in judgment upon ſome of the unhappy culprits. The mode of procedure his lordſhip adopted was greatly cenſured, and in the public prints he was frequently compared with judge Jeffries. In 1791, lord Loughborough was again in oppoſition. He oppoſed the Ruſſian armament, and condemned the conduct of miniſters towards Tippoo Sultaun. After the breaking out of the French revolution, his lordſhip joined in ſupporting Mr. Pitt; as did Mr. Burke; the ſame cauſe ſeems to have operated upon both; namely, fear of a revolution in this country. In 1793, his lordſhip was made lord high chancellor; and, in 1801, created earl of Roſslyn. His lordſhip's death was very ſudden, being taken with a violent pain in his head while at dinner, at his houſe at Baylis, near Salthill, which carried him off early the next morning. There were but few amiable traits in the character of this nobleman; the hauteur of his demeanor, and the imperious ſternneſs of his countenance, made very unfavourable impreſſions on the ſpectator. He was poſſeſſed of none of thoſe amiable feelings which embelliſh exiſtence, and aggrandiſe human nature. The confined unfortunate debtors trembled at his name, for his lordſhip entertained an ill-founded and criminal prejudice againſt thoſe unhappy perſons. He was a ſtranger to "another's woe;" neither did he regard the ſighing of the priſoner. Churchill, though rather ſevere, has juſtly characteriſed his lordſhip:

"Mute at the bar, and in the ſenate loud,
"Dull 'mongſt the dulleſt, proudeſt of the proud."

His lordſhip's abuſe of Dr. Franklin is well known. The earl was author of "Obſervations on the State of the Engliſh Priſons." But what a contraſt to the godlike Howard. He viſited the priſons to gladden the heart; the other publiſhed his work to make their ſituation more afflicting, and to deprive them of the few privileges they might enjoy.

In this month alſo died, George Morland, whoſe paintings of rural and cottage ſcenery has eſtabliſhed his fame as an artiſt upon a durable and laſting baſis. Sir Cecil Wray, who ſtood candidate for Weſtminſter at the memorable election in 1784. Thomas Pelham, earl of Chicheſter. Lord Carbery. Sir Gregory Page Turner, who pulled down the ſplendid manſion on Blackheath, erected by Sir Gregory Page. Lord viſcount Hereford; and the amiable, accompliſhed, and virtuous marchioneſs of Rockingham.

CHAP. IV.

Proceedings of the Eaſt India Company.—Deſcription of Prince of Wales's Iſland.—Marquis Cornwallis appointed Governor General of Bengal.—Apprehenſion of Mr. Juſtice Johnſon.—Dreadful Fires.—Extraordinary Caſe of Murder.

ON the 4th of January an adjourned court of proprietors was held at the India Houſe, when, after having unanimouſly voted captain Sir Nathaniel Dance a penſion of 500*l. per annum*, the court proceeded to adopt arrangements for the future government of Prince of Wales's Iſland. Previous however to an analyſis of the debates on that ſubject, it may not prove unintereſting to our readers to give a brief account of that iſland*.

This iſland, which is deſcribed in the charts under the denomination of Pulo Penang, is ſituated in the entrance of the ſtraits of Malacca, in one hundred degrees of eaſt longitude, and five degrees of north latitude. It is about ſix leagues in length, and five in breadth. It has a fine channel, where all the navies in Europe might ride in perfect ſafety. The climate, conſidering its near approach to the equator, is very mild. Eighty degrees is about the mean height of the thermometer at noon; which, during the night, is ſeldom above ſeventy. Its ſalubrity, if equalled, is not to be ſurpaſſed by any European ſettlement in the eaſt. A ridge of mountains, deeply indented and covered with evergreens, divide the iſland longitudinally. There a number of

* This account was written by Dr. James Howiſon, who was one of the ſurgeons to that ſettlement.

of rivulets receive their origin, whoſe waters in pureneſs, unequalled by the fineſt cryſtal, give beauty and fertility to the interſected plains. The ſhade afforded to theſe ſtreams by the cloſeneſs of the cover from their ſource to the ſea, admits of their poſſeſſing a degree of cold ſeldom found within the tropics, and which in bathing is powerfully invigorating to bodies relaxed by a vertical ſun. The ſenſe of pleaſure produced by this amuſement is too exquiſite to be deſcribed, and can only be felt. The ſoil, which is light and ſandy near the ſea, gradually changes to a rich clay, as approaching the high lands. Here the luxuriance of the ſugar cane borders upon exceſs; and from the plentiful crops of rice with which the plains are loaded, every thing is to be expected from their fertility. In the decoration of the country, nature has been peculiarly laviſh. An aſſemblage of trees and ſhrubs in perpetual bloom, and endleſs in the variety of their ſpecies, form the firſt ſhade. Theſe are ſurmounted by foreſt trees of an immenſe height, which ſpread their wide extended branches, and with their foliage afford protection to the tender bloſſoms, and more tender plants. The animal productions of this iſland are very limited. Of quadrupeds, the wild hog, bear, and ſquirrel, nearly comprehend the whole. The abſence of the tiger and leopard, whoſe numbers and ferocity almoſt render the oppoſite ſhores uninhabitable, amply compenſate for this apparent deficiency. The number of birds are trifling, of which one only is remarkable for its melody. The crow and ſparrow have lately made their appearance, and we underſtand are rapidly increaſing and multiplying. The ſea affords a vaſt variety of fiſh of the moſt delicate flavour, and its ſhores abundance of the fineſt turtle and oyſters. Timbers, fit for the maſts and yards of the largeſt ſhips, can be procured in any quantity with little trouble, and at a ſmall expence. The ſmoothneſs of the water admits of careening, and every other repair that can be accompliſhed without a dock, which, with the abundance of proviſions* ſupplied from the main, conſtitute the grand eſſentials towards refitting of ſhips, and refreſhing their crews. The valuable trade in gold duſt, tin, pepper, beetle nuts, and bird's neſts†, which is carried on in the ſtraits of Malacca, for which we have in return opium and piece goods, the produce and manufacture of our own ſettlement, was, prior to our eſtabliſhment, attended with the utmoſt danger, owing to the rapacious manner of the Malays; but now the caſe is widely different. The following languages in 1795, were ſpoken at this new and proſperous ſettlement: the Malay, Chineſe, Siameſe, Hindoſtan, Malabar, Portugueſe, Engliſh, Burmah, Achineſe, Batta, Peru, Arabic, Javaneſe, Buggeſs, Perſian, Bengalore, Armenian, Dutch, French, Daniſh. The very rapid proſperity of this iſland, and indeed its conſignment to the India Company, is juſtly aſcribed to Sir John M'Pherſon, bart. and to captain Light, as governor on its firſt eſtabliſhment.

We now proceed to the diſcuſſions of the company, relative to this iſland. The reſolutions of the court of directors being read, the chairman moved, that the court of proprietors do confirm that arrangement. Mr. Johnſtone obſerved, that he did not mean ſo much to expreſs his diſapprobation at the meaſure itſelf, as the mode in which it was to be carried into execution. The court of directors had requeſted the proprietors to give their approbation to a plan, without furniſhing them with papers neceſſary to give an idea of the ſyſtem they were about to adopt. The principal ground upon which a new eſtabliſhment was about to be formed, was founded, he underſtood, on a letter from lord Melville. Why the other papers were withheld, he could not tell, unleſs it was with a view to make a foul and corrupt job for perſonal purpoſes alone. He wiſhed to caſt no reflection upon the directors, but, conſidering the enormous ſum which the company owed abroad, he conſidered alſo the delicate ſituation in which the directors were placed. He knew that they could not venture to differ from government, without feeling that they hazarded the very exiſtence of the company. Mr. Johnſtone then divided his view of the ſubject into three: Firſt, as a commercial object. Secondly, the conſideration of the military eſtabliſhment for the iſland. Thirdly, the enormous expence to be incurred by the adoption of the plan now ſubmitted to the court. On the firſt point colonel Kyd, a gentleman of long experience and extenſive knowledge in the affairs of India, had ſtated in the moſt emphatic terms, that the advantages likely to reſult from the commerce of that place were not ſufficient inducements for the company to adopt ſuch an expenſive eſtabliſhment. The deputy chairman had however ſtiled this place the Emporium of Commerce: as well might ſeveral ſhops in the metropolis bear that title. Mr. M'Alleſter, and ſeveral others, had alſo ſaid that the trade was ſmall, and not likely to be increaſed. In a military point of view he conſidered that the eſtabliſhment was only recommended

* In 1795, a good bullock could be purchaſed for ſeven Spaniſh dollars; and one hundred pine apples for one dollar. The late captain Pakenham, of his majeſty's ſhip Reſiſtance, remarked, that at Prince of Wales's Iſland, his ſhip's company breakfaſted, dined, and ſupped on pine apples.

† China is the great mart for this ſingular branch of commerce. The neſt is that of a ſpecies of ſwallow, built with the ſpawn of fiſh: the Chineſe make the neſts into ſoups, and conſider them as powerfully provocative and ſtrengthening. In 1792, bird's neſts were ſold at Prince of Wales's Iſland to the amount of forty thouſand pounds.

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in order that the place might be governed by the nephew of a noble lord now high in office, and three other Scotchmen. The practicability of building docks was not at preſent aſcertained; but Sir Andrew Snape Hammond had ſaid, that docks were to be made ſo as to conſtitute this place a naval arſenal for the reception of his majeſty's ſhips, and a depot for all neceſſary ſtores. This he conceived would be extremely unwiſe, as there could not be ſufficient land force to protect them. It was well known that Trincomalée had been captured in the abſence of the fleet, for the want of a ſufficient force to defend it. Yet now we were to look for ſecurity for an iſland not fifty miles ſquare. He conſidered the plan upon the whole to be unprofitable, unavailing, and that the company would incur an enormous expence for the purpoſe of patronage only.

Mr. R. Jackſon declared he eſſentially differed in opinion. Had the honourable gentleman forgotten how the Portugueſe, the Dutch, and the Spaniards, had been enriched by their important poſſeſſions? The power of the Dutch was now on the decline, and could there be any thing more adviſeable than to endeavour to allure the commerce of India towards us by every rational and fair meaſure in our power? We ſhould obtain more benefit by commerce than by imbruing our hands in human blood; by making vaſt tracts of country deſolate; by burning caſtles, deſtroying towns, or dethroning rajah's. As to appointing a ſingle reſident to govern the iſland, he rejoiced to find that the court of directors had determined to act upon that wholeſome conſtitutional principle of having a council to direct the operations of the government of the place. Almoſt all the prodigality; almoſt all the profligacy, he had nearly ſaid, of which we were accuſed in India, had ariſen from the want of ſuch a council. The marquis of Welleſley had indeed appointed a reſident, but that perſon had afterward miſapplied the power given him. When the venerable Cornwallis was ſolicited to make an appointment of that ſort, his anſwer was, "No, the Engliſh government have made *me* abſolute; but they have not given me the power of delegating that authority." With reſpect to the idea of making a proviſion for the relatives or countrymen of a noble lord; he lamented that the natives of that part of the kingdom, who had been ſo very prodigal to him, were almoſt the only portion of the king's ſubjects who were precluded from his protection. The people of Scotland merited the higheſt praiſe for their uniform and perſevering induſtry, as well as the great attention which they paid to the promotion of learning. This might entitle them to the favour of thoſe who had it in their power to give merit its juſt reward; but ſurely the covenanted ſervants of the company poſſeſſed a ſtill higher claim on their generoſity and juſtice. He was aware, however, from the commanding tone which government had lately aſſumed, the directors muſt for the ſake of the proprietors ſometimes comply with meaſures of which they did not entirely approve. But even the perſons who had recommended the plan of forming a naval arſenal in the Prince of Wales's Iſland, ſhould recollect that when ſuch a propoſal was made to the Batavian government, they wiſely obſerved the danger with which the meaſure was pregnant, and refuſed their aſſent. He objected to a naval arſenal being formed at the iſland, and docks being built there. He wiſhed to ſee ſome regular contract between government and the country, by which diſputes might in future be avoided. That ſtupendous exhibition acroſs the Red Sea to Egypt, of which every Engliſhman had reaſon to be proud, had coſt the company ſeven millions of money, and yet the account was ſtill unſettled between them. He therefore conjured the court not to go to ſuch expence in future, unleſs they had ſome poſitive contract with government: that they would not exhauſt millions for the attainment of an office, which another peace of Amiens might give up. He then moved an amendment.

Mr. Alderman Prinſep ſupported the amendment, declaring that the proprietors had not ſufficient information on the ſubject, and requeſting that they would think of the vaſt amount of debt now due by the company abroad, before they gave their countenance to ſuch an expenſive eſtabliſhment.

The chairman vindicated the conduct of the court of directors, aſſuring the proprietors that in the adoption of the plan now under conſideration they were free agents, and acted to the beſt of their judgment, according to the moſt correct information they were capable of acquiring. The gentlemen who had been ſpoken of as nominated by the directors, were all ſelected as being perſons beſt fitted for their different ſituations, both from character and from experience. He then ſpecified the merits of each gentleman reſpectively for the particular office which was aſſigned to him. Upon this the chairman obſerved, he was happy to find that he met with the approbation of ſo numerous and reſpectable a body. The expence he aſſured them would not be ſo great as had been talked of.

The amendment was read and the queſtion put, and it was finally determined that a court of proprietors ſhould aſſemble to ballot on the queſtion on Tueſday, January 8. Upon which day a ballot was taken for the determination of the queſtion, "That this court confirm the reſolution of the general court of the 19th of December, approving the arrangement propoſed by the court of directors for the government of Prince of Wales's Iſland." The ballot commenced at eleven o'clock,

and was very numerouſly and reſpectfully attended. At ſix o'clock the glaſſes were finally cloſed, and delivered to the ſcrutineers; and at eight Meſſrs. G. Johnſton, John Layton, and Joſeph Dorin, the ſcrutineers, delivered in their report:

For the queſtion	-	-	413
Againſt the queſtion	-	-	325
Majority for the queſtion	-		88

We have already mentioned that heavy charges had been brought forward againſt one of the Iriſh judges, judge Fox, by the marquis of Abercorn.

The honourable Mr. Juſtice Johnſon was apprehended at his houſe at Miltown, on a charge of writing a letter ſigned "Inverna," which was publiſhed in Cobbett's Political Regiſter. He was brought up before the lord chief juſtice by Habeas Corpus, to give a full and ſolemn diſcuſſion to this new and intereſting caſe: the chief juſtice called upon as many of the judges as happened to be in town, for their aſſiſtance. The judges who attended were the lord chief juſtice of the common pleas, the lord chief baron, the honourable barons George and Smith, and the honourable juſtices Day and Finucan.

Mr. Juſtice Johnſon read to the court a correſpondence he had held with government, compriſing letters of Sir Evan Nepean, Mr. Marſden, and the lord chancellor of Ireland. He appeared very much indiſpoſed, and was attended during the ſitting of the court by his phyſician, Sir Henry Jebb. After the court had adjourned, Mr. Johnſon was allowed to go to his houſe at Miltown, upon his promiſe of attending the court again.

Several dreadful fires at this time happened in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, and in different parts of the country. At Chelmsford, in Eſſex, a fire broke out in one of the ſtables at the Spotted Dog inn. Several hundred Hanoverian ſoldiers halted in that town and neighbourhood; and from the great numbers billeted on the inn keepers, they were compelled to lodge them in ſtables and outhouſes. Thoſe quartered at the Spotted Dog, had retired to a ſtable with their pipes; and it is ſuppoſed that the fire dropping from one of them, communicated to ſome looſe ſtraw, and ſet the premiſes on fire. By great exertions the flames were prevented ſpreading further, but twelve of the ſoldiers periſhed, as alſo two horſes belonging to the royal waggon train.

At Mancheſter a fire conſumed property to the amount of 30,000*l.*

On January 27, a fire broke out in Upper Adam Street, Edgeware Road, in which eight perſons periſhed. A ſubſcription was immediately entered into for thoſe who had eſcaped the devouring element, who had loſt their all*.

The attention of the public was much engroſſed by an extraordinary and atrocious act of wilful murder. Samuel Wylde Mitchel, a weaver in Spitalfields, was indicted at the Old Bailey on January 12, for the wilful murder of Sarah Mitchel, his child. It appeared in evidence that the priſoner and his wife were ſeparated, but that this daughter remained with her father. This monſter, while his child was buſy at the wheel aſſiſting in her father's buſineſs, went behind her and deliberately cut her throat with a razor. The priſoner ſeemed no way to recoil at the horrid deed, but delivered himſelf up to juſtice; and when told of the enormity of his crime, replied, "I know it, but do not retort on me, I have done it." He made a voluntary confeſſion of the crime before Joſeph Moſer, Eſq. one of the juſtices at the Police Office in Worſhip Street. Upon his trial, in his defence he alledged, that he had often diſputes with his wife about a daughter whom ſhe had by a former huſband, which daughter acted in a ſhameful manner; but her mother brought her home to live in the family, without his conſent. Upon ſeparation with his wife, it was agreed that the younger daughter ſhould go with her mother; but having a great affection for the child, and not bearing the idea of her abſence, he was driven to madneſs, and went to the cupboard, took out a razor, determined to put an end to the child, that neither might have her. For a little while reflection and horror ſhook his purpoſe, but paſſion overcoming him, he went behind the child and cut her throat. The court was crouded in every part to hear the trial; and the jury, the counſel and all preſent were melted into tears.

On Monday the 15th this miſerable culprit was executed in the Old Bailey: at the place of execution he behaved with penitential compoſure; expreſſed his anxiety, leſt people ſhould ſuppoſe he died a Methodiſt. He requeſted the ſheriffs, that after the ſurgeons had practiſed upon his body, that

* The deplorable and increaſing calamities by fire, call aloud for legiſlative interference, as to the conſtruction of houſes. The following able and ſcientific architects, after repeated experiments, came to this reſolution in 1792: "Reſolved, "That houſes might in their conſtruction, and by means that would not be expenſive, be ſo far rendered incombuſtible, as to confine any accident by fire to the ſingle room in the houſe in which it may originate." Signed,

Robt. Brettingham	Jos. Bononi
John Carr	Robt. Mylne
Sir W. Chambers	Jas. Payne
S. P. Cockerell	Nich. Rivett
Geo. Dance	T. Sandby
Thos. Hardwicke	John Soane
Richd. Jupp	James Wyatt
James Lewis	John Yenn,
Hen. Holland	

his

his mangled remains might be given to his daughters for burial. A moſt diſgraceful circumſtance occured in conſequence of this murder. The mangled body of the unfortunate child, to the diſgrace of the police, was publicly exhibited for ſome time at a penny and twopence each perſon.

CHAP. V.

Affairs of France.—Speech of Bonaparte.—Proceedings of the Legiſlative Body.—State of Spain.—Epidemical Diſorders at Gibraltar, and at Malaga.—Military Preparations of Auſtria and Ruſſia.—American, Eaſt, and Weſt Indian Affairs.

ON the 27th of December, the French emperor proceeded to the hall of the legiſlative body to open the ſeſſions, where he was met by a deputation, headed by the preſident, and conducted to the throne: beneath which ſtood the princes, dignitaries, and great officers of the empire. A queſtor then called on the legiſlators, who took the oath of fidelity to the emperor; after which he made the following ſpeech:

"*Gentlemen, Deputies of the Departments, &c.*

"I come to preſide at the opening of your ſeſſion! It is a more awful and more auguſt character that I wiſh to impreſs upon your labours. Princes, magiſtrates, ſoldiers, citizens, we have all in our career but one aim—the intereſt of the country. If this throne, which Providence and the will of the nation have made me aſcend, be dear in my eyes, it is becauſe it can alone defend and preſerve the moſt ſacred intereſts of the French people. Without a ſtrong and paternal government, France would have to ſee the return of the evils which it has ſuffered. The weakneſs of the ſupreme power is the moſt dreadful calamity of nations. Soldier, firſt conſul, I had but one thought: Emperor, I have no other, the proſperity of France. I have been happy enough to illuſtrate it by victories, to conſolidate it by treaties; to deliver it from civil diſcord; and to prepare in it the regeneration of morals, of ſociety, and of religion. If death do not ſurpriſe me in the midſt of my labours, I hope to leave to my poſterity a remembrance which may ſerve for ever as an example or reproach to my ſucceſſors." After informing the members that his miniſter of the interior would lay before them the ſtate of the empire; and that the council of ſtate would make known the different wants of the government, he adds, "That however extenſive have been the preparations for the war, he ſhall demand of his people no new ſacrifices." He then continues, "It would have been grateful to me at ſo ſolemn an epoch to ſee peace reigning throughout the world; but the political principles of our enemies, and their recent conduct towards Spain, ſufficiently make known the difficulty of it. I have no ambition to exerciſe in Europe a greater influence, but I will not ſink in the influence which I have acquired. No ſtate ſhall be incorporated in the empire; but I will not ſacrifice my rights, nor the ties that attach me to the ſtates which I have created." He concluded by expreſſing his confidence in the energy of the nation; obſerving, that the conduct of the members in the preceding ſeſſion was a guarantee for their zeal and aſſiſtance in the preſent.

M. Champagny, December 31, detailed to the legiſlature the preſent ſtate of France, and its relative ſituations with foreign powers. The principal points in this ſtatement were, that a new city was building in the centre of Le Vendee, intended for the ſeat of the civil adminiſtration; that commerce was flouriſhing upon the left bank of the Rhine; and religion reſumed its empire, ſeconded by judicious toleration. He then proceeded to deſcribe the external poſition of the empire. "Abroad (ſays he) French courage, ſeconded by Spaniſh loyalty, has preſerved Domingo to us. Martinique braves the threats of the enemy; Guadaloupe is enriched with its ſpoils, and Guiana is proſpering under an active and vigorous adminiſtration. The iſles of France and reunion would have been at this moment the depot of the riches of the Eaſt, and London the abode of agitation and deſpair, if inexperience and weakneſs had not baffled a project the moſt maſterly in its conception*. Our armies were never in a better ſtate to enure victory: our finances are more flouriſhing than ever: our extraordinary expences are at an end; and thoſe of the coronation have been defrayed out of the revenues of the crown." The report concludes with aſſerting, "Whatever may be the movements of the Engliſh, the deſtiny of France is fixed; ſtrong in the riches and courage of its defenders, ſhe will faithfully cultivate the alliance of friendly nations. France will neither merit enemies, nor fear them. When England ſhall be convinced of the impotence of her efforts to agitate the Continent: when ſhe ſhall feel that ſhe cannot but loſe in a war without motive or object: that France will never accept of any other conditions than thoſe of the treaty of Amiens: and never will conſent that ſhe ſhall exerciſe the right of breaking at pleaſure thoſe treaties, by appropriating Malta to herſelf. Then England will really obtain pacific ſentiments: hatred and envy exiſt but for a time."

To this flowery declamation the preſident, M. Fontanes, made the following anſwer:

"The legiſlative body give you an act of acknowledgment of the ſtatement which you have juſt made

* Alluding to Sir N. Dance's engagement with Linois.

made to it; it will proceed to form itſelf into a general committee, in order to conſider of this communication, and to enter into a reſolution worthy of itſelf, and of the government which deputes you."

After the proces verbal was read, January 7, Meſſrs. Lacue and Regnaud, counſellors of ſtate, were introduced, commiſſioned in the name of his Imperial majeſty to preſent a projet of a law relative to military conſcriptions for the year, and to explain the motives for adopting it. In executing this commiſſion, M. Lacue addreſſed the legiſlative body at length. He began by adverting to the declaration of his majeſty to maintain the integrity of the French territory: amongſt the means to be adopted for this end, ſo worthy of his majeſty, and the anxious wiſh of the whole nation, a compleat army from the boſom of the nation having an intereſt in the happineſs of their country, and the glory of the French name, ought to be placed. It was to procure ſuch an army that their predeceſſors had created the ſyſtem of military conſcription, which diſappointed not their expectations. He then read the projet of the law, "That thirty thouſand conſcripts ſhall be raiſed from the conſcription of the year 14, to compleat the army upon the footing of its organization; and thirty thouſand men to remain in reſerve, or to be ſolely deſtined to place the army upon a war eſtabliſhment, ſhould circumſtances render it neceſſary."

While the emperor of the French was ſtraining every nerve to enlarge the ſphere of his unbounded ambition, the court of Spain was entirely governed by French politics. It is more than probable that the bulk of the nation were averſe to a war with England; yet the remonſtrances of Bournonville, and the predilection of the queen and the prince of Peace, for France, hurried the nation into a war from which they could poſſibly derive little if any advantage. No ſooner had the court of Spain iſſued its manifeſto againſt Great Britain, than the moſt vigorous meaſures were purſued to proſecute the war with energy. The miniſters of marine uſed unexampled activity. The prince of Peace publiſhed an addreſs to the army; ſeveral regiments of militia were raiſed. His Catholic majeſty promiſed to thoſe of his ſubjects engaged in defending the honour of the Spaniſh flag, that privateers ſhould be ſupplied with all the arms neceſſary for their equipment, and that their prizes ſhould be carried into any Spaniſh port, without any deduction from their value.

Meaſures were taken for forming an immenſe camp at St. Roche, no doubt with an idea of proſecuting that object ſo dear to Spain, an attempt upon Gibraltar. The Spaniſh cabinet was induced to take this ſtep in conſequence of an epidemical diſorder, which raged with great fury at that place. In a ſhort ſpace of time it carried off forty-four officers, eight hundred and twenty ſoldiers, three thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-ſeven inhabitants; and it was ſtill extending its cruel ravages far and wide. This horrible peſtilence was productive of the moſt calamitous conſequences; the affrighted inhabitants were flying in terror in every direction; upwards of ſixty veſſels, crowded with paſſengers, left Gibraltar for various parts of the world. Many of thoſe were admitted into different ports; but others returned, after being every where denied ſhelter, with the fever raging on board, which had broke out at ſea. One Jew paid 700*l.* for the paſſage of himſelf and family, to eſcape from the contagion; and large ſums were repeatedly offered for a paſſage in vain. Dr. Bird, phyſician to the naval hoſpital, fell a ſacrifice to this dreadful ſcourge. This calamity tending eſſentially to weaken the garriſon, no doubt accelerated the preparations which the Spaniards were making for its ſubjection. At Cadiz the Britiſh ſubjects were made priſoners, and their papers ſealed. But ſome part of the dominions of Spain were at this time afflicted with a contagious diſorder. In the town of Malaga alone twenty ſix thouſand perſons were buried in the courſe of a month. At Carthagena, the returns of deaths from the malignant fever, amounted to fourteen thouſand nine hundred and forty. Thus was this unhappy country, while depopulated by the peſtilence, obliged to enter into a war, to promote the inſatiable ambition of the French emperor. The Britiſh government were unwearied in their endeavours to preſerve the country from infection. Quarantine was rigidly enforced, and the board of health iſſued thoſe orders which were requiſite on ſuch an awful occaſion*.

While the various outrageous acts of Bonaparte had made a ſenſible impreſſion on the powers of Europe, eſpecially on the king of Pruſſia, the emperor of Auſtria was raiſing a large cordon of troops, which were to be under the command of the celebrated general Mack. Bonaparte viewed with a jealous eye theſe military preparations. Francis the Second, no doubt, was raiſing this armament chiefly for the defence of his own territories; though probably he was waiting the operations of the courts of Berlin and Peterſburgh.

The emperor Alexander had been ſolicited by the king of Pruſſia to accept of his mediation between Ruſſia and France. Alexander replied, "he ſhould enter into no treaty in which England was not included

* The late Dr. Rowley publiſhed a moſt uſeful and excellent treatiſe at this period on putrid, malignant, infectious ſevere, the plague, &c.

cluded. The Ruſſian monarch was making vigorous exertions both to place his naval and military force on a moſt reſpectable baſis: he augmented his army to four hundred and ſix thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-eight men. The Auſtrian army amounted to three hundred and ſixty-four thouſand. The Pruſſian army to two hundred and eighty-two thouſand. Mr. Pitt was negotiating with each of theſe powers to form a triple alliance with Great Britain; and, while ſoliciting the aid of foreign courts, he was uſing every meaſure for the internal defence of the country in caſe of invaſion. To ſerve as a diverſion to the enemies forces, preparations for a ſecret expedition of great magnitude were forming with the utmoſt celerity, to which a large body of artillery was to be attached. A ſyſtem of fortifications on the coaſt was adopted: and contracts were entered into for erecting eighty-ſeven martello towers.

The French ambaſſador from Paris, announcing that the Imperial diadem had been placed on the head of Bonaparte, arrived at the city of Waſhington about the 20th of November, and had an audience of Mr. Jefferſon on the 23d. The preſident received him very graciouſly. On that day the vice-preſident, Aaron Burr, Eſq. took his ſeat. This circumſtance created a conſiderable ſenſation, as recalling the melancholy incident of the death of the much loved general Hamilton. Mr. Burr had not the leaſt intercourſe with any of the members. The bill for making further proviſion for carrying into effect the treaty of commerce and navigation between the United States and Great Britain, was paſſed in the houſe of repreſentatives on the 16th of November. From accounts laid before congreſs the American finances were very flouriſhing. Since the commencement of Mr. Jefferſon's preſidency, the ſum exceeding the annual expenditure ariſing from taxation was greater than the whole of the ſum to be paid to France for the ceſſion of Louſiana. It is calculated that there would be 7,450,000 dollars applicable to the extinction of debts ariſing out of conventions exiſting betwixt France, England, and the United States *.

In the month of October 1804, a very diſtreſſing event occurred on Lake Ontario. A government veſſel ſailing for Preſqu Iſle, in Upper Canada, was wrecked in a ſudden ſtorm, and all the paſſengers drowned. Among them were, Mr. Juſtice Cochrane; Mr. R. J. Gray, ſolicitor general; Mr. J. Seigmar, government ſurveyor; Mr. J. Cown, Indian interpreter; Mr. Anderſon, ſtudent at law; and Mr. J. Fiſk, high conſtable.

From diſpatches received at the India Houſe, dated May 10, and from private letters from the camp of lord Lake, it appeared that Holkar had made a precipitate flight, after a warm engagement. His cavalry were deſerting in great numbers, and offering their ſervice to the Britiſh army. A ſtrong town of Holkar's, called Rampoora, was taken by aſſault by lieutenant colonel Don: the ſepoys fought moſt gallantly, although led on by no other European officers than ſome artillerymen. General Welleſley's army had been upwards of ſixteen months in the field, and for the laſt five, in a ſtate bordering upon abſolute want, owing to a famine which was raging in that part of India. The villages were deſerted, the inhabitants periſhing in the camp for want of rice, which ſold at a rupee *per* ſeer. In conſequence of the gallant attack upon Rampoora, the commander in chief iſſued general orders, expreſſive of his high ſenſe of the judgment and ſkill of lieutenant-colonel Don, and the detachment under his command, in which, after noticing the uncommon ſkill and bravery of the officers and men of the different European diviſions, he paſſes a particular eulogium upon ſerjeant O'Loughlen, for his ability in blowing open the gates;

* The following is a liſt of the banks in the United States of America, at the cloſe of 1804, with the amount of their reſpective capitals, and the period of their inſtitution.

	Inſtituted.	*Capital.*
Bank of North America	1781	1,000,000
—— Maſſachuſetts	1784	400,000
—— New York	1791	950,000
—— Maryland	1790	300,000
—— Ditto augmented from 1795 to 1801		85,000
—— United States	1791	10,000,000
Providence bank	1791	400,000
Bank of Pennſylvania	1792	2,000,000
—— Albany	1792	170,000
—— South Carolina	1792	675,000
Union bank of Boſton	1792	1,200,000
Eſſex bank of Salem	1792	125,000
New Hampſhire bank	1792	150,000
Bank of Alexandria	1792	500,000
Hartford bank	1792	100,000
Union bank, New London	1792	100,000
New haven bank	1792	80,000
Bank of Columbia	1793	497,000
—— Newbury Port	1795	225,000
—— Rhode Iſland	1795	100,000
—— Wilmington	1795	110,000
—— Baltimore	1795	1,200,000
Glouceſter bank, Cape Ann	1796	60,000
Newark bank	1796	60,000
Middletoun bank	1796	75,000
Manhattan bank	1799	2,000,000
Waſhington bank, weſterly	1800	50,000
Bank of Briſtol, R. I.	1800	80,000
Exchange bank of Providence	1801	135,000
Farmers bank of Lanſingburgh	1801	75,000
State bank of South Carolina	1801	800,000
Bank of Kentucky	1802	500,000
Merchants bank, Philadelphia	1803	1,000,000
Merchants, New York		1,000,000
Union bank of Maryland, if the bank of Baltimore does not prevent them, will have a charter for		3,000,000
Total dollars		22,002,000

gates; and on major Doverton, for cutting to pieces a large body of the enemy outside this fort; as well as to captains Wood and Ruban, and lieutenant Hay, for their active and effectual affiſtance. The fort of Rampoora, and territory depending upon it, yielded a revenue of four or five lacs *per annum*: it belongs to the rajah of Joynaghur, but had been nearly thirty years in the poſſeſſion of the Holkar family, who had wreſted it from the rajah.

A ſplendid embaſſy was ſent from Buſhore to the court of Tehran; Mr. Maneſty, the company's reſident, was the chief of the embaſſy. His retinue conſiſted of upwards of one hundred horſes, three hundred baggage mules, and ſixty camels, with a multitude of ſervants and camp followers. The proceſſion moved in the following order: in the van an elephant, ſeveral men on horſeback, who adminiſtered a conſtant ſupply of coffee and hookahs during the march; ſome troopers, two of them carrying union jacks; nine led horſes, richly capriſoned in the Perſian faſhion; twelve running footmen; two gold ſticks, and two ſilver mounted; Mr. Maneſty, the gentlemen of his ſuite, a led horſe before each; forty gholams, or Perſian guards, dreſſed in orange coloured cloaths, and armed with ſhields, ſwords, and carbines, and the ſepoy guards. The whole made a moſt ſplendid ſpectacle, and attracted the admiration of the inhabitants of the villages and towns.

Before we narrate any circumſtances which tranſpired in the Weſt Indies, we ſhall notice a meeting of the directors and proprietors of the Weſt India dock company, which took place on January 8, at the company's houſe. Mr. Jackſon oppoſed the confirmation of the former minute, as far as reſpected giving ſalaries to the directors. The learned gentleman cordially aſſented to the elegant gifts of plate which had been voted, but he maintained that ſalaries could not legally be given, while any part of their dividend was in arrears. He pointed out the order in which their funds were ſtrictly appropriated by the act, and expreſſed his apprehenſions that any departure from the letter of the ſtatute might be regarded as tending to a forfeiture of their excluſive privileges, and would give their enemies an advantage over them, which common prudence ſhould prevent. He deſired to be underſtood as proteſting, in the name of himſelf and friends, againſt the directors voting upon the queſtion of their own ſalaries; and ſaid, he ſhould demand a ballot, not with any hopes of ſucceſs, for he knew how vain it was to argue againſt the paſſions; but to put upon record ſo ſingular a fact, and which might become an important document in proceedings elſewhere. The learned gentleman denied that he was influenced by any ſordid motive; on the contrary he pledged himſelf, that when the works were finiſhed; when their revenue ſhould be aſcertained, and their expences known, he would ſupport an application to parliament for a clauſe, giving them leave liberally to reward ſuch directors as really devoted any material part of their time to their ſervice; but in the preſent ſtage, he thought the meaſure premature; and if done at the expence of their dividend, highly illegal.

Mr. Samuel Dixon ſupported Mr. Jackſon's arguments in a brief but judicious ſpeech. He ſhewed the impoſſibility of the aldermen and common council of the city of London receiving ſalaries, without the moſt flagrant diſobedience of the principles, the practice, and declared will of the corporation. He aſked if the pieces of plate were not already in great forwardneſs, although the minutes were not confirmed? The chairman admitted they were, which produced a laugh.

Mr. Hibbert, the chairman, in a ſpeech of conſiderable length, defended the meaſure. He diſclaimed all idea of perſonal gratification, and argued that the paying ſalaries to the directors, was manifeſtly the intereſt of the proprietors. He referred to the example of all other company's of conſideration, particularly the Bank and Eaſt India company. He admitted that one director from his age, another from his office, a third from his military duty, and others from various preſſing public engagements, had been prevented from attending, but thought it illiberal making ſuch diſtinctions. He contended that the corporation of London (who had no more to do with their affairs than the divan of Conſtantinople) were preſuming to dictate to them the line of their conduct. He eſpecially adverted to the conduct of the committee of the corporation, who received no pay: and aſked, if ſalaries given to ſome of the moſt intelligent, would not be better for the public than their prodigal law expences, their tavern bills, and the injurious tardineſs of all their proceedings? He drew a flattering picture of the company's affairs, and was ſolicitous to baniſh from the minds of the proprietors all uneaſineſs and diſſatisfaction. He granted the doctrine which had been circulated in pamphlets and ſpeeches, that the proprietors were entitled to an equal ſhare of conſideration with the public, and to the compenſation which the legiſlature had aſſigned to them, in return for the ſpirit of their undertaking. They might reſt aſſured that the directors would act upon that principle, and he ſaw not the ſlighteſt hazard of any future interruption taking place, either as to the amount or the period of their dividends. Even the one and a half *per cent.* arrear, which had been ſo often alluded to by the learned gentleman, was now under conſideration; and they were provided with aſſets for its payment, as ſoon as the opinion of counſel ſhould be obtained.

After

After ſome debate upon a point of order relating to the city's right of repreſentation, Mr. Jackſon replied. He defended with great animation the corporation of London from the obſervations which had been made: he reminded the meeting that it was owing to the vigilance and unconquerable perſeverance of one of thoſe committees, that the company owed its exiſtence. It was much eaſier to level ſarcaſms at that great body, than to enumerate the ſtupendous works which it was continually undertaking and accompliſhing for the public good. He himſelf had many opportunities of witneſſing the advantage derived by the kingdom at large from the corporation of London, and declared that while he had breath he would defend its honours. He pointed out ſeveral ſections, both in the Wapping act and their own, which ſeemed to ſhew beyond the poſſibility of contradiction, that when from detention of convoy, or other incidents over which they had no controul, the aſſets of one year ſhould fall ſhort of paying the full dividend, it might be made up from the extra arrivals of the ſucceeding year. Upon the ballot being taken, the directors voted themſelves (who, poſſeſſing among them ſo conſiderable a number of votes) the majority for the ſalary was conſiderable.

While Europe had beheld with aſtoniſhment an obſcure foreigner elevated to the throne of the Bourbons, and crowned by the pope amidſt a diſplay of the moſt ſplendid pageantry; a ſcene equally ſingular was exhibited at St. Domingo. That unhappy iſland ſeemed deſtined to become the ſeat of cruel commotions, bloody inſurrections, and the ſport of unprincipled tyrants. Jaques Deſſalines was now inveſted with the ſovereign power and government of the new kingdom of Hayti. The black ſovereign wiſhed to impreſs his ſubjects with a due ſenſe of his ſupremacy by a coronation. This ceremony was performed at Port-au-Prince on the 8th of October 1804. This was the capital of the colony when it appertained to France. The natives of Domingo had diſapproved of the title of "governor general," which Deſſalines had formerly borne; as alſo Touſſaint. At the ceremony of the coronation there was no uſeleſs pomp or ſhew. About ſeven thouſand troops were drawn up in the Champ de Mars, and Deſſalines went to the hall where he was to be crowned, without a guard. The abbé Deſfontaines acted the part of the pope, and adminiſtered the oath, by which the emperor Jaques I. ſwore to protect the liberties of the people, and to ſacrifice his life, if neceſſary, in their defence. He alſo ſwore to tranſmit the truſt repoſed in him to ſuch military officer, or civil adminiſtrator, as, from his ſervices and attachment to his country, ſhould be moſt worthy of it. This part of the ceremony being thus adjuſted, he left the hall, and putting himſelf at the head of his grenadiers, attended a *Te Deum* in the church; after which he dined with the magiſtrates and officers of the garriſon.

CHAP. VI.

Proclamation for a Faſt.—Law Intelligence, Civil and Criminal.—Miſcellaneous Incidents.—Proceedings of learned Societies.—State of Arts, Sciences, Literature, &c.—Vaccine Inoculation.—Agricultural Report.

A PROCLAMATION was iſſued for a general faſt to be obſerved on Wedneſday, the 20th of February, throughout England and Ireland. The frequency of theſe national ſolemnities, and the indifferent manner in which they were obſerved by the higher claſſes, who often gave luxurious dinners on thoſe days, had conſiderably diminiſhed their effect. Yet there was a religious decency, and a moral propriety in a government engaged in war, proclaiming a day of faſting and humiliation.

On Wedneſday, January 16, a cauſe of great conſequence was diſcuſſed in the court of chancery. It was an action brought by J. R. Dolder Landaman, or ſupreme magiſtrate of the Helvetian republic, again lord Huntingfield, and the honourable R. Walpole. The two defendants were engaged in a great banking concern, under the firm of Vanneck and Co. At the awful criſis when the cantons of Switzerland were threatened with deſtruction, by the impoſing ſituation of France, in 1798; the cantons of Berne and Zurich had the prudence to inveſt a conſiderable portion of the funds of their reſpective ſtates in the public ſecurities of this country. Purſuant to this deſign, 85,499*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.* was placed in the 3 *per cent.* Conſolidated Annuities; 158,383*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* in South Sea ſtock; and about 34,000*l.* in Bank ſtock. The agents of this country for the appropriations of theſe monies, were lord Huntingfield and Mr. Walpole, who were directed to apply them in this manner by the conſtituted authorities of the two cantons mentioned. The dividends ariſing from theſe inveſtments to the time when this bill was filed in chancery, amounted to the ſum of 37,009*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.*; and the preſent application was to procure from the defendants the payment of that ſum.

Mr. Romilly, on the part of the plaintiff, ſaid, that this money had been intruſted to the corporation, and to the noble and honourable perſons who were the defendants, at the time when the thirteen Swiſs cantons were independent ſtates, both with reſpect to each other, and the reſt of Europe. In 1798, the inhabitants became united under one government, called the Helvetian Republic; and thus the

the particular cantons intereſted in this property ceaſed to exiſt as political and ſeparate powers. It then became neceſſary to provide a receptacle or general treaſury for the funds of the thirteen diſtinct ſtates; and it was ordered that the property belonging to the different cantons ſhould become general property. This decree was made by the exiſting government, and was confirmed on April 3. In conſequence of this law, the preſent plaintiff became the repreſentative of the ſtate for thoſe funds which before appertained to Berne and Zurich: and in this character he was authoriſed to apply to the court for the dividends reſulting from the inveſtments ſpecified.

Meſſrs. Richards and Hollis, in reply, obſerved, that the defendants admitted that they were not entitled to this property; but before the plaintiff could apply to the court, that it ſhould be depoſited in the hands of its receiver, he ſhould make a *prima facie* caſe at leaſt, that he himſelf was entitled to it. The dividends were eſtimated at 57,000*l.* and ſome odd fractions; but it was not correct to aſſert, that the whole of this would belong to the ſtates of Berne and Zurich, even did they exiſt; for Anthony St. Didier, a banker at Paris, was poſſeſſed of an aſſignment of the principal monies to the extent of 66,000*l.* and he had filed a bill for the transfer of ſtock to that amount. But the chief objection was to the character the plaintiff aſſumed. This country did not acknowledge an Helvetian republic, and no municipal court here could therefore ſuppoſe ſuch a power to exiſt. From the eſtabliſhed forms founded on the royal rights, the court could not even agitate a queſtion of this nature except in the preſence of his majeſty's attorney general, and it was abſolutely neceſſary that this officer of the crown ſhould be a party in the cauſe. The learned counſel contended it was not neceſſary for them to give any anſwer at all to this petition: that if the attorney general thought proper to file an information, their clients would be ready to give a ſuitable anſwer.

Mr. Romilly made a very long reply in behalf of the plaintiff, and adduced as an example the ſituation of Ireland, which had been united to this country. He maintained that if the ſiſter iſland had inveſted large ſums in the funds of a foreign ſtate, on the principle of the argument now adduced, that ſtate would be juſtified in ſeiſing the whole property for its own purpoſes.

Lord Eldon, the chancellor, obſerved, that it was a very important enquiry whether a municipal court can act with the government of a country which has not been acknowledged by its own. It would be idle to ſay that the form of the Helvetian republic has been recogniſed by this country: but ſitting here as a judge (ſaid his lordſhip) attending only to the documents before me, it may with reſpect to them turn out to be ſo, or otherwiſe; and while it is dubious, a mighty difference in the queſtion may be occaſioned. The ſimple object of my attention now is, if the money ſhould be ordered into court; all the proper parties concerned not being preſent. The defendants have an intereſt in this money againſt all the world, excepting the particular perſon or perſons who may be entitled to it. Until all the parties intereſted are brought before me in the proceedings, I ſhould think it too much for the money to be taken out of the hands of the defendants; but when I am ſure all perſons intereſted are adduced, and you ſhall make the attorney general a party, I can have no objection to have the queſtion again agitated.

A chapter of the knights of the Garter was held by his majeſty at St. James's on Thurſday, the 17th of January, for the purpoſe of creating five knights; the duke of Beaufort, the marquis of Abercorn, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Winchelſea, and the earl of Cheſterfield. The biſhop of Saliſbury, Dr. Douglas being much indiſpoſed, the biſhop of Norwich acted for him as chancellor of the order.

A court of aldermen was held at Guildhall on Tueſday, January 22, when John Princep, Eſq. M. P. was ſworn into office as alderman of Lime Street ward; and Joſiah Boydell, nephew of the late * alderman of that name, was ſworn in alderman of Cheap ward.

Notwithſtanding the warlike genius of the ruler of

* The venerable and truly excellent alderman Boydell, was a native of Dorrington, in the county of Salop. He was born January 19, 1719. His father, who was a land ſurveyor, intended him for his own profeſſion; and had it not been for one of thoſe fortuitous events which decides the path that men ſhall walk in, he would have lived and died in obſcurity. Sir Iſaac Newton, when a boy, was firſt impelled to ſtudy the laws of gravitation by an apple falling on his head while ſitting under a tree. Ferguſon, the aſtronomer, when tending a flock of ſheep, amuſed himſelf with ſketching diagrams in the ſand; and young Boydell was allured to engraving by accidentally meeting with "Baddeley's Views of different Country Seats." One engraving, that of Hawarden Caſtle, Flintſhire, the ſeat of Sir John Glynn, by whom he was then employed in his profeſſional line, made a great impreſſion upon him: conſidering it as an engraving, and reflecting that from the ſame copper-plate an indefinite number of impreſſions might be taken, he determined to quit the pen and take up the graver. At this time he was twenty-one years of age; he walked to London, and bound himſelf apprentice to Mr. Toms, the engraver of that print which had ſo forcibly arreſted his attention. During his apprenticeſhip he frequently attended a drawing academy in St. Martin's Lane, and he devoted his evenings to the ſtudy of perſpective, and to learn French without the aid of a maſter. After purſuing his profeſſion for ſix years, he bought from Mr. Toms the laſt year of his time, and returned to Salop, where he married a lady of a reſpectable family. In 1745, he publiſhed ſix ſmall landſcapes, deſigned and engraved by himſelf: this was called a bridge book, each landſcape having a bridge in it, and ſold for

of France, and the incalculable difadvantages arifing from a ſyſtem of military warfare, yet the arts were flouriſhing. Jaachim le Areton, ſecretary of the claſs of the fine arts, recited at the public meeting of the national inſtitute a very intereſting report. This paper forms an hiſtorical ſketch of the progreſs of painting from the time of Francis the Firſt to 1789. To the queſtion whether painting has made any advancement from 1789 to the year 10? It is anſwered, that with ſome ſlight deviation it is nearly at the ſame point as in 1789. Some improvements in the proceſſes for the employment of colours on porcelain; the application of painting to panorama; as well as in the reſtoration of pictures, have undoubtedly been made, but they are not ſo much diſcoveries in painting as ſervices rendered by chemiſtry, natural philoſophy, geography, &c. to that art. The report obſerves, "that ſculpture ſuſtained great injury by the deſtruction of the inſtitutions, and great fortunes, by the revolution; but anterior to that period the beautiful palace of the Luxembourg was left by the monarchy in ruins. The reſtoration of this palace was commenced by the republic, and is continued with increaſed ſplendour by the talents of that accompliſhed architect, M. Chalgrin. The repairs of the Louvre are alſo begun. The miniſter of interior has aſſigned a vaſt apartment in the palace of the arts to receive the unique collection of the antique architectural ornaments formed with ſo much care by Dufourney, during a reſidence of thirteen years in Italy. This collection will be devoted to ſtudy."

At a meeting of the Bath and weſt of England ſociety, Benjamin Hobhouſe, Eſq. in the chair, Teyoninhokerawen, captain Norton, the Mohawk chief, was admitted an honorary member, and delivered the following ſpeech:

"MR. CHAIRMAN,

"As it has pleaſed the Great Spirit that I ſhould be here, at this your laudable meeting, for the promotion of agricultural improvement, I take the liberty of addreſſing you in a few words, according to the cuſtom of my country. To the Great Spirit I preſent my warmeſt thanks, that he has influenced your minds with the benevolent deſire of increaſing the reſources of your country, by an attention to the improvement of that art which is the foundation and ſupport of all others: and that notwithſtanding a ſtate of war, which calls for the exertions of the nation, the more uſeful arts of peace are not thereby prevented; but, as I have now the pleaſure to ſee, are diſcuſſed with uninterrupted tranquillity under his heavenly protection. And I earneſtly hope that he will favour your benevolent intentions with ſucceſs, in promoting the felicity and comfort of the land; alſo, that his power and the intrepidity of your warriors, may ever bid defiance to your enemies, and protect this ſeagirt iſle from the devaſtations of war: that every thing good and uſeful may flouriſh and improve without interruption; and after beneſtting you internally to the utmoſt, ſome rays of knowledge, the fruits of your perſevering reſearches, may illumine our weſtern woods, and there alſo increaſe the comforts and happineſs of life. I ſhall ever retain a grateful remembrance of the honour this reſpectable ſociety has juſt conferred on me; and I aſſure you the ſentiments of my heart would lead me to follow your example, as far as ability could admit, in our uncultivated part of the globe. But as the day dawns in the eaſt, and gradually ſpreads its enlightening influence to the weſt, ſo apparently is the progreſs of human improvement. The weſtern part of the world is indebted to this for almoſt all domeſticated animals, and a variety of grains. Formerly no other cultivation was known among us than that of the maize and beans: no occupation was thought ſo worthy the attention of a man to ſupply his wants as the chace. In the part from which I came, it is hardly thirty years ſince cattle were firſt ſeen! Therefore whatever we perform in agriculture being but an imperfect imitation of what originated from this queſtion, no communication from us could in any wiſe be inſtructive to you. But if there ſhould be any thing in the manner in which we blend our antient mode with European culture, that might gratify the curious in reſearch, it would be communicated by me with pleaſure."

The impreſſion made on the meeting by this ſhort and ſerious addreſs was, as will be conjectured, of the moſt delightful; and the chairman made a very energetic reply:

"While the deſolating ſword was laying waſte

for one ſhilling. His facility of execution and unconquerable perſeverance, enabled him to compleat a great number of prints, which he collected in a port folio, and publiſhed at five guineas. This he uſed to ſay was the firſt book that ever made a lord mayor of London. Having been thus ſucceſsful in encouraging the art of engraving, he reſolved next to direct his efforts to the encouragement of painting, and ſelected from the works of the immortal Shakeſpeare ſubjects for the pencil. By the grand and comprehenſive idea of the Shakeſpeare gallery, the genius and talents of the firſt artiſts in this country were concentered into one focus. It was a matchleſs deſign, and executed with profound ability and judgment: but his expences were ſo great as to oblige him to ſolicit an act of parliament to ſell it by lottery, which was granted. After paſſing through the offices of ſheriff, alderman, and chief magiſtrate of the metropolis, he died full of honours and reputation, univerſally regretted, December 1804, aged eighty-ſix. The lord mayor, aldermen, and a great part of the corporation of the city, paid the laſt tribute of reſpect to his memory, by attending his funeral. His remains were interred in the church of St. Olave, Old Jewry; and a moſt appropriate diſcourſe was delivered on the melancholy occaſion by Dr. Robert Hamilton, the vicar.

the fineſt provinces in Europe, and the horrid din of arms was reſounding from one extremity of the Continent to the other, Great Britain was rapidly advancing to perfection not only in the fine arts, but alſo thoſe connected with trade and manufactures."

Within the ſpace of little more than a month the following patents, for new diſcoveries and improvements, had been enrolled: Mr. Noon, of Burton upon Trent, for a thraſhing machine with looſe beaters; Mr. Robert Frith, of Broughton, Lancaſhire, for an improved method of dying cotton, wool, &c. of a nankeen colour; Mr. Woolfe, of Spa Fields, Iſlington, for improvements in the conſtruction of ſteam engines; Mr. R. Bates, of Bolton, for a machine to pump water; Mr. Wilcox, engineer of Briſtol, for improvements upon the fire or ſteam engine.

The diſcovery of Dr. Jenner, relative to vaccination, had already received the ſanction of the legiſlature, by the eulogium it had paſſed upon that gentleman, and the liberal reward of ten thouſand pounds allotted to him as a remuneration for his ſervices. It had been practiced in every country in Europe, and with a great degree of ſucceſs. Amidſt the multitude of profeſſional men in England, there were but a few ſolitary individuals who oppoſed it.

Dr. Squirrell, of Soho Square, London, publiſhed this month "Obſervations on the cow-pox: ſhewing that it originates in ſcrophula, commonly called the evil." This pamphlet adduced ſome caſes in which the vaccine pock had been unſucceſsful; but the caſes were few in number, and were loſt amidſt the immenſity of caſes where it had proved beneficial. The pamphlet made a temporary impreſſion.

An alarm was given that the ſmall-pox might follow vaccination, and that the blood through vaccination might become a maſs of impurity. The royal Jennerian ſociety was rouſed to a further examinatian of its effects on the human body. It appeared by a ſtatement publiſhed, that only five hundred and eighty-ſix deaths from the ſmall-pox occurred in 1804: whereas for the four preceding years it had carried off a conſiderable larger proportion. This decreaſe was aſcribed, and unqueſtionably with juſtice, to vaccination. This diſcovery gained ground aſtoniſhingly in France. The biſhops, the prefects, and all public functionaries, were very active in carrying into effect the decree of the miniſter for its encouragement; inſomuch, that ſixty-ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-ſix individuals were ſucceſsfully vaccinated within ſix months. It was very remarkable that the cow-pox had hitherto experienced very ſlender patronage. In Ireland, among the great bulk of the community in that part of the United Kingdom, it was almoſt unknown. In conſequence of its general adoption throughout England, lord Hardwick put himſelf at the head of an inſtitution, to promote vaccination throughout that country.

It is gratifying to the mind to reflect that a ſcience divine in its origin, delightful in its practice, beneficial in its operations, and forming the very ſtrength and ſinews of a nation; the ſcience of agriculture ſhould have been cultivated with greater aſſiduity and ſucceſs during the reign of his preſent majeſty, than at any period of our hiſtory. Jethro Tull had written on the elementary principles of huſbandry (towards the cloſe of the reign of George the Second) in a practical and ſcientific manner: but the œconomy of agriculture, and a full developement of its principles, applied to practical experiments and elaborate reſearches, was reſerved for the indefatigable labours of Arthur Young, Eſq. a writer on agriculture, whoſe merits if ever they have or can be equalled, can never be excelled. To this gentleman's unwearied exertions, aſſiſted by thoſe of Sir John Sinclair, and lord Somerville, we are indebted for the eſtabliſhment of the board of agriculture; an inſtitution of ineſtimable utility and importance.

A circumſtance at this period occurred, which will form a conſpicuous æra in the annals of the drama. Henry Weſt Betty, a boy about twelve years of age, had acquired great celebrity at the provincial theatres as a performer, equal in talents to Garrick. He was dignified with the title of the young Roſcius. His fame reached the metropolis, and upon his firſt appearance in public, all ranks and claſſes of people haſtened to the theatre to behold the performance of this aſtoniſhing youth. The honours conferred upon him were of the moſt diſtinguiſhed and flattering nature: the princes of the blood, the great officers of ſtate, dignified clergymen, and the nobility in general, invited him to their manſions, and made him munificent preſents. While his parents were acquiring immenſe ſums by the theatrical exertions of this prodigy, they were guilty of inattention to his health, by permitting him to perform ſo frequently as to occaſion a ſerious indiſpoſition. During his confinement the public were inſulted by a bulletin, announcing the ſtate of of maſter Betty's health: ſo great was the arrogance of his parents, and ſo unexampled the theatrical enthuſiaſm of the public. Whether his abilities forſook him, or the judgment of the public reſumed its ſtation, we will not pretend to determine; but maſter Betty has left the London boards for provincial acting

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Parliamentary Debates.—Motion on the Repairs of the Romney.—Iriſh Habeas Corpus Act.—Spaniſh Papers.—Additional Defence Bill.—Committee of Ways and Means.

DURING the adminiſtration of Mr. Addington, a bill was enacted, empowering certain commiſſioners to make enquiry into naval abuſes, and to report the ſame to the admiralty. The commiſſioners in progreſs of their inveſtigations made a report reſpecting ſome repairs made to the ſhips Romney and Senſible, under the command of Sir Home Popham: accordingly Mr. Kinnaird moved in the houſe of commons, on January 31, 1805, for the production of this paper; adding, that he ſhould feel it his duty, ſhould circumſtances appear to warrant it, to propoſe to the houſe a proſecution of the enquiry to which that report alluded.

On Tueſday, February 5, Mr. Kinnaird made his promiſed motion for the production of the papers relative to the repairs of the ſhips under the command of Sir Home Popham. He was aware (he ſaid) how invidious a taſk it was to inſtitute an enquiry that might have the effect of caſting a reflection on the character of an officer; particularly of that profeſſion, which was on every occaſion regarded with univerſal admiration and reſpect; eſpecially when that officer was ſtill employed in active ſervice, and in the confidence of his majeſty's government. But he did not venture to broach the queſtion on light grounds when he ſtated, that the charges had long been in circulation; that they had been detailed in a publication, which had ſtill remained unanſwered by the gallant officer, whoſe pen had never been idle on other occaſions. He therefore truſted he ſhould be juſtified in paying a jealous attention to the expenditure of the public money. The duties of a captain of a ſhip of war, were not limited to the diſpoſitions for battle; but he was alſo in fact the ſteward of the public money. Here Mr. Kinnaird enumerated the expenditures, which he alledged had been ſuperfluouſly laviſhed by Sir Home, from the firſt outfit of his veſſel at Sheerneſs to his arrival at Calcutta, after having aſſiſted in the expedition to Egypt, and his expenditure afterward at Calcutta. After expatiating on theſe topics, and on the courſe that had been purſued by the admiralty and navy boards on the arrival of the gallant officer in England; he ſtated his intention to move for copies of any letters that might have been received from the marquis of Welleſley, on the ſubject of the repairs of the veſſels at Calcutta. He knew not however whether any ſuch letters exiſted. It might be ſuggeſted that the admiralty board was better calculated to proſecute ſuch an enquiry, and it was the intention of the late admiralty board to have inſtituted a criminal proſecution on that ſubject: but as Sir Home was now employed by the new board, he preſumed it did not mean to carry on the proſecution. He cloſed with moving an account to be laid before the houſe reſpecting the repairs of the Romney and La Senſible.

On the motion being read, Sir Home Popham obſerved, that though he had no objection to the motion, yet he would beg the indulgence of the houſe while he read ſome extracts of letters to and from the late firſt lord of the admiralty, and to the board, on the ſubject alluded to. He could not but reply to the ſubject of the pamphlet mentioned by the honourable mover. That anonymous pamphlet would have been long ſince anſwered, if the preſs had not been ſomewhat alarmed, ſo that he could not procure a printer to publiſh it. That impediment had ſince been removed, and it would appear ſhortly. He then read extracts from ſeveral letters from himſelf to earl St. Vincent, in which he requeſted an inveſtigation of the buſineſs. The honourable baronet then explained what had paſſed at Calcutta in the repairs of the different veſſels under his command, none of which had been adverted to by his accuſers, except the Romney. He then read an affidavit, which had been voluntarily made by a gentleman, Francis Maſon, Eſq. commander of his majeſty's ſhip Rattler, who was indebted wholly for his promotion to lord St. Vincent. His evidence muſt therefore be unbiaſſed. The affidavit was made before the mayor of Portſmouth, January 5, 1805, and complimented the conduct of the baronet as a diſciplinarian and an officer; and ſtated, that in one inſtance four hundred lives had been ſaved in conſequence of the excellence of his boats, and the well trained exertions of his crew. Sir Home Popham cloſed with obſerving, that when the papers moved for were adduced, the honourable member would alter the opinion he had already formed on an *ex parte* caſe.

Admiral Markham ſtated, that the board of admiralty had directed the navy board to furniſh Sir Home Popham with a copy of their report, and that he believed it was furniſhed. It was not proper to have called him before the navy board. The accounts of all navy officers are ſent to the navy board, there examined, and if found to be incorrect, the pay of ſuch officers is ſtopped; but they are not themſelves ſummoned to give an explanation of ſuch conduct. The late board of admiralty conceived the idea of inſtituting a criminal proſecution; but they doubted their power and determined to refer it to the court of exchequer, that the matter might be fully inveſtigated. After a conſiderable debate, Mr. Kinnaird's motions were agreed to.

Sir

Sir Home Popham made a few obſervations on the treatment he had received, eſpecially in an anonymous pamphlet, which had been induſtriouſly circulated to injure him, and at a time when he commanded a ſquadron off the coaſt of France. It was a fact, that a copy of this pamphlet was ſent to each of his officers by poſt. Ridicule had alſo been attached to him, becauſe he had been, as his enemies pleaſed to term it, a leader of Catamarans, a mode of attack which, in conjunction with other officers, he had recommended. With reſpect to the preſent motion he begged leave to mention, that he was in command of a ſhip then at Graveſend; it was proper for him to go down to that place, and a day on which he was abſent was fixed upon for the motion to be announced. It would have been but civil had he been previouſly acquainted with the intention of the honourable gentleman. The baronet concluded with moving, "that there be laid before the houſe a variety of papers, conſiſting of accounts of the expenditure attending the Romney, the Senſible, the Heroine, &c. accounts of bills drawn by Sir H. Popham, &c."

Mr. Fox ſaid he ſhould have remained ſilent had the honourable officer confined himſelf to the ſubject of the motions he had ſubmitted to the houſe, and not animadverted on the conduct of the late court of admiralty. He felt indignation at ſo unfounded an inſinuation. The houſe and the public muſt, he was confident, concur with him in forming their judgment on the character and talents of that board.

The chancellor of the exchequer felt no diſpoſition to take any retroſpective view of the proceedings of that board; but it was too much to aſſume, that becauſe he abſtained from a retroſpect, he had abandoned his opinions with regard to them. The fact was, that every opinion he had formerly entertained and expreſſed on that ſubject, was fully ratified and confirmed. Sir Home Popham's motions were agreed to.

Lord Marſham moved that the order of the day be read for hearing the charge againſt, and for the appearance at the bar of Sir William Rawlins, and Robert Albion Cox, Eſq. late ſheriffs for the county of Middleſex.

Mr. Pitt moved, that the order ſhould be diſcharged, and another made, that the houſe would proceed to the conſideration.

The ſpeaker ſtated, that there were two diſtinct propoſitions; one to hear the charge, the other not to hear; the only mode of proceeding was to oppoſe the original one.

The chancellor of the exchequer repeated the obſervations he had formerly made with regard to the credit which he thought ſhould be given to the preſent ſelect committees; what would be gained by hearing evidence again at the bar? That evidence not being upon oath. If repeated as in the committee, what benefit could accrue? If deviated from, how could it be believed? The houſe would certainly not prefer the lighter teſtimony to the more weighty. He then moved, that the order of the day be diſcharged, which was agreed to.

On February 8, Sir Evan Nepean moved for leave to bring in a bill for ſuſpending the operation of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland.

Sir John Newport regarded the Habeas Corpus Act as one of the beſt privileges of the country: its ſuſpenſion therefore ought not to be admitted on trivial grounds. For his part, he could ſee no ground whatever for ſuch a meaſure: we ought to ſhew the people of Ireland that we were careful of their intereſts. A ſtrong argument againſt the neceſſity of the meaſure was, that it had been at one time announced, and then abandoned: could there be new reaſons for it in the courſe of a few days? Nothing leſs than ſtate neceſſity could juſtify ſuch a meaſure. The greater part of Ireland, he aſſerted, was well affected to this country; the province of Ulſter in particular. But ſuppoſing many of the people were diſſatisfied, would ſuch a meaſure recover their ſtrayed affections? Sir John then moved an amendment, ſpecifying that a committee be appointed by ballot to examine ſuch documents as may be laid before them, and give their opinion whether the preſent circumſtances of the country demanded ſuch a meaſure.

Mr. Dennis Browne thought that the general ſpirit of Ireland might be improved; but its moſt ſanguine friends muſt admit, that there were many perſons in Ireland intereſted in the diſturbance of its peace, and who were only reſtrained by the laſh of the law which hangs over them.

Colonel Hutchinſon obſerved, that he was ever anxious to call the attention of his majeſty's miniſters and the country to the ſtate of Ireland. He approved of this meaſure, that the diſaffected in Ireland might not have it in their power to diſtract the attention of his majeſty's miniſters, and prevent them from directing their attention to the more ſolid and important means of amelioration.

Sir J. Stewart ſupported the motion. The north of Ireland, he admitted, might be loyal; but that was no reaſon for concluding that there were none who might require ſuch reſtraints as the preſent motion provided. This bill had been the means of preſerving the country vigorous, and if he might judge from an office with which he was connected, never could be abuſed.

Mr. Windham inſiſted, that the queſtion was not the meaſure; but whether the meaſure ſhould be adopted without reaſon. Ought they to come to a concluſion

conclusion on so important a subject without due enquiry? Was it in their power to suspend the constitution thus easily at twenty-four hours notice? If the suspension took place, it ought to be on good grounds. Shall we ask, what is then the reason for this measure: what do they tell us? Not that the country is disaffected; not that it is in a state of insurrection: but that a committee is instituted at Paris, and that to this they have given the name of the Irish Committee. If an argument is good for any thing at any time, it is so at all times. We are told there are mischievous persons in Ireland: so there are in every country; so there are in England. It will not follow on that account that the privileges of the whole are to be suspended. The necessity of the measure is not attempted to be shewn: on the contrary the house is told, that Ireland is well affected: that the people of the north of Ireland are as loyal as any in this country. Is there any great state reason? We have testimony from all quarters, that Ireland is in a state of safety. We were not to form an estimate from individuals, but from the whole.

The chancellor of the exchequer expressed his surprise at the reasons he had heard urged against the bill. In no possible case could the Habeas Corpus be suspended without cause; but to assign such reasons as had been urged for; or, to ascertain the nature of the measure in the manner that had been proposed, was contrary to the practice of parliament, and very different from the manner in which this measure (even at the solicitation of the right honourable gentleman who spoke last) was adopted during last war. We are told there is no circumstance which at present can justify such a measure. Of what description then are the circumstances they think requisite to justify it? Are we not at war with a nation whose hostile designs against us are unbounded; whose object it is to destroy our existence as a free people, and who will eagerly select the spot on which they can most easily inflict the mortal wound. Was not Ireland the *caput mortuum* at which they aimed? was it not their avowed object to convert it into an instrument of sedition, and to make it the first step for the annoyance of Great Britain? Whatever the state of Ireland might be, we could not disguise from ourselves that this was the object of the enemy. Were we not relying upon the vigilance of our fleet to prevent Ireland from falling into the hands of the enemy. Had they not encouraged all those who had fled from the justice of their country: and had they not embodied them with the avowed object of acting not only in hostility, but of betraying their country? Was it not well known that those refugees maintain a connexion and correspondence with people of their own country, for the purpose of overturning the government? Had there not been repeated insurrections; and could gentlemen say these were light grounds? They were equal at least to those which existed last war, which the right honourable gentleman thought so commanding and imperious, and to which we owe the existence of the present measure. As long as this war continues to be of the same description as at present, there can be no want of reasons for the measure? He would not amuse the people: he would trifle neither with their hopes or fears. He would assure them at once, that unless there was a change in circumstances the measure, as a measure of policy, must necessarily continue. Inquiry, he said, was superfluous, and could not be instituted without great inconvenience and danger. What they knew of the secrets of the enemy was through channels, the exposure of which would destroy them. Without cutting off all future sources of information, they could not expose those from whom they had hitherto obtained it. With regard to the notice, there had been so much business before the house when the motion was first fixed, that it was thought better to take it up at some other time when there would be more leisure.

Mr. Fox observed, that much as he had to regret the opinions avowed, and the conduct pursued by the ministers of this country for several years past, particularly while headed by the right honourable gentleman who now presided over the administration of his majesty's government; yet he felt a more than usual degree of alarm at the sentiments he had just heard uttered. I should hope (said Mr. Fox) the right hon. gentleman did not speak serious; if he did, if he really and deliberately holds such sentiments, I must say that I consider him as maintaining principles the most alarming that I have ever heard promulgated in this house, or this country; and such as I could scarcely suppose it possible that any man who imagined the people of England retained any degree of regard for their liberties, would venture to declare. If that gentleman meant to act upon those principles, how melancholy was the prospect. Indeed the doctrine that "because some of the people were bad subjects, the liberty of the whole should be suspended," had never before been maintained by that right honourable gentleman. He has also maintained, that war is a good ground for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act. With respect to an invasion, as much fear was excited in his bosom for England, as for Ireland; nay, this had been the constant language of the right honourable gentleman himself. Indeed, notwithstanding the close blockade of Brest; the vigilant activity of our fleets and cruisers; the increase of our land force; still was he haunted by the apprehension, and loudly proclaiming of the invasion of

Great Britain. If becauſe of an apprehenſion of the invaſion of Ireland, and without any previous examination of the nature and ſufficiency of the grounds ſtated, we are called upon to aſſent to the motion, then adieu to the ſecurity of Britiſh freedom; adieu to that Habeas Corpus Act, which is the proudeſt boaſt and nobleſt guard of the Britiſh conſtitution. If miniſters think there are grounds ſufficient for the ſuſpenſion, under what circumſtance is that important privilege to be revived? In former inſtances the ſuſpenſion was but of very ſhort duration. In the reign of queen Anne, it was ſuſpended twice; and during the reigns of the two firſt branches of the houſe of Brunſwick, it was not ſuſpended more than once. From the Revolution to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, this important privilege was not withdrawn from the Britiſh people, ſo often as during a very few years of the adminiſtration of the right honourable gentleman. And yet during that period the country was frequently engaged in wars; frequently threatened with invaſion, and much troubled with diſaffection, not from Jacobins, but Jacobites: the latter party was quite as reſolute and enterpriſing as the former, and much ſtronger in number, influence, property, and power. The panegyric upon lord Hardwick, were it to be ever ſo well founded, would have no influence upon his mind with reſpect to the propoſition. There are certain theoriſts (added Mr. Fox) who hold the maxim, that the moſt uncontrouled authority might be granted to an honeſt, able man, without danger: nay, that an abſolute monarchy is the beſt ſyſtem of government, if the monarch was poſſeſſed of great virtues: but I am not one of thoſe Theoriſts. Let the diſpoſition of a man be what it may, I will never agree to inveſt him with extraordinary unconſtitutional powers; for this plain reaſon, that it is ſubject to abuſe. The virtue of a man is therefore no argument with me, in favour of ſuch grants; becauſe I learn from the hiſtory of mankind; becauſe, particularly the hiſtory of the conſtitution, and my own experience, forbid ſuch grants. I am impelled to dread the abuſe of power to whomſoever it may be given. Theſe are my reaſons for not allowing any weight to the argument drawn from the character of lord Hardwick. Into that character itſelf I will not now enter. Among other ſingular and incredible things we are told, that the majority of the people of Ireland will rejoice to hear of its re-enactment; becauſe they are perſuaded of its neceſſity, and ſo much attached to lord Hardwick, that they have no fear of his abuſe of the power veſted in him. As to the diſpoſition of the people, I ſhall be ſilent: but there are ſome facts as to the abuſe of this power in Ireland, under this bill, which I ſhall ſtate at a future opportunity. There is one groſs inſtance however, which I cannot now refrain from commenting upon; I mean that of Mr. Todd Jones. This gentleman I have reaſon to believe, has, on the ground of mere ſuſpicion, ſuffered a moſt rigorous impriſonment in a loathſome gaol for upwards of ſixteen months. From the treatment he has experienced, and the ſituation in which he is placed, he has in fact ſuffered enough of puniſhment, even had he been guilty of a heavy crime. I truſt that by rejecting ſuch meaſures as that now propoſed, we ſhall ſhew the people that we have their liberty not only in our mouths, but in our hearts; and that we will not abandon our duty to preſerve that ſacred truſt upon vague rumours, or light miniſterial whiſpers.

Mr. Martin (of Galway) expreſſed his regret to find that the Union was not followed by that conſequence which he fondly hoped from it; namely, a participation of the privileges of the Britiſh conſtitution to the people of Ireland. He had ſupported the Union with that idea: he now however muſt confeſs that he was compleatly diſappointed, if ſuch a meaſure as that now before the houſe was to be brought forward on ſuch frivolous grounds. Notwithſtanding his partiality to his native country, he could not help ſaying it was rather unfair to refuſe to the people of England ſo important a benefit as this was ſtated to be, and limit it to Ireland. [*A laugh.*] The houſe then divided upon the amendment.

Ayes	-	-	-	33
Noes	-	-	-	112
Majority for the motion				79

On Tueſday, February 14, Sir Evan Nepean moved the ſecond reading of the bill; which being done, on the motion for its being committed,

Lord Henry Petty ſaid, that his duty compelled him to make a few obſervations on this ſubject. He was aware that there were numerous precedents for the ſuſpenſion of this act, both in England and Ireland: but when he was called upon to vote for ſuch a reſtraint, without any ground being made out for it, and even with a refuſal of all enquiry, he conceived more was demanded of him than he could in honour and duty comply with. The only argument he had heard made uſe of in favour of this meaſure was drawn from the character of the lord lieutenant and his ſecretary: but with the higheſt perſonal reſpect for them, he muſt diſtruſt the power delegated to them. They both might have the beſt intentions in the world; but how was it poſſible that two or three perſons could minutely attend to the caſes of ſo many thouſands of perſons inflamed againſt each other, by the prevalence of their paſſions, habitual prejudices, and religious animoſities? Even under the mild, lenient, and paternal government of marquis Cornwallis, the poſſeſſion of power

power naturally generated the abuſe of it, as was exemplified particularly in the hardſhips experienced by Mr. O'Neil.

Mr. Carr obſerved that the inſurrection on the 23d of July broke out almoſt immediately after the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus had expired; and he apprehended the ſame conſequences might again enſue if this meaſure ceaſed to operate. He appealed to an honourable baronet (ſir J. Newport) whether in the county of Waterford, which he repreſented, the magiſtrates had not come to a reſolution that, if the outrages committing there did not ceaſe, they ſhould think it neceſſary to apply for the renewal of martial law in that part of the country?

Sir John Newport, in anſwer ſaid, that whatever reſolutions might be made by the magiſtrates of a ſingle diſtrict ſhould not in his opinion be made a rule for all the people of the nation. The magiſtrates might ſuddenly, or for the purpoſes of intimidation, threaten what might be beyond the neceſſity of the caſe. Of the three outrages committed in the county of Waterford, he had only to ſay, that the law was fully capable of reaching them, as one of the offenders was now in the jail of Waterford, and would probably be tried at the next aſſizes.

Mr. Pytches conſidered the meaſure when applied ſolely to Ireland, as a ſeverity exerciſed not towards a united county; but one detached, and even hoſtile to us. He could not conceive how the miniſter could have the confidence to propoſe ſuch a bill, after they had ſo repeatedly repreſented the people of Ireland as tranquil, induſtrious, and loyal. At preſent there appeared no ground for ſo harſh a meaſure, and he was not one of thoſe who would be diſpoſed to calculate on the geſtation of conſpiracies.

The bill was then ordered to be committed; and was on the 19th read a third time in the lower houſe, paſſed, and ordered to be carried to the lords. This important bill paſſed the houſe of peers on the 21ſt, and the following day received the royal aſſent.

The next ſubject of importance which arreſted the attention of the public, and excited much parliamentary diſcuſſion, was the Spaniſh papers, containing the correſpondence between Mr. Frere, the Engliſh ambaſſador and others, diſcloſing the arcana of the rupture with Spain.

On Monday, February 11, the chancellor of the Exchequer roſe to call the attention of the houſe to the papers on the table. It afforded him ſubject of infinite pleaſure, that the day had at length arrived to enter fully into the important diſcuſſion of the rupture with Spain. Though even a ſlight peruſal of the documents muſt give ample ſatisfaction to every member it was his earneſt wiſh to impreſs upon the houſe a conduct which had been guided by ſingular forbearance and moderation. He then took a review of the relative ſituation in which Spain ſtood with France by the treaty of St. Ildephonſo (1796.) That treaty guaranteed to both parties the uſe of ſuccours to the other. In one article of that treaty, it was enacted that the demand of thoſe ſuccours ſhould be ſufficient to have them furniſhed, without any queſtion being aſked. M. D'Anduaga had repeatedly denied that this was a treaty offenſive as well as defenſive; he deſired therefore to oppoſe to his reaſoning, ſubtleties, and refinements, the plain letter of the treaty. A treaty whereby the whole force of Spain was put under the complete command and controul of France. Feeling the degraded ſituation in which Spain was thus placed, miniſters knew that the ancient honour of that diſtinguiſhed country was contrary to the advice of her councils, and he truſted both the houſe and the public would commend the exertions they had made to induce the Spaniſh government to get rid of it. At the ſame time it became the duty of miniſters vigilantly to watch the conduct of Spain, in order to prevent her filling her coffers with money, and thereby becoming a means of ſupplying France with materials for proſecuting the conteſt. There was alſo a wide difference between a defenſive treaty and the treaty of St. Ildephonſo. France had demanded 700,000*l.* of Spain, and Spain offered 600,000*l.* By the treaty of St. Ildephonſo, Spain had agreed to the payment of three millions, and Mr. Frere was privately informed by the Prince of Peace that Spain had been compelled to yield to the payment. No man could contend that Spain in granting that ſubſidy did not, *de facto*, make herſelf a party to the war. Mr. Pitt then deſcribed many inſtances of forbearance on the part of the Britiſh cabinet, and concluded with moving an addreſs to his Majeſty, aſſuring him that the houſe concurred in the vigorous meaſures adopted reſpecting Spain, and that they would not withhold their zealous and cordial ſupport in proſecuting the war.

Mr. Grey differed moſt eſſentially from the ſentiments of the right honourable gentleman and the addreſs itſelf. He admitted that if the Spaniſh government had refuſed to renounce the treaty of Ildephonſo as an offenſive treaty, that would have furniſhed a juſtifiable ground for war; yet he thought the arguments of the Spaniſh ambaſſador by no means deſtitute of weight and conſideration; as ſhewing that Spain conſidered that treaty as merely defenſive. Mr. Grey conſidered the principle upon which miniſters had acted as diametrically oppoſite to all ideas of good faith and the laws of nations. The principle he alluded to was, that having a juſtifiable cauſe of war, ſatisfaction is demanded; and having ſuſpended that juſtifiable cauſe by means of negociation, it is again brought forward at a more convenient moment, and without further repreſentation is made the ground of immediate hoſtilities. Notwithſtanding all the moderation miniſters cried

up reſpecting their conduct, they had violated every principle of good faith, inaſmuch as they had made that an excuſe for beneficial aggreſſion which they had virtually relinquiſhed, or at leaſt ſuſpended, and which ought not to have been renewed as a legitimate cauſe of hoſtilities, without firſt acquainting the contending party with the determination. He inſiſted that the anſwer given by Spain with reſpect to the ſuppoſed armaments was compleat and ſatisfactory. The more he conſidered the conduct of miniſters, the more he was reminded of the conduct of Sir Lucius O'Trigger, in a popular comedy *, who meeting a gentleman in the ſtreet, went up to him, and exclaimed "Sir, I differ in opinion with you:" "That's impoſſible (obſerved the gentleman) becauſe I have given no opinion." "Sir," rejoined Sir Lucius, "a man may *(think* an untruth as well as ſpeak one." "Sir," replied the gentleman, "unleſs you mean to pick a quarrel with me, I "cannot tell what you mean." "Sir, (continued Sir Lucius) I thank you for the quickneſs of your apprehenſion, that's what exactly I would be after." "But explain your motives for quarreling." "By no means (added Sir Lucius) it is a very pretty quarrel as it ſtands, and explanations would only ſpoil it." The order of council to ſeize the Spaniſh ſhips muſt be conſidered in no other light than as a declaration of war. Upon the whole, the miſconduct of miniſters in bringing the country into a new war, could only be exceeded and aggravated by the defence which the right honourable gentleman had that night attempted to ſet up. Mr. Grey concluded by moving an amendment, cenſuring the conduct of miniſters in the negociation and ſubſequent rupture with Spain.

Lord Caſtlereagh oppoſed the amendment, and urged the ſame arguments as Mr. Pitt in vindication of the negociation, and the meaſures adopted by government.

Sir John Nichol, the king's advocate general, delivered a moſt luminous ſpeech upon the law of nations, and contended that the principles to be drawn from thoſe laws had been ſtrictly adhered to, in all the correſpondence which had taken place with Spain and in the reſult which followed. Upon the motion of Mr. Windham, the debate was adjourned until the next day, when, it being reſumed,

Mr. Raine ſaid that he viewed the ſeizure of the Spaniſh veſſels as an act contrary to every idea of national honour. The peruſal of the voluminous papers led him to conſider it as little leſs than an act of piracy. He controverted the precedents adduced by an honourable and learned gentleman, as not referring to analogous events. There were no caſes where hoſtilities were commenced without a declaration, while important diſcuſſions were pending between two nations. Any doctrines of the laſt century to a contrary import, had never been generally adopted by the beſt lawyers. There was indeed one inſtance which in many reſpects did bear a conſiderable reſemblance to the caſe in queſtion. The reſemblance was, however, a very aukward one, and which could not be defended. The caſe was the nefarious attempt made on the Dutch ſurveyance fleet in the century before laſt. It was well known that this was a meaſure adviſed by that cabal †, none of whoſe actions were tranſmitted to ſucceeding times with greater reprobation; but even here, the Dutch were not ſo much taken by ſurpriſe as the Spaniards had been when their frigates were ſeized.

Mr. Banks declared his intention to ſupport the addreſs, as he was convinced of the good faith and moderation which had marked the whole of the negociation with Spain. He denied the exiſtence of any convention between this country and Spain.

Mr. Johnſtone obſerved that a Spaniſh war in this country was always popular, independently of the grounds on which it reſted. The treaty of Ildefonſo was nothing more than a tranſcript of the family compact; and yet in the war with France, it was not thought fit to go to war with Spain on that account. In point of policy he condemned the war in which we had engaged. The reſources of France were daily riſing. The loſs of two millions could not to her be a great object; ſo long as ſhe continued to have an armed force of five hundred thouſand ſhe muſt continue to be formidable; and the additional expence to which the new war would put this country muſt be more than the two millions of which France had been deprived; while we had afforded a pretence to France, to introduce troops into Spain, which might terminate in the deſtruction of that monarchy, and conſequently to the aggrandiſement of France.

Mr. Hiley Addington was of opinion that a great ſpirit of forbearance and moderation had been exhibited by government: their inſtructions breathed the voice of humanity. The amendment propoſed had a tendency to lower this country in the eyes of Europe; in the eyes of our own people, our ſoldiers, and our ſailors, whoſe opinion of the juſtice of our conduct, it was ſo much our intereſt to preſerve.

The Maſter of the Rolls ſaid the queſtion to be conſidered was not the legitimate or illegitimate cauſe of the war with Spain; but what was the ſituation of Spain with reſpect to this country at the commencement of the war with France, and what had been her ſubſequent conduct towards this coun-

* The Rivals.

† The deſpotic cabinet of Charles the Second, compoſed of lord Clifford, earl of Arlington, duke of Buckingham, Anthony Aſhley Cooper, earl of Shafteſbury, and the earl of Lauderdale. For an account of the cabal, ſee vol. ii. page 603.

try:

try: Whether that conduct was such as to justify the course of proceeding which our government had adopted, and whether it furnished a fair and politic ground for engaging in hostilities? The remote cause of the war was the treaty of St. Ildephonso, and the proximate cause, the armaments which had taken place in the Spanish ports, and the refusal of explanation from the Spanish government. In the history of diplomacy he never heard of any treaty more explicitly binding both the contracting parties to an unconditional offensive co-operation. It therefore clearly formed a just cause of war.

Mr. Fox confessed that the language he had heard from ministers in vindication of their conduct was neither more nor less than the language of gross fraud. He asserted that the armament at Ferrol was quite inconsiderable; it never exceeded three sail of the line, and only half manned. They were sufficiently fitted to convey troops to Biscay; and however absurd it might be represented, even Mr. Frere himself, who was not the most disposed to put a favourable construction on the views of the court of Spain, allowed that this was their destination. No man could seriously believe that Spain had hostile intentions. The pacific views of that country were manifest to all Europe; and it was the height of absurdity to talk of her armaments. In what light was the capture of the frigates to be viewed, was it of war, or of precaution? If it was as a precaution, it was to be remembered that there was a most important distinction between detention of property in our hands and an attack on the royal flag of another nation. In the one case property might be restored, but in the other, an apology perhaps of a humiliating kind might be necessary to give satisfaction, not to mention the wanton sacrifice of human lives. If it was a measure of war, to what purpose instruct Mr. Frere to negociate on the footing of tranquility yet existing? It was similar to saying when a man had been already hanged, let him still have a fair trial, to see whether there was reason to hang him or not. Mr. Fox closed a speech of considerable length with giving his hearty assent to the amendment.

On this important question a division took place, when there appeared,

For the original question	313
For the amendment	106

On the following Thursday the House proceeded to St. James's, and presented the address to his Majesty; to which he returned the following answer,

"Gentlemen: I return you thanks, for your dutiful and loyal address; I feel the highest satisfaction in this proof of your uniform concurrence and approbation of the measures adopted with regard to Spain; and trust that your zeal and attachment will enable me to bring this new contest to a safe and honourable termination."

In the House of Peers (Feb. 15.) Lord Darnley made his motion respecting the defence of the country. The bill which was the subject of his lordship's motion was brought forward under very peculiar circumstances. At a period when the country was so completely exhausted and worn out by repeated marks of imbecility and weakness, manifested by the then existing administration and by the inadequacy and inefficacy of their measures to provide for the national defence, recourse was had to the right honourable gentleman by whom this bill was introduced, who promised a remedy for all the evils which were supposed to exist. It was not on idle speculation, that his system was to be built; he had well weighed and maturely considered it; and it was expected to come forth possessing all the skill and energy which its architect had represented. At its first appearance, however, the deception was discovered; the mighty offspring of the brain of this energetic leader was found to be equally if not more inefficient than the measures which had preceded it. *Parturient montes nascitur ridiculus mus.*—However inefficient it might then appear in its operation, experience had shewn it to be still more completely defective. The number of men to be raised by the act was sixteen thousand, and the object in view was to compleat that number as an immediate disposable force. Seven months however had elapsed, and only three thousand had been raised. In counties where five hundred men were to be raised, those who had been raised amounted to fourteen. Being therefore inadequate to the end in view, and being injurious to recruiting for the regular army, he should move for its being repealed.

Lord Camden rose to state his reasons for opposing the repeal of the act. The number of men raised by its operation was unquestionably small, but this was no great matter of surprise as time was necessary to give it a fair chance of success. The manner in which the bill was drawn offered strong inducements to patriotism. If the bill was repealed, the consequence must be that recourse must be had again to those high bounties to which the army of reserve had given rise, and to that system of balloting which it was allowed on all hands should be abolished as equally impolitic and oppressive. He was sorry that the merits of the bill were so much confounded with the character and merits of the administration. It was painful for him to dwell on a subject so personal; but he felt it to be due to himself and colleagues in office to state, that if all the circumstances attending their acceptance of office were developed, much of the obloquy heaped upon them would be spared. They had obeyed the call of their sovereign from a sense of duty; they had not sought office from an inordinate thirst of power; they had not been hostile to that extended administration which the noble lord

declared to be what the country expected; but they could not conſiſtently with their public feelings refuſe their ſervices at a moment when they were called for by the ſovereign, at a difficult and trying criſis. He conjured their lordſhips not to liſten to a propoſition for repealing the bill at the time that it was beginning to produce its effects. There were now nearly eight hundred thouſand men in arms, beſides nearly one hundred thouſand engaged in commerce or other employments, which took them out of the way of the recruiting ſervice; an impulſe had been given to that ſervice by the bill, and to repeal it would be to weaken that reſource.

The earl of Suffolk declared, that he could not diſcover from the documents on the table where that large increaſe to our military force was ſtated. To talk of the effects of zeal and perſonal influence in inſuring the ſucceſs of the bill was nugatory. The experiment had been found inefficient for that end, in proof of which he ſtated, that in the diſtrict in which the perſonal influence of the right honourable author of the meaſure chiefly lay, only ſix out of the quota of five hundred men had been obtained. (Here the duke of Clarence intimated by a whiſper to his lordſhip that inſtead of ſix, only *one* man had been found, as a ſort of Chriſtmas box, or new year's gift.) If our force was really ſo much increaſed as had been deſcribed, the merit of the augmentation reſted with the late adminiſtration, and not with the preſent.

Lord King was anxious to know on what grounds miniſters reſted the merits of the bill? Whether they meant it as a bill for recruiting our army or for raiſing money? If they deſigned it for raiſing men, it was clear from the returns on the table that it had completely failed. Miniſters by oppoſing its repeal certainly viewed it as a bill for raiſing money. The failure of the bill in producing the quotas required muſt be felt highly oppreſſive in many parts of the country. In the county of Surrey, the fines for deficiencies amounted to upwards of 21,000*l*. Such fines impoſed a burden on the landed intereſt greater than the property tax. Miniſters, inſtead of recruiting the regular army, had their whole attention occupied with catamarans, or other equally futile experiments.

The earl of Weſtmoreland thanked the noble lord who had brought forward the motion, for the opportunity of diſcuſſing the merits of the bill, and the charge of imbecility brought againſt the preſent miniſters. Without a proviſional force, his Majeſty's crown would not be ſafe on his head, nor would the country be ſecure againſt a ſudden attack of a deſperate, malignant and enterpriſing enemy. So far as the bill went to form and organiſe ſuch a force, he could not conſent to its repeal. The bill was but now coming into full activity, and therefore to propoſe the repeal of it was contrary to every principle of juſtice as well as expediency. His lordſhip was much ſurpriſed at the language he had heard reſpecting the right honourable author of this meaſure. Formerly they deſcribed him as poſſeſſed of every talent, and capable of every exertion. Like Jupiter, he was repreſented by them as pervading and directing every part of the political machine. Now, however, he was fallen from his high eſtate, and diveſted of all his powers. Perhaps the noble lords imagined that, unattended by thoſe who formerly moved round him, no longer ſupported by his ſatellites, he had loſt all claim to reverence, and the paragon of excellence and power was converted into a mere image of imbecility. They could beſt explain this unaccountable language, and beſt deſcribe the grounds of the new connections they had formed. But while noble lords were anxious to get rid of the meaſure, he wiſhed to know what they had to ſubſtitute for it? Not, ſurely, the ballot, which on all ſides was allowed to be impolitic; not the army of reſerve, the expediency of ſuſpending which had been admitted. Our army, his lordſhip inſiſted, was on a reſpectable footing. In no war had England ever ſuch an army two years after its commencement.

Earl Spencer thought the queſtion lay in a very narrow compaſs. He had formerly ſtated his objections, and he aſſuredly was an advocate for the repeal of the bill, as he was ſure ſuch a repeal was founded on reaſon, juſtice and policy. The only point in which the bill was to be viewed was as a bill for raiſing money. In this light he had no difficulty in pronouncing it unequal and oppreſſive. The fines were levied excluſively on lands and houſes, which was contrary to that radical principle of juſt taxation that public burdens ſhould fall equally. His lordſhip diſclaimed all idea of renouncing any of the principles which had ever regulated his public life. It would be time enough to accuſe him of inconſiſtency when any proofs of it appeared in his conduct. The proſperity and honour of his country was his glory, that he purſued, and he diſclaimed any connection which had not that object in view.

Lord Sidmouth ſaid, that when the bill now propoſed to be repealed was pending in parliament he had not been ſo ſanguine as ſome of his friends, as to the advantages to be derived from it; and he thought, ſo far as the bill had been tried, his fears had been but too well founded. He regretted that he was called upon to give an opinion in ſupport of a bill of which he continued to diſapprove; but he thought the honour and conſiſtency of parliament were committed not to repeal any of its acts on the ground of their being ineffectual to the end for which they were enacted, till their effects were fully tried. And could it be ſaid that the knowledge of the houſe on the ſubject of the preſent act entitled them to ſay that it had

had failed in its operation? It might have failed in ſome reſpects; but had it ſo failed as to induce parliament to put a ſtop to it, and try its effects no further? If it was once proved that the act was inadequate to the purpoſe of raiſing men, after the compulſory enactments had been tried, it would be unjuſt to continue it, as it would degenerate into a tax on land. The volunteer force of the country was ſuch as it would always have to depend on as its greateſt boaſt and glory. The grateful and ſpontaneous tribute of a free people, to a free government. He concluded with repeating that if the object of the bill could not be accompliſhed, none would feel more ſtrongly than himſelf the injuſtice of continuing it.

The duke of Clarence took a view of the deficiencies in the different departments of our force at home and abroad at the preſent period, which, he ſtated, amounted to eighty-ſix thouſand three hundred and ſixty men: this circumſtance afforded a ſpecimen of the efforts of our miniſters, who, in addition to it, had plunged us in a new war, at the very commencement of which, they had been guilty of an act of piracy.

Lord Grenville viewed the bill as a miſchievous tampering with our military ſyſtem. He expreſſed his decided diſſent to raiſing the men for rank: this was a ſyſtem which he would ever deprecate, and one of which he could but ſpeak with the moſt painful ſenſations. Feeling as he did with reſpect to ſuch a ſyſtem, he could not ſee without regret from the papers on the table, that ſome men had been raiſed under it. There had been ſo much confuſion and perplexity in conſequence of the frequent and rapid ſucceſſion of changes that of late years had taken place in our military ſyſtem; a great degree of jealouſy, diſtruſt, and uncertainty prevailed among that claſs of men who generally entered into the army. The repeal of this bill would not, as was pretended, involve the neceſſity of reſorting again to the army of reſerve act. The queſtion upon the whole was ſhortly this: Was an additional force neceſſary, or was it not? If it was, the bill was uſeleſs towards obtaining it; and if it was not neceſſary, to allow this bill to continue was pregnant with miſchief and danger. With theſe impreſſions before me, added his lordſhip, I have thought it unneceſſary as well as improper, to argue this meaſure on perſonal grounds; I have ever cautiouſly avoided that mode of treating any public queſtion. I am accuſed of having paſſed my life in terms of intimate friendſhip with a perſon of great weight and high rank; and having acted for many years in concurrence with him, againſt an oppoſition, comprehending perſons of great ability and conſideration in the country. To this accuſation I plead guilty. I have lived from early years in habits of the warmeſt friendſhip with the right honourable gentleman alluded to, and I do not think there is any thing in the preſent ſituation of affairs, that is likely either on his part or on mine to diſſolve that friendſhip.

Lord Hawkeſbury ſaid, that the meaſure had been adopted by parliament; it had laid the baſis of a ſyſtem for the recruiting of the army; and being ſanctioned, it ought to be preſerved, unleſs ſomething much more advantageous could be ſubſtituted in its place. The act had not ſtood a fair trial. It had been paſſed amidſt much heat of party.

The lord Chancellor approved of the bill: a more uſeful meaſure, he was ſatisfied, never had obtained his concurrence. He thought it had not been fairly tried, and that the pecuniary penalties ſhould be enforced.

The houſe divided, when there appeared,

For the repeal of the bill -	45
Againſt the repeal -	113
Majority - -	68

The conſideration of the alledged charges and complaints againſt Mr. juſtice Fox, was brought forward by the marquis of Abercorn in the houſe of lords, on February 18, being the day fixed for appointing a committee for that purpoſe.

Lord Grenville expreſſed his regret that ſevere indiſpoſition prevented him from attending when the ſubject was laſt before the houſe, as he wiſhed to deliver his ſentiments on a ſubject unprecedented, and of ſuch importance. This was the firſt occaſion which rendered it neceſſary for their lordſhips to exerciſe ſuch a juriſdiction ſince the act of William III. which rendered the judges independent of the crown, and reſponſible in the firſt inſtance only to parliament. In creating a precedent their lordſhips ſhould act with great caution, to guard againſt any embarraſſment in their own proceedings, as well as avoid claſhing with the forms which the other houſe of parliament might think fit to adopt, particularly in a caſe where the concurrence of both houſes was indiſpenſible to found proceedings for an addreſs to his Majeſty for the removal of the judge, ſhould ſuch charges be ſubſtantiated againſt him. Though the agreement of both houſes was indiſpenſible, yet each houſe had a right of itſelf, and independent of the other, to adopt ſuch proceedings in the firſt inſtance as it thought fit, without any conſultation with the other houſe. On this ſubject there were two modes of proceeding equally open; the one was by voting an addreſs to his Majeſty at once for the removal of the judge; the other by impeachment for high crimes and miſdemeanors: the former might be adopted by either houſe; the latter only by the commons, in appeal to their lordſhips as the ſupreme court of judicature. His lordſhip thought the moſt regular mode of proceeding would have been, that the proceedings ſhould have commenced in the houſe of commons as the grand inqueſt of the nation, which in that caſe would perform the office of a grand jury, by inveſtigating

tigating the charges, and thus ſeeing how far they were to be followed up with any reſolutions and appeal to their lordſhip's concurrence. He wiſhed their lordſhips to ſuſpend their proceedings on this buſineſs, and would move "that the order for the committee be poſtponed for ſix weeks."

Lord Hawkeſbury ſeriouſly wiſhed the noble lord had taken an earlier opportunity of ſuggeſting his propoſition. After conſiderable delay, he could by no means accede to protract a buſineſs of ſuch importance to the judicial character in Ireland, to the public in that country, to the cauſe of public juſtice, and to the feelings of judge Fox himſelf; it was requiſite that deciſion ſhould take place with as much expedition as poſſible conſiſtent with the ends of public juſtice.

Lord Carliſle obſerved, that the great object to be deſired by the houſe was public and ſpeedy juſtice; and he was fully perſuaded the mode pointed out by his noble friend was the beſt calculated to procure that end, free from any embarraſſment.

The lord Chancellor felt himſelf bound on the part of the judges of the land, to thank their lordſhips for the zeal they had manifeſted in carrying into actual effect the ſtatute for ſecuring the independence of the judges; and with reſpect to further proceedings, he ſhould feel it neceſſary to move that they be poſtponed till Thurſday.

The duke of Clarence wiſhed to know what was to be the next ſtep of the proceeding.

The lord Chancellor in reply ſaid, that it was to be a diſcuſſion in aid of a motion for an addreſs to his Majeſty for the removal of the judge if proofs ſhould be made to juſtify ſuch a motion.

The committee was adjourned to Thurſday, February 21, on which day his royal highneſs the duke of Clarence addreſſed the houſe: He ſtated that it was with great reluctance that he addreſſed their lordſhips; but he thought it his duty to call their attention to the proceedings againſt Mr. juſtice Fox. He deprecated the idea of party feeling mingling in a queſtion of ſuch a nature; for his own part, the firſt knowledge he had of the individual was when the buſineſs was firſt brought forward laſt ſeſſion. He then moved that the committee be poſtponed for ſix weeks. After a debate of conſiderable length, the houſe divided with a majority againſt the duke of Clarence's motion.

On Monday, February 18, in the committee of ways and means, the chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward the budget. He began by calling the attention of the committee to the branch of the naval ſervice, for which 14,146,000*l.* had been voted; a ſum which very conſiderably exceeded the grant of the laſt year, excluſive of the extraordinaries of the navy. The next ſubject was the charge of the army, for which ten millions and odd ſums had been voted, under the heads of guards, garriſons, plantations, &c. There would then remain two other ſeparate charges; the one was the eſtimated charge for our great volunteer force, which he calculated at 1,100,000*l.* and the other was the charge of the extraordinaries of the army, which would amount to 3,000,660*l.* The total therefore of the army charge would be found to be 14,778,000*l.* exceeding by 300,000*l.* the grant of laſt year. For Ireland, under the ſame head of guards, garriſons, &c. the ſum voted was 2,738,000*l.* and the charge of the volunteer force 300,000*l.* The ordnance charge voted for England, amounted to 4,246,000*l.* that of Ireland in the laſt year was upwards of 4,000,000, but was increaſed this year by the addition of about 700,000*l.* making it in the whole 4,846,000*l.* miſcellaneous ſervices in England amounted to 750,000*l.* and in Ireland to 650,000*l.* round numbers, making a total of miſcellaneous ſervices of 1,400,000*l.* Theſe were the great heads of joint charges upon Great Britain and Ireland, the ſum total of which was 39,559,000*l.* There was another point which eſſentially concerned our intereſts, and was of the higheſt importance to the country at the preſent criſis, for the ſecurity of this kingdom, and the independence of Europe in general. It had been already ſtated to the houſe, that his Majeſty's government was at preſent engaged in confidential communications of the higheſt conſequence with ſome of the great powers of the continent, with a view to the ſerious conteſt in which we were at preſent engaged. Whenever peace could be obtained on thoſe ſolid grounds of ſecurity, without which it was neither deſirable or neceſſary, he ſhould be happy: but knowing what we did know, and having ſeen what we have been compelled to witneſs, no rational expectation could be indulged at preſent of a ſolid and permanent tranquility, without further efforts on the part of Great Britain, and of all powers intereſted to obtain the repoſe of Europe. When the matter he now adverted to came before the houſe, he ſhould enter more fully into the details; but feeling as he did that the houſe would recogniſe the principles of the conduct he had in view; he was confident that they would concur with him in the neceſſity of providing the means to afford a pecuniary aid to promote that co-operation which was ſo much to be deſired; and in the view of which, he conſidered it as a duty incumbent upon him to provide a ſum to an extent of not leſs than five millions. This ſum, added to the charges he had before ſtated as matters of joint concern to Great Britain and Ireland, would make up an amount of 44,559,000*l.* Of this, a proportion of two ſeventeenths were, according to the terms of the union, to be defrayed by Ireland; and, in addition to that, two ſeventeenths of the charges on the civil liſt, and the other charges on the conſolidated fund. After the deductions to be made for what was chargeable upon Ireland, the amount payable by Great Britain was 39,166,000*l.*

But

But there were ſome other charges which he ſhould now ſtate. In the firſt place, there was a ſum of one million odd, not yet voted, to diſcharge an account between the public and the Eaſt India company, of which he ſhould at a future period lay the particulars before the houſe. At preſent he conſidered it only neceſſary on this head to vote one million on account. There was next a ſum of 414,000*l.* on the awards reſpecting American claims. Mr. Pitt then proceeded to notice the deficiency of the conſolidated fund in the laſt year, when five millions were voted over and above 500,000*l.* then outſtanding. But he could not for a moment ſuffer himſelf to conſider this as in any reſpect a diſcouraging feature in the view of our financial affairs. The deficiency, when compared to the grant, amounted to the ſum of 2,800,000*l.* making a ſeparate charge upon England of 4,534,000*l.* This amount, added to the proportion chargeable on Great Britain, which he already had ſtated to the houſe, would make up the ſum of 43,690,000*l.* He then directed the attention of the houſe to the ways and means for the preſent year. The ſurplus of the ways and means of laſt year amounted to 123,646*l.* The total of the grant, with the further aid of 931,000*l.* was 12,025,000*l.* ſuppoſing it to have been called for by the firſt of September, 1804. The whole ſum of money uſed was 11,888,000*l.* but there was an increaſe in the navy of 104,000*l.*; the navy debt, however, was much leſs than on former occaſions. He then proceeded to take a review of the ſtate of the growing produce of the conſolidated fund; and upon a minute and careful examination, he found the average of three years to be 28,199,000*l.* He eſtimated the income of the conſolidated fund upon a variety of calculations at 32,381,000*l.* of which the permanent charges are upwards of 26,000,000*l.* the expences of the civil liſt 900,000*l.* and of the courts of juſtice 300,000*l.* &c. A diminution had taken place in ſome particular branches of the revenue; thoſe of malt, ſpirits, tea and wine. On the latter article, a duty had been impoſed, with the expectation of an increaſe. Upon a full view of the ſubject, it was his intention to propoſe, upon a future occaſion, to make the wine duty permanent. He ſhould now only propoſe a vote of four millions on the conſolidated fund. The next ſubject he adverted to was the property duty and the other war taxes; theſe were calculated before at nine millions. He ſhould not, however, feel himſelf juſtified in taking them at more than 8,300,000*l.* and he thought it was a very gratifying ſubject to the feelings of the country that they ſhould realize ſo nearly their eſtimated amount. The property tax had been calculated to produce upwards of 4,700,000*l.* but he found that, after making all proper allowances, he ſhould take a ſafe eſtimate of it at 4,600,000*l.* It was painful for him to find himſelf under the neceſſity of calling upon the houſe for the impoſition of new war taxes; but it was of the higheſt importance to keep up that ſyſtem of taxation by which ſo great a proportion of our ſupplies in the time of an arduous conteſt had been raiſed within the year, the principle of which had been ſo generally approved, and the advantages of which were ſo ſignally felt; a ſyſtem of which the benefits were ſo obvious, as the houſe had already ſeen, and would ſee in a ſtill ſtronger point of view, when he came to ſtate the terms of the loan he had concluded, and compare it with other previous loans of recent date. In the firſt place then, he ſhould propoſe an increaſe of the exiſting property duty, which he intended ſhould be augmented by one fourth, or three-pence in the pound. This was calculated to produce the ſum of 1,110,000*l.* and would therefore make the taxes within the year amount to 15,750,000*l.* He ſhould alſo propoſe a lottery, which he eſtimated to produce about 300,000*l.* To theſe he had to add the loan of twenty millions for England, and two millions for Ireland. By the terms of the loan he had concluded a capital in the three per cents would be created of 170*l.* for every 100*l.* borrowed, which would amount to 10*l.* leſs than that which was created by the loan negociated laſt year. He came now to the annual charge incurred by this loan, together with the leſſer conſideration of the loyalty loan, which was 1,537,000*l.* The means by which he propoſed to meet the expence thus incurred were, firſt an increaſe of duty in the department of the poſt office, of one penny on each ſingle letter; a duty of one penny on all letters ſent from the two-penny poſt-office, beyond the delivery of the general poſt, and alſo a further duty of two-pence upon all foreign letters, and all letters brought by packets: the eſtimate he had made of the produce of theſe taxes was 230,000*l.* He then propoſed an additional duty on ſalt, which he ſhould increaſe from ten to fifteen ſhillings per buſhel: this would bring in 490,000*l.* The next tax was upon horſes, thoſe uſed for pleaſure, and thoſe employed in agriculture; on the former, a duty of forty-eight ſhillings each horſe; on the latter, one pound. The laſt tax he wiſhed to bring forward was on legacies, and this he eſtimated would produce 30,000*l.* He cloſed with enumerating the eſtimate of each tax to form the aggregate ſum.

Poſt Office duties -	£230,000
Salt - - - -	490,000
Ditto exported - -	76,000
Pleaſure horſes - - -	110,000
Huſbandry ditto - -	320,000
Direct legacies - -	200,000
Legacies charged on land	100,000
Ditto to ſtrangers - -	30,000
Total	1,556,000

On February 22, Mr. Windham made his propoſed

poſed motion reſpecting the defence of the country. He wiſhed a committee to be appointed to review the ſeveral acts paſſed laſt ſeſſions for that purpoſe, and to conſider ſuch further meaſures as might be neceſſary to make that defence more compleat. The preſent were like the antient feudal times, when men could not go out to plough without taking care to be prepared for battle; when men could not go to ſleep without the precaution of having their ſwords under their pillows. We lived in times when war was the great concern of life, when chancellors of the Exchequer and officers of ſtate were made colonels and commanders, and attornies and ſolicitor generals captains of companies. He adverted to the variety of military eſtabliſhments; it was not becauſe there were light troops and heavy troops, troops of the line, troops on horſeback, infantry on foot, or volunteers in carts; they might all have their particular ſervices, but it was to their being on different eſtabliſhments that he objected to them. But perhaps it might be ſaid, they were for home ſervice, and that it was neceſſary to have one ſort of troops for one ſervice, and another for a different ſervice, like the man who had a great hole for his great cat, and a little hole for his little cat. He thought the volunteer ſyſtem was radically bad: the country had not yet ſeen the volunteers either under the circumſtances of a general election, or a general ſcarcity. He conſidered the volunteer ſyſtem as altering the civil character of the people of this country; it tended to diſturb the relations of civil life, filled men's minds with pride, preſumption and arrogance; it contributed to bring down the high and exalt the low: the toe of the peaſant came too near the heel of the courtier. This ſyſtem operated to the injury of ſociety, perverted the characters and feelings of the people, deſtroyed that dignified reſpect which was once the boaſt of the country, and prevented the homage paid to rank from being conſidered as the tribute to imputed virtue. The volunteer corps might do a great deal of good; they alſo might do a great deal of harm. The queſtion was, whether it would not be better for the country to have the raw material, the natural man, to diſpoſe of in the beſt way? It might be ſaid a piſtol was better than a bludgeon; true, but the piſtol might miſs fire, and then the bludgeon was better than the piſtol. It was not putting a red coat on a man, giving him a feather in his cap, and cheering him with military muſic that made him a ſoldier. He had been told that he might ſee volunteer corps as well diſciplined, dreſſed as well, and march as well as the regulars. They might be like the regulars when you looked at them; a picture of a man might be like a man: he had heard of a picture that looked like a bunch of grapes; but though it deceived the eye of the bird, it was not palpable to its beak. It was not right to judge of things by appearances; ſo to judge, was to view with the eye of a child, who miſtook painted devils for real ones. It was impoſſible to make an army out of a painted army, or what merely looked like an army; it was not men that made an army, but diſcipline: you might as well ſuppoſe that flour and eggs and ſuet and plums would make a plum pudding, as that men alone would make an army. The action of the fire and water was neceſſary to make the excellent production to which he had alluded; juſt as the act of diſcipline and ſubordination was neceſſary to the conſtitution of an army. He conſidered the military defence of the country to be like the bow of Ulyſſes, at which all the ſuitors of government wiſhed to have a pull. A right honourable gentleman on the Treaſury bench had ſoon ſhot his bolt when he put himſelf in the attitude of ſhooting; the arrow dribled and trembled, and like what was deſcribed in the Dunciad, "It roſe, ſoon fell, and reach'd a curve at moſt." It had been argued, that the army of reſerve provided men for the regular army; it was clear that all the recruits for the regular army came from the army of reſerve; for they could come from no where elſe. It might juſt as well be ſaid that all the members of this houſe came from the lobby; the lobby muſt be a ſtrange place to produce ſo many members; but if it was conſidered that they could not enter the houſe without paſſing through the lobby, the wonder ceaſed. Of that bill it might be ſaid, Why ſpeak againſt it, when no perſon was arguing in its favour. In fact the bill was ſuppoſed to be dead and gone. What harlequin had ſaid of his horſe might be applied to it:

One fault it had, a fault indeed;
Why what was that?—The horſe was dead.

But ſtill a hope remained; the humane ſociety had not done with it; whether it was to be revived or not, they could not ſay. Mr. Windham concluded with moving that the act of laſt ſeſſion be ſubmitted to the conſideration of a committee.

Mr. Canning oppoſed the motion. Sir W. Young ſupported it. The houſe divided:

For the motion - - - -	96
Againſt it - - - -	243
Majority againſt	146

CHAP. VIII.

Affairs of France.—Letter of Bonaparte to the King of Great Britain.—Inauguration of Bonaparte's Statue.—Inſolvency of the Dutch Government.—Affairs in America, Eaſt and Weſt Indies.

IT is a circumſtance worthy of obſervation, that as ſoon as Napolean Bonaparte had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed firſt conſul of the French government,

vernment, he immediately addreſſed a letter to the king of England, making overtures for peace; and no ſooner was the imperial diadem placed on his head than he purſued a ſimilar mode of conduct. His grand and ſecret aim in this, as well as on the former occaſion, appears to have been merely a political manœuvre to ingratiate himſelf with the French nation; to exhibit a ſpecious repreſentation of the juſtice and moderation which governed his actions to the continental powers; while the mode in which he conducted this mock negociation was a daring and inſolent attack upon the dignity of that monarch whoſe ambaſſador he had recently treated with inſult.*

A deputation of twenty members was appointed to carry up an addreſs to his Imperial Majeſty on the ſubject of this communication. M. Segur, in preſenting the above addreſs made a ſpeech to his Majeſty, at the cloſe of which he ſaid, "It only remains for French bravery to diſplay its whole energy, and to triumph at laſt over the eternal enemy of the liberty of the ſeas, and the repoſe of nations." The honours conferred on the new emperor was truly characteriſtic of the ſervile adulation of the French nation. The legiſlative aſſembly relinquiſhed the gravity of its character to join in frivolous ſcenes of mirth, and to worſhip at the ſhrine of the new monarch. A buſt of Bonaparte had been placed in the hall; and on January the 15th there was a grand gala, and a ſolemn inauguration of the buſt in the legiſlative aſſembly; on this occaſion M. Vaublanc and M. Fontaine made pompous ſpeeches in praiſe of the emperor and empreſs.

In the ſitting of the 16th, Regnaud de St. John d'Angely and Segur made a propoſal in the legiſlative aſſembly for the making a new great ſeal of ſtate, bearing on one ſide the effigies of the emperor ſeated on his throne, dreſſed in his imperial robes, having the crown on his head, and the ſceptre and balance of Juſtice in his hands: on the other, the imperial eagle crowned, repoſing on the thunder.

While the Pariſians were burning incenſe to their new ſovereign, the ſituation of the United Provinces, or rather the Belgian republic, was ruinous in the extreme. The conduct of the French troops in Holland became very deſpotic. The French general Frere ſeized a waggon laden with ſpecie to a very large amount on its road from Amſterdam to Hamburgh, alledging that the money was intended to be ſent to England. The merchants to whom the property belonged applied to general Frere, and produced documents that the money was not deſigned to be ſent to England: the general offered to reſtore it, on condition that a handſome doucour ſhould be given to his troops for their trouble. This the merchants reſiſted as a lawleſs impoſition, but were at laſt obliged to compromiſe with the general. The French troops made a ſeiſure of all Engliſh manufactured goods, and ſold them by auction; general Marmont's groom being the auctioneer. A guard of French ſoldiers attended at this cuſtom houſe, to prevent tumult during the ſale. But more ſerious calamities awaited this unhappy and devoted country. The legiſlative aſſembly of the ſtates came to a reſolution, declaring that the Dutch government was reduced to the neceſſity of ſtopping payment of the public annuities: the reſolution ſtated the cauſe of the bankruptcy to be, the nation being involved in the preſent war with Great Britain through their connection with France, and that the aſſembly being compelled either to call on the public for a contribution of one *per cent. per* month, or to ſuſpend the payment of the public annuities, deemed the latter the leaſt grievous of the two evils. On this occaſion M. Vanhaſſel, one of the members, made a moſt eloquent and intereſting ſpeech on the paſſing the reſolution above ſtated, in which he openly aſcribed the bankruptcy of the country, and all its calamities to the tyranny and extortion of the French, and to the unhappy conſequences of connection with France.

The attention of the American ſtates had been lately engaged in a ſeries of enquiries into the conduct of ſome of its judicial officers.

Nothing could equal the ſenſation produced throughout the United States by the unfortunate duel in which general Hamilton fell, and the grief which his death produced. In ſeveral of the ſtates reſolutions were entered into againſt duelling, and a general ſpirit was excited againſt a practice which had ariſen to ſuch a height that threatened to be attended with conſequences utterly deſtructive of domeſtic peace or public tranquility †.

Judge Pendeton was tried on December 11, for aiding and abetting in the ſaid duel, and was found guilty: and W. P. Vanneſs, Eſq. was alſo tried and convicted, for alſo aiding and aſſiſting, and being the bearer of the challenge. Mr. Jefferſon was again elected preſident, and Mr. Clinton, formerly governor of New York, vice preſident, in the room of Aaron Burr, Eſq. Mr. Pinkney, and Mr. C. King were the unſucceſsful candidates for this high honor.

The military operations in the Eaſt Indies were favourable to the Britiſh nation. The Calcutta Gazette contained an account of a gallant piece of ſervice performed by our troops in India. On the 16th

* It is very evident, not only from the extraordinary manner in which this letter was tranſmitted, but from the language of the letter itſelf, that peace was not the object Bonaparte wiſhed to obtain by it. Had he been ſincere, ſome notice as an "*amende honorable*," would have been taken of the ſeizure of the Britiſh miniſter. The deſign evidently appears to have been to form a ſubject impreſſing the French nation with an idea of the hoſtile ſentiments of the court of St. James's.

† The Memorial of the repreſentatives of the ſtate of ſouth Carolina on this ſubject, is an able and maſterly compoſition.

of

of May, 1804, lieutenant colonel Don took the fort of Rampoona, by forcing the gates with cannon. A battalion of the enemy were poſted outſide of the works; but, by a ſkilful movement, the communication between theſe troops and the fort was cut off, and moſt of them, together with thoſe who fled from the fort, were cut to pieces on the plain by the third regiment of cavalry, commanded by major Doveton. This great ſlaughter was owing to their refuſing quarter on condition of laying down their arms. The enemy's force was about eleven hundred; there were about fifty of them killed on the works and in the town, and nearly four hundred by the cavalry. The loſs of the Britiſh was, Europeans, one lieutenant, one corporal, one gunner, and one matroſs wounded; natives, two bavildars, one niack, and nine ſepoys killed, and fifty-two wounded: lieutenant Borleau was the wounded officer. On the 21ſt of May, a body of Predatory horſe, amounting to five thouſand, made an incurſion into the province of Bandelcund; a detachment under the command of captain Smith had proceeded to attack a fort about five miles from Koach: on the morning of the 22d, the Predatory horſe cut off part of this detachment. Captain Smith, with five companies of ſepoys remaining, retreated with the loſs of one man only to colonel Fawcett's camp: the ſame horſe afterward attacked the town of Calpic, and attempted to croſs the Jumna, but were repulſed with loſs by two companies of ſepoys, commanded by captain Jones; and were again defeated by colonel Shephard on the 30th of May. The important fortreſs of Hingler's Ghur was taken on the 2d of July, by a detachment under the command of general Monſon. This poſt was occupied by Holkar and his family for the laſt fifty years, and was viewed as impregnable, being ſurrounded by a ravine two hundred and fifty feet in breadth and two hundred in depth, with three cauſeways of great ſtrength.

CHAP. IX.

Naval Intelligence.—Loſs of the Abergavenny Eaſt Indiaman, &c.

IN reciting the naval events of the month of February, 1805, we have the melancholy taſk of narrating an occurrence of the moſt afflicting and calamitous nature. On Friday, February the 1ſt, the Abergavenny, captain Wordſworth, ſailed from Portſmouth, in company with the Royal George, Henry Addington, Wexford and Bombay caſtle, for the Eaſt Indies, under the convoy of the Weymouth frigate. The weather proved very unfavourable after their ſailing, and the wind being ſtrongly adverſe, induced them to ſteer for Portland Roads. After combating a ſevere gale of wind (during which they parted convoy) the five Indiamen reached the entrance of the roads, when the Wexford having been appointed commodore, made ſignal for thoſe ſhips which had pilots on board to run for port. At this period the Abergavenny had not been ſupplied with a pilot, and therefore was compelled to wait a few hours for that purpoſe. After three P. M. having obtained one, ſhe bore up for Portland Roads. At this time, the weather had become more temperate; no danger was apprehended, as perfect confidence was placed in the pilot. In a few minutes, however, an awful change enſued; the ſhip ſtruck on the ſhambles of the Bill of Portland, about two miles from the ſhore. Captain Wordſworth and his officers were yet of opinion that the ſhip might be got off without ſuſtaining any material damage, and accordingly no ſignal guns of diſtreſs were fired for upwards of an hour and a half. During the whole of this time the people were free from alarm, and unfortunately lulled in falſe ſecurity; the moſt eſſential precaution in time of danger was overlooked, namely, hoiſting out the boats, to be ready to take the crew on ſhore, in caſe of neceſſity.

About five P. M. the aſpect was dark and gloomy, and ideas of approaching danger alarmed the ſhip's company; dreadful ſenſations were experienced, when the carpenter announced that a conſiderable leak was diſcovered near the bottom of the chain pumps, which it was not in his power to ſtop, the water guſhed in ſo faſt. The pumps being all in readineſs, were ſet a-going, and a part of the crew endeavoured to bail her at the fore hatch, but all in vain. At ſix P. M. the loſs of the ſhip appeared inevitable; yet the captain and officers were firm, cool and deliberate in the meaſures they purſued; they were far from ſhrinking from the perils around them, giving their orders with promptitude, and ſupporting due ſubordination. As night advanced, the ſituation of all on board became terrible. The Miſs Evans's requeſted permiſſion to be ſent on ſhore; but this was impoſſible. It was as much as all the ſhip's company could do to keep the veſſel afloat. In order to induce the men to uſe their utmoſt exertions, the officers ſtood by, cheering and encouraging them, and ſupplying them with liquor. At ſeven P. M. the ſhip's company being almoſt exhauſted with fatigue, freſh ſignal guns were fired, and Mr. Mortimer, the purſer, was diſpatched in one of the ſhip's boats, with all the papers and diſpatches: the third mate, a couſin of the captain, accompanied the purſer with ſix ſeamen. One boat came off from the ſhore, which took on board the Miſs Evans's, Miſs Jackſon, Mr. Rutledge, and Mr. Taylor, a cadet, all paſſengers. Mrs. Blair, an elegant and accompliſhed lady, who was companion to the Miſs Evans, in ſpite of all entreaties, remained on board. About nine o'clock, P. M. ſeveral boats were heard at a ſhort diſtance from the ſhip; but they rendered no aſſiſtance

The Loss of the Abergavenny East India Man off the Isle of Portland

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ance to the diſtreſſed on board, on what account has not been aſcertained. The dreadful criſis was now approaching; every one on board was aſſured of his fate. Some were raving with deſpair, others endeavoured to collect themſelves for prayer and meditation. At ten o'clock, the ſhip began to ſink, and as ſhe went down, confuſion began to prevail. A number of the ſailors begged ardently for more liquor, and when it was refuſed they attacked the ſpirit room, but were repulſed by their officers: one of whom was ſtationed at the ſpirit room door, with a brace of piſtols, to guard againſt ſurpriſe, and there remained while the ſhip was ſinking. A ſailor was extremely ſolicitous to obtain ſome liquor from him, ſaying "It will be all as one an hour hence." "Be that as it may (replied the officer) let us die like men." It is unaccountable, that during all this diſtreſs, the boats were never attempted to be hoiſted out. About two minutes before the ſhip went down, Mr. Bagot, the chief mate, went to captain Wordſworth, and ſaid "We have done all we can, Sir, ſhe will ſink in a moment:" the captain replied "It cannot be helped, God's will be done." When the paſſengers and crew were acquainted with their ſituation, they made ſeveral efforts to ſave their lives; ſome laid hold of pieces of the wreck, and committed themſelves to the mercy of the waves. Mr. Forbes, one of the paſſengers, plunged into the ſea, and being an excellent ſwimmer, was picked up by the boats near the ſhore. A great number ran up the ſhrouds. At about eleven o'clock, a heavy ſea gave the veſſel a ſudden ſhock, and in an inſtant ſhe ſunk twelve fathoms in water. Many of the unfortunate perſons who had run up the ſhrouds for ſafety were unable to ſuſtain the motion of the veſſel in going down, and ſuffered with their unhappy companions below. Between eighty and ninety perſons however were ſtill able to maintain their ſituation, and were ultimately ſaved.

When the ſhip ſunk, ſhe did not go down in the uſual way that veſſels do, by falling firſt upon her beam ends: this deviation was ſuppoſed to have ariſen from her being laden with treaſure and porcelain ware. She had 70,000*l.* on board in ſpecie; the crew conſiſted of one hundred and ſixty men, and there were between fifty and ſixty paſſengers; the reſt were recruits for his majeſty's ſervice: about thirty China men were alſo on board. The total number of the drowned was eſtimated at three hundred. Several boats were heard paddling about the wreck about half paſt eleven o'clock; and although they were hailed by the unfortunate ſufferers, they could not be prevailed on to take them on ſhore: the reaſon which was afterward aſſigned for this apparently barbarous conduct was, that they were fearful that every perſon on board being eager to ſave himſelf, the whole would attempt to jump in, overload the boats and ſink them. About twelve o'clock, a ſloop that had been attracted to the ſpot by the ſignal guns came to anchor cloſe to the ſhip, ſent a boat and took off all the perſons who were above water, about twenty at a time, and conveyed them to Weymouth. So far were the people from crowding improperly into the boat, that they got off the ſhrouds one by one, and then only as they were called by the officers who were with them.

When it was ſuppoſed that every perſon was brought off, and the boat about to depart for the laſt time, a perſon was obſerved nearly at the top of a maſt in the ſhrouds; he was called to, but did not anſwer: one of the officers, much to his credit, returned, and there found a man in an inanimate ſtate, ariſing from the piercing cold weather. The officer brought him down on his back, and took him aſhore.

The whole cargo of the Abergavenny was eſtimated at 200,000*l.* Nothing was ſaved except the diſpatches and ſome valuable prints which had been ſent out for general Lake. Captain Wordſworth, at the moment the ſhip was going down, was ſeen clinging to the ropes. Mr. Gilpin, one of the mates, uſed every perſuation to induce him to endeavour to ſave his life, but in vain, he did not appear deſirous to ſurvive the loſs of his ſhip. Captain Wordſworth was a man of uncommon ſerenity and even temper; his manner were mild, and his diſpoſition benevolent. He was generally ſtyled by his crew "the philoſopher."

In addition to the above dreadful cataſtrophe, we have alſo to record the loſs of the Doris frigate, captain Campbell, on the night of January 12, 1805. The Doris was proceeding to Quiberon bay, through the Bene guet paſſage; ſhe ſtruck upon a ſunken rock, called "the Diamond Rock," and in conſequence made ſo much water, that captain Campbell was obliged to throw all her guns overboard, and every weighty article. The weather moderating, they gained upon the leak, and in the evening ſhe ſailed for England with a fine breeze. In the night, however, it blew hard with a heavy ſea, and the water guſhed in with ſuch violence, that every exertion to keep it under was ineffectual. In this ſituation, the captain finding it impoſſible to keep her above water, determined to abandon her, and bring her to anchor. The ſituation of the crew was now very critical. Happily a Daniſh brig was drifted in by the tide, and part of the crew were put on board her, with orders to proceed for England; the reſt, including the captain, and moſt of the officers, in all one hundred and ſeventeen, got on board the Felix, with a few portable articles. Captain Campbell then ſet the Doris on fire; in a ſhort time after the magazine blew up, and the ſhip immediately ſunk.

From the contemplation of ſuch melancholy events, we haſten to record the captures made of the enemy's ſhips in different parts of the globe by the enterpriſing gallantry of our ſailors, who triumphantly

waved the Britiſh flag on the ocean. The following appeared in the Gazette.

Captain Wallis, of the Swan cutter, captured the Flip, Dutch privateer, of eighteen men. The intrepid captain Owen, of his majeſty's ſhip Immortalité, in a letter dated January 29, ſtates that he purſued a diviſion of ſeventeen brigs, three ſchooners, four ſloops, a dogger, and ſix luggers, off Boulogne; and though he was cloſe enough to exchange ſhot with them, yet the wind and lee-tide enabled them to haul cloſe to the beach and part; in that manner one lugger was cut off by the Harpy.

Captain Nourſe, of his majeſty's ſhip Barbadoes, captured l'Heureux, a French privateer ſloop, of ten ſix-pounders and eighty men.

Captain George Cadogan, in a letter to ſir Samuel Hood, informs him that on November 11, 1804, he had taken le Buonaparte, a privateer brig, pierced for twenty-two guns, mounting eighteen long French eight-pounders and one hundred and fifty men. This capture was after a ſhort chaſe and running fight of thirty minutes. Captain Cadogan's ſloop, the Cyane, ſuſtained little damage, and only a few men were hurt by the exploſion of a cartridge on the main deck.

Lord Robert Mark Ker, captain of his majeſty's ſhip Fiſgard, in a letter to Mr. Marſden, dated December 22, 1804, mentions his capture of a French letter of marque frigate, le Tigre (formerly the Angola from Liverpool) pierced for ſixteen guns, fourteen of which were mounted, having on board forty men. She had previouſly captured an Engliſh brig.

Captain Poynts, of the Melampus, off Uſhant, fell in with and captured two brigs and four luggers belonging to the enemy; and captain Nicholſon of the Friſk hired cutter, obſerving ten ſail of the enemy's gun boats and luggers paſſing through the paſſage du Raz, he immediately gave chaſe, took a lugger, and ſent her into Plymouth. She mounted one long twenty-four pounder with twenty-five men.

CHAP. X.

Opening of the London Docks.—Deſcription of them.—Royal Feté at Windſor.—Judicial Occurrences.—Commercial and Agricultural Reports.—Miſcellaneous Incidents.—Arts, Sciences and Literature.—Biography.

ON the 31ſt of January thoſe ſtupendous and beautiful works, the London Docks, were opened for the reception of veſſels. At an early hour a vaſt crowd of all ranks of people aſſembled to witneſs this grand ſight. The engineer having previouſly made every neceſſary arrangement, the brig Perſeverance, captain Clerk, a Liverpool veſſel, prepared for entering the docks. She was decorated with the colours of every nation that has its ſtandard floating on the ocean. Preciſely at one o'clock, the outer gate of the baſin was opened, and as the veſſel was towed in, the event was announced by the diſcharge of ſeveral pieces of cannon from the wharfs and ſhipping near the ſpot; the band on board played "God ſave the king," and the Eaſt India company's volunteers greeted them with "Rule Britannia." At twenty minutes before two the inner gate was thrown open, and the veſſel was hauled into the great dock. The directors of the company, with the ſurveyor of the works, accompanied by ſeveral friends, went on board the veſſel. After the mooring of the brig, which was received with loud acclamations, the company retired, gratified with as magnificent a ſight as the firſt commercial city in the world could exhibit.

The lord mayor of London, the aldermen, and the whole of the corporation attended in their municipal robes, adding to the ſplendor of the ſcene.

The quays belonging to this magnificent undertaking are of immenſe length, with a ſhed over the front, for covering goods as they may be landed. The baſon, when filled to its regular extent, will admit veſſels drawing eighteen feet of water. The great dock is twenty-nine feet deep, twenty of which are filled with water. Its ſuperficial contents amount to twenty-four acres, and it is capable of containing two hundred ſail of merchantmen at one time.

On the ſpacious quay at the north ſide of the dock, there are five diſtinct piles of buildings, each containing ſix diviſions of warehouſes. The cellars are ten feet high, and compleatly arched over, with an earthen flooring, beat down to equal the firm ſubſtance of brick, which is three feet above the level of the water.

At the mouth of the outer baſon is a ſwivel bridge of caſt iron, conſtructed ſo as to open in the middle; alſo a floating bridge at the entrance of the dock below hermitage bridge. From a moſt minute ſurvey of theſe magnificent works, it is evident that the ingenious and able architect, J. J. Rennie, Eſq. has ſeduloufly aimed at blending, and ſucceeded in the accompliſhment of a work which at once unites ſimplicity and grandeur of appearance, and which may be juſtly viewed as a *chef d'ouevrê* of its kind.

The vacancy in the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury was filled up this month by the elevation of Dr. Charles Manners Sutton to the primacy. Sir Thomas Manners Sutton, the archbiſhop's brother, was about the ſame time made a baron of the Exchequer.

On Monday, February 25, their majeſties gave a feté at Windſor, which exceeded in ſplendor and magnificence any that had ever taken place ſince they came to the throne. It had been in contemplation ever ſince they firſt went to reſide in the caſtle, when his

his majeſty determined to give what is generally denominated among good old Engliſh cuſtoms "a houſe warming." The expenditure on this occaſion was at leaſt 50,000*l*. Mr. Gilbert, of Cockſpur Street, prepared a ſervice of plate, valued at 20,000*l*. Three hundred and ninety perſons were invited to this fete. The earl of Wilton came to London from his ſeat in Lancaſhire on purpoſe to be preſent, and many other noblemen from diſtant parts of the kingdom. His majeſty having a great attachment to the muſical works of the immortal Handel, the oratorio of Eſther was fixed upon to be performed on this occaſion. At eight o'clock, the concert commenced in the queen's anti chamber, which was illuminated with two elegant ſilver chandeliers, holding twelve candles each. The oratorio finiſhed about ten o'clock; the ball then commenced; the room was illuminated with three very large ſilver chandeliers, eight candles in each; the ſilver of each weighed about one hundred and twenty pounds. The attention of the company was directed to the very grand appearance of four ſilver tables, between each window; two of them came from Hanover; one was preſented by the corporation of London to king William III. and the other by the ſame body to queen Anne. The magnificent effect of the tables was conſiderably heightened by a moſt elegant pier glaſs over each table with ſilver frames. This room might juſtly be called the ſilver room, for large and very elegant ſolid ſilver dogs were uſed in the fire place for burning wood inſtead of coals. Dancing concluded before two o'clock, when ſupper was announced. Their majeſties and the royal family ſupped in the guard room: the table was elevated upon a temporary platform raiſed about ſix or eight inches from the floor. Two tables were laid on each ſide the room, which held about ſixty perſons each. The plate on the royal table was ſolid gold, and ſilver at the other tables. The preſence chamber was moſt beautifully illuminated; two tables were there laid which accommodated eighty of the young gentlemen of Eton ſchool. His majeſty condeſcended to go to the college to invite them. The young gentlemen were furniſhed with new cloaths for the occaſion, and were waited upon by the royal ſervants dreſſed in their court liveries. All the royal family were preſent excepting the Prince of Wales and duke of Clarence. The new ſervice of plate uſed on this feſtive occaſion was of ſuch enormous weight that three waggons were employed to convey it to Windſor. The king walked about the greater part of the evening, converſing with his gueſts.

In the court of King's Bench, on February 12, Mr. Herriot, the editor and proprietor of the Sun and True Briton newſpapers, Mr. Taylor, another proprietor, Mr. Harris, printer, and others, for a libel againſt the earl of St. Vincent. The offenſive paragraph was inſerted in both papers, September 17, 1803, aſſerting as a fact "that it was two months after the commencement of the war before any orders were diſpatched from the Admiralty to the naval commander in the Indian ſeas; and that our officers abroad have, from the criminal negligence in certain public departments, been left pretty much to their own diſcretion." They were brought up to receive the judgment of the court, the ſentence of which was, that Mr. Heriot be impriſoned in the King's Bench three months; Mr. Taylor to pay a fine of forty marks. Mr. Heriot was alſo ſentenced to a ſimilar puniſhment, for the ſame libel in the Sun, and Mc. Millan and Scripps the printer and publiſher, to one month's impriſonment in the King's Bench.

During this month the price of ſtocks was low, but not ſo conſiderably as might have been expected from the removal of the proſpect of peace, and the addition of a new loan of ſo many millions to the funded debt of the nation. The loan was taken by an union of the principal diviſions of the monied intereſt, at a ratio equal to 99 in conſols, for all the conſols and reduced three per cents, in which this ſtock is funded.

The 20th of February was the day appointed by royal proclamation for national faſting and humiliation, and was obſerved with every exterior mark of piety and devotion. The royal family attended divine ſervice at St. George's chapel, Windſor; the houſe of peers at Weſtminſter Abbey, where a ſermon was preached by Dr Dampier, biſhop of Rocheſter: the houſe of commons attended at St. Margaret's, and heard a ſermon by the Rev. Mr. Hall: the lord mayor, ſheriffs, and aldermen went to St. Paul's cathedral. The faſt day afforded the volunteer corps of the metropolis an opportunity of proving that the ſyſtem, ſo far from being on the decline, continued as vigorous as ever; all the churches in the city and throughout the kingdom were crouded with them; forming an impreſſive and intereſting ſpectacle.

The attention of the public had for ſome time been conſiderably excited by the foundation of a ſchool for the inſtruction and education of youth, on a new and very comprehenſive plan. Joſeph Lancaſter, a quaker, a man of enterpriſe, was the author of this undertaking. He at firſt erected a ſmall houſe with a few adjoining tenements, in the vicinity of St. George's Fields; he opened it as a free ſchool of inſtruction "on the firſt day of the week, commonly called Sunday." He adopted a method of teaching peculiar to himſelf, and the education being alſo gratuitous, became ſo popular, that in a ſhort time he enlarged his premiſes, and had ſeveral hundred pupils under his care. The ſingular economy and apparent utility of this inſtitution occaſioned it to be viſited by many perſons of rank and faſhion. Mr. Colquhoun, the magiſtrate, was ſo delighted with the plan, views, and manner of conducting this ſeminary, that he inſtantly opened one at Pimlico at his

his own expence. The counteſs of Harcourt alſo eſtabliſhed a ſimilar one.

The expences of this ſchool induced Joſeph Lancaſter to ſolicit a general ſubſcription for its ſupport, to which numbers of the nobility, biſhops, clergy, and even the royal family, contributed. It may afford ſome entertainment to the reader to record the ſpeech Mr. Lancaſter delivered when introduced to his majeſty:

"Permit, O king, one of thy faithful ſubjects to offer his ſincere wiſhes for thy beſt welfare and preſervation. May that divine hand which hath been with thee through many deep trials and afflictions, be ſtill about thy houſe, thy path, thy bed, and all thy ways, and may peace and righteouſneſs be multiplied to thee and thy family."

The Catholics of Ireland had long been endeavouring to emancipate themſelves by procuring an entire repeal of the penal laws which peculiarly affected them. They had preſumed that in conſequence of the union their claims would have been attended to. A meeting of the principal catholic noblemen and gentlemen of Ireland to conſult meaſures for obtaining this object, lord Fingal preſided. A petition was reſolved upon, to be preſented to Mr. Pitt by a few gentlemen deputed for that purpoſe; who were inſtructed that, in caſe he declined to patroniſe it, to wait upon other gentlemen, to be laid before both houſes of parliament. Lord Fingal, ſir Thomas French, ſir Edward Bellew, Dennis Scully, and James Ryan, Eſq. were appointed to proceed to London and preſent the petition.

At the commencement of the drawing of the firſt ſtate lottery this year, the magnificent Shakeſpear Gallery, founded by alderman Boydell was diſpoſed of. The chief prize in this lottery, compriſing the gallery, containing the whole of the pictures, together with all the eſtate, right and intereſts of Meſſrs. Boydells in the premiſes, fell to the lot of that ingenious artiſt, Mr. Taſſie, of Leiceſter-Square*.

In the preſent refined Æra of knowledge, every month unfolded ſome new diſcoveries and improvements in arts, manufactures and ſciences. To record them is a pleaſing, as well as an important branch of the duty of an hiſtorian.

While deſolation and carnage was furiouſly raging among the continental powers abroad, Great Britain, though involved in a cruel war, enjoyed a ſtate of halcyon peace; commerce flouriſhed, manufactures proſpered, the arts were cultivated, and the ſciences encouraged and protected. That learned body, the Royal Society of London, publiſhed a volume of their proceedings, conſiſting of nine papers, each of them replete with the moſt intereſting information. Six related to chemiſtry; the reſt were as follow:—one on mathematics, by Mr. Woodhouſe; another on natural hiſtory, by Dr. Ruſſel; and a third, by Dr. Herſchell, on the changes of ſituations of double ſtars.

Improvements in manufactures were daily increaſing; among which we mention the inventions of Mr. Edward Martin, of Morriſton, Glamorganſhire, for making pig iron and caſt iron from iron ſtone, and for making ſuch pig and caſt iron into wrought iron, by uſing raw ſtone, to be worked and made by blaſt. Mr. Robert Cameron, of Clerkenwell, for improvements in ſawing machines, and for a new method of working ſawing machines. Mr. Steers, for an engine producing a force by the impetus which the parts of a fluid body have to an equal altitude: applicable to the working of all ſorts of machinery.

Mr. Joſeph Steevens of Garlick Hill, invented an inſtrument for equaliſing the preſſure and efflux of non-elaſtic fluids with more facility than ever before attempted. This inſtrument operated by means of the reaction of the atmoſphere.

The ſociety for promoting diſcoveries in the interior of Africa, having again engaged Mungo Park, Eſq. to explore that remote part of the globe, that enterpriſing traveller ſailed from Portſmouth in the Eugenia, captain Webb, towards the ſouthern part of the continent. The object of this ſecond expedition was to eſtabliſh, if poſſible, commercial connections between ſome of the principal African towns and this country.

Among the diſtinguiſhed characters who died at the commencement of this year, we ſhall firſt notice the right honourable Thomas Harley. This gentleman, who made a conſpicuous figure in the political world, was the fourth ſon of the earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and was born 1730. He received his education at Weſtminſter ſchool, and was at an early age placed under the care of a reſpectable merchant in the city. Here he acquired the elementary principles of commercial knowledge, for which he was afterward juſtly celebrated. At the general election in 1761, he was ſelected by his fellow citizens to repreſent them in parliament, in the room of Sir John Barnard; and the ſame year was elected alderman for Portſoken ward. In 1763, he was choſen one of the ſheriffs for the city of London and county of Middleſex; and being placed in that important office, fulfilled its duties in a dignified manner. The criſis was very delicate: the times were of peculiar difficulty, and amidſt the moſt tumultuous ebullitions of popular frenzy, he was elected chief magiſtrate of the metropolis in 1768. The whole of his conduct through his

* Mr. Caldwell was the original holder of the ticket; but having purchaſed two, he diſpoſed of one to Mr. Taſſie, which proved to be the number entitled to the capital prize in the lottery.

mayoralty

mayoralty * was marked with decided firmness and intrepidity. So highly were his ſervices appreciated, that he received the thanks of the houſe of commons for his able conduct, and was appointed a member of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council: an honour which for centuries paſt had not been conferred on a lord mayor of London †. Mr. Wilkes himſelf, who cannot be ſuſpected of partiality in his judgment of alderman Harley, was frequently heard to bear honourable teſtimony to his public conduct. In 1774, in conſequence of ſtrong ſolicitations from his friends and family, he became a candidate for his native county, Hereford: having failed in his firſt attempt, he again offered himſelf in 1776, upon Mr. Foley being created a peer. After a ſevere and expenſive ſtruggle he obtained, by a large majority, this favourite object of his ambition. In 1802, he ſignified his intention of reſigning his ſeat in parliament, in conſequence of his advanced age and infirmities; and on this occaſion he received from his conſtituents an honourable atteſtation of their cordial eſteem. In 1785, he became ſenior alderman, or father of the city. He was greatly engaged in commercial concerns, which were of an extenſive nature: he had alſo for ſome years a conſiderable contract under government; but in the year 1797, when the critical and awful ſituation of public affairs had given a ſhock to public credit, and even in ſome meaſure communicated to the bank of England, Mr. Harley was compelled to relinquiſh all his commercial concerns. The moſt liberal offers of pecuniary aid were made to him, but declined; and having made a voluntary aſſignment of his real and perſonal property (ſhould it be wanting) for the payment of all his partnerſhip demands, he had ſoon the heartfelt ſatisfaction of ſeeing them diſcharged in their fulleſt extent, both as to principal and intereſt. This honourable conduct ſo endeared him to his fellow citizens, that he was earneſtly ſolicited to offer himſelf a candidate for the lucrative office of chamberlain of the city, vacant by the death of Mr. Wilkes, which offer he declined. He ſoon after removed from London to his eſtate in his native county, which he had conſiderably enlarged and improved; and here, after a ſevere and long protracted illneſs, he breathed his laſt. Alderman Harley was frequently expoſed to inſult and oppoſition, from a lawleſs mob. While the North Briton was burning, when ſheriff, he was violently and tumultuouſly aſſaulted; and, in 1776, as he was going to St. James's with the lord mayor and aldermen to preſent an addreſs to his majeſty on the birth of a princeſs, he was even forcibly torn from his chariot, and prevented from proceeding to St. James's. To his conduct in public life, thoſe well known lines of the Latin poet might juſtly be applied to him:

" Juſtum et tenacem propoſiti virum, &c."

Charles Townley, Eſq. F.R.S. This gentleman was eminently attached to the ſtudy of antiquities. His houſe in Park Street, Weſtminſter, was almoſt entirely filled with rude and antique fragments of Egyptian architecture, intermixed with ſome of the moſt beautiful ſpecimens of Greek and Roman models. His collection of antient medals was extremely valuable; and among his MSS. one of Homer was collated in a late edition. His Etruſcan antiquities have been illuſtrated by D'Ancarville. He left by will 4000*l.* to build at Standiſh a muſeum to receive his valuable collection of ſtatues, marbles, coins, and MSS. which were to go to the Britiſh Muſeum, if the bequeſt was not complied with.

Captain Jervis, nephew of the earl of St. Vincent, and treaſurer of Greenwich Hoſpital, was unfortunately drowned off Breſt, in going in his boat from the Tonnant to the San Joſeph. The people who were in the boat with him, excepting one man, were all ſaved. The cockſwain ſupported him until his ſtrength was quite exhauſted; but being a good ſwimmer aſcended the ſurface, and was picked up. Captain Campbell, of the Doris, who accompanied him, eſcaped only by ſuſtaining himſelf with an oar, until he was taken up by another boat. Captain Jervis was an officer of firſt rate talents, and of a generous diſpoſition: he was univerſally beloved in the navy.

Dr. John Robiſon, profeſſor of natural philoſophy in the univerſity of Edinburgh, died at that place early in February. Profeſſor Robiſon acquired great celebrity by his reſearches reſpecting the ſect of the "Illuminati," founded by D'Alembert, Voltaire, Condorcet, and others. He was formerly director of the marine cadet academy at Cronſtadt, in Ruſſia; a ſituation which he filled with credit to himſelf, and ſatisfaction to the Ruſſian government. While at Cronſtadt, and during his travels in Germany, he procured that information relative to baron Knigge, and the revolutionary ſyſtem of the Illuminati, which formed the baſis of his celebrated work on that ſubject. The effects produced by that work, and the abbé Barruel's Annals of Jacobiniſm, were extenſively felt in exciting a deteſtation of jacobinical principles. He had laboured under a painful and diſtreſſing diſorder eighteen years, the nature of which was

* Happy would it have been for the metropolis if, during the dreadful riots in 1780, the civic chair had been filled by a magiſtrate of equal firmneſs and abilities as alderman Harley!

† We believe never ſince the time of Sir William Walworth.

never diſcovered, and which he endured with great fortitude. He was appointed profeſſor of chemiſtry to the univerſity of Glaſgow.

William Cunningham, of Magerabay, near Dromore, in Ireland, the ſelf-taught poet, died alſo at this time. His hiſtory evinces the aſtoniſhing powers of genius in the untutored mind. He might be denominated the Bloomfield of Ireland. He was a poor weavers' boy, and received his education at one of the biſhop of Dromore's public Sunday ſchools, where, by reading ſuch books as he could borrow, he made ſo conſiderable a progreſs that, in the autumn of 1800, he preſented the biſhop with a copy of verſes, requeſting ſome books. The biſhop, ſtruck with the marks of genius diſplayed in this poem, reſcued him from the loom, and placed him in the Dioceſan ſchool at Dromore, where, in about two years and a half, he had read all the Latin and Greek claſſics. Being thus qualified to ſuperintend the education of youth, which had been the ſubject of his purſuit, he was received early in 1804 as an aſſiſtant teacher in the academy of the reverend Dr. Bruce, of Belfaſt. Here he continued till the ſymptoms of a faſt approaching conſumption obliged him to return to his mother's houſe at Hilſborough. Sir George Atkinſon, an eminent phyſician at that place, attended him gratis; but his caſe was too critical for the ſucceſsful exertions of medical ſkill: he died in the twenty-fourth year of his age.

CHAP. XI.

State of Europe, March 1805.—*New Conſtitution of Holland.—The Emperor Napoleon declared King of Italy.—New Organization of the French Marine.—Affairs of America.—Eaſt and Weſt Indies.*

GREAT as the military talents of Napoleon Bonaparte unqueſtionably were, his ambitious projects would have frequently been defeated, had they been left to the guidance of his own judgment. There was a wheel within a wheel, a ſecret hand which directed the operations of the cabinet at St. Cloud, which planned the deſign of ſubverting one empire, and erecting another: and deviſed, with Machiavelian policy, the impervious but ſure means of accompliſhing events of ſuch daring enterpriſe. To the ſuperior talents and profound wiſdom of Talleyrand*, was Bonaparte indebted for thoſe meaſures which had paved the way for the Imperial diadem to be placed on his head, and which was finally to terminate in univerſal monarchy. The deluded and unhappy inhabitants of the United Provinces were groaning under the weight of French oppreſſion: that republic which had been eſtabliſhed in oppoſition to the tyrannical bigotry of Philip II. of Spain: that republic which had been founded and ſupported by the illuſtrious princes of Naſſau, whoſe navies had been triumphant under Van Tromp and De Ruyter, was now dwindled to a political non-entity. Helvetia had bravely defended its primæval rights; but Holland had made a free ſurrender of them. A new ſyſtem of government was prepared for Batavia, and the period was arrived for its developement.

On March 15, in the legiſlative aſſembly at the Hague, a letter was received from the directory of ſtate, propoſing, 1. That the new plan of conſtitution for the Batavian nation ſhall be laid before the people for their aſſent, or diſſent: provided, 2. That on the eventual acceptance of it, the propoſition ſhall at the ſame time be made to the Batavian people to accept as penſionary Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck, inveſted with ſuch power and authority as is preſcribed in the conſtitution: and, 3. That the directory of ſtate ſhall ſubmit the one and the other to the Batavian people. This letter was referred to a committee of nine members, among whom was Delange van Wingaerden. The propoſition was ordered to be printed. The new organiſed conſtitution was divided into eighty-ſeven articles: the ſubſtance of which was, the republic to be divided into eight departments, and again divided into diſtricts. No eccleſiaſtics of any perſuaſion ſhall be eligible to offices of political government. The military only to have a right to vote at the place of their eſtabliſhed reſidence. The title of their legiſlative body to be their High Mightineſſes repreſenting the Batavian Commonwealth, and who were to be ſtiled High and Mighty Lords. The ſovereignty of the people to be repreſented by that aſſembly, with the penſionary. The aſſembly to enact laws; to conſiſt of nineteen members, to be elected every three years; and to be nominated by the departmental governments. The penſionary to open the aſſembly of their high mightineſſes, when they proceed to the election of

a preſident

* It may not be unpleaſing to the reader to contraſt the conduct of this apoſtate prieſt with the virtues of one of his anceſtors. Talleyrand is of a moſt noble and illuſtrious family: of whom were the antient counts of Perigord. Cardinal Talleyrand Perigord was legate from Pope Innocent the Sixth to the court of France, at the time when the glorious battle of Poitiers was fought. The worthy cardinal uſed every effort to prevent the fatal effects which he perceived muſt reſult from the engagement. John was inflexible to every entreaty; he would hear of no terms unleſs the prince of Wales would ſurrender himſelf priſoner, with a hundred of his principal knights. The cardinal haſtened to the camp of Edward: "My ſon," ſaid he, "You muſt fight." "The will of God be done," replied the prince, "He will aid our cauſe." The cardinal loſt in this battle his nephew, Robert de Duras.

a preſident from their body. The aſſembly to be aſſiſted by a recorder; and the decrees of the aſſembly to be ſigned by the preſident, and counterſigned by the recorder. The members of the aſſembly to vote without being charged by, or conſulting with the departmental governments, to whom alſo they were not to be reſponſible for their conduct in the aſſembly. Members of the departmental government, ſecretaries of ſtate, or other officers under government, not to ſit in the aſſembly unleſs they have reſigned their poſts. The aſſembly to debate on no other ſubjects than thoſe ſubmitted to it by the penſionary: to conſent to or negative them, without making any change or modification. The law propoſed being carried in the affirmative, intimation of it to be immediately given to the penſionary: if negatived, the penſionary to be acquainted with ſuch rejection, and the reaſons for it. The aſſembly excluſively to deliberate on the general eſtimates of the public neceſſities, and all augmentations thereof to be laid before the penſionary. At his requeſt it has power to pardon, aboliſh, or remit any puniſhment inflicted by judicial ſentences. When not aſſembled, the penſionary is qualified to ſuſpend the execution of a ſentence; but obliged to communicate the circumſtance at the next general meeting. To that aſſembly excluſively was to belong the right of ratifying treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce; but the ſecret articles attached to ſuch treaty not to be comprehended in the ratification. The aſſembly to meet twice every year. It might be ſummoned to meet extraordinarily, as often as the penſionary might deem expedient. For indemnity, travelling expences, and reſidence at the place of meeting, the members to enjoy annually the ſum of three thouſand guilders. The penſionary, by virtue of the conſtitution, to repreſent their high mightineſſes in all that conſtitutes the government, and to exerciſe the executive power in their name. He is to be elected for five years by the majority of the nineteen members of the aſſembly, and may at any time be re-elected. He may reſign at pleaſure, and is to be ſucceeded *ad interim* by the preſident of the aſſembly of their high mightineſſes, whoſe duty it is to ſummons for the appointment of a ſucceſſor. The preſident in no caſe to exerciſe any legiſlative power, and is excluded from interfering in matters appertaining to judicial tribunals; nor is he to diſpoſe of the finances of the ſtate, but in conformity to law. He is to appoint a council of ſtate, compoſed of not leſs than five, or more than nine members; whom he is obliged to conſult, previous to laying a propoſed law before the aſſembly. He is to appoint a general ſecretary, and five ſecretaries of ſtate: all the officers of the army and navy, and all functionaries of the ſtate. The penſionary to have the chief direction of the national treaſure: to fix ſalaries and grant penſions, and to deliver annually a general eſtimate of the wants of the ſtate to the aſſembly. The penſionary to be adviſed to uſe every endeavour to augment the public revenue: to ſimplify every branch of adminiſtration, and to introduce every where the moſt rigid œconomy: to preſent new projects of laws for the improvement of the general mode of taxation, or the inſtitution of a general ſyſtem of finance: inſtead of the preſent departmental plan of taxation. Such were the outlines of this new conſtitution; in which, while the baſis of a regal government was firmly laid, yet the people were conciliated by an artful colluſion to their antient conſtitution, and the title of high mightineſſes, and high and mighty lords, again reſtored.

Not ſatisfied with the acquiſition of the Imperial diadem of France, Bonaparte was reſolved to make an augmentation of his title, and add another kingdom to his ſovereignty.

March 17. His majeſty being ſeated on his throne, ſurrounded by the grand dignitaries, the miniſters and great officers, and members of the council of ſtate; the grand maſter of the ceremonies introduced M. Melzi, vice-preſident of the Italian republic, attended by the ambaſſador, the miniſters, and the repreſentatives of the principal public bodies of that republic. M. Melzi addreſſed the emperor in a ſpeech, in which he declared the reſolutions of the Italian conſulta to be, "That the emperor Napoleon, founder of the Italian republic, be declared king of Italy. That the throne of Italy be hereditary from male to male, to the perpetual excluſion of females and their iſſue. That the crown of Italy ſhall not be united to the crown of France, except on his head. That this union be forbidden to all and each of his ſucceſſors: and that no one of them be allowed to reign in Italy, except he reſides on the territories of the Italian republic. That the emperor ſhall have a right to nominate during his life, a ſucceſſor among his legitimate male children, whether begotten or adopted. That the emperor be requeſted to repair to Milan, to take the crown, and give to the kingdom a definitive conſtitution, which ſhall guarantee to the people its religion and rights, both political and civil." Napoleon, in his anſwer, ſaid, "He ſhould hold this crown no longer than the intereſts of Italy required it; and that he ſhould with pleaſure ſee the moment arrive, when he could place it on the head of a younger perſon." Having deſcended from his throne, he withdrew to his cabinet, where he ſummoned the vice-preſident and members of the Italian republic to a council, which laſted ſome hours.

On the 18th a grand proceſſion took place at Paris, Napoleon was received at the outer gate of the palace by the ſenate, who preceded him to the New Hall, where his majeſty being ſeated, the maſter

maſter of the ceremonies ſummoned M. Semonville, and general Ferino, lately appointed ſenators, to take the oath, which was adminiſtered to them by the emperor. M. Maret, miniſter, ſecretary of ſtate, then read the following decree:

"SENATORS,

"The principality of Piombino, which France has for many years poſſeſſed, has been, during that time, adminiſtered without order, or any ſuperintending power. Lying in the midſt of Tuſcany, and ſeparated as it is from our other poſſeſſions, we have thought it right to eſtabliſh in it a particular *regime*. Piombino is intereſting to us, by the facility which it preſents for communicating with the iſle of Elba and Corſica, we have therefore thought it our duty to beſtow this country ſubject to the paramount ſovereignty of France, on our ſiſter the princeſs Eliza; conferring at the ſame time on her ſpouſe the title of prince of the empire. This grant is not the effect of private tenderneſs, but an act conformable to ſound policy, to the ſplendor of our crown, and to the intereſt of our people."

By an imperial decree the ſucceſſion was to be hereditary and the huſband of the princeſs Eliza to be ſtiled prince Piombino. M. Talleyrand, miniſter for foreign affairs, then read to the emperor in the ſitting of the ſenate, a long report on the new aggrandizement to his crown and dominions, in which he was frequently compared to Alexander and Charlemagne. The different authorities of the Italian monarchy having taken the oath of fidelity to the king, Napolean addreſſed them in the following ſpeech:

"Senators, We wiſhed on this occaſion to come amongſt you for the purpoſe of acquainting you what our thoughts are upon one of the moſt important objects of the ſtate. The ſtrength and power of the French empire are exceeded by the moderation which regulates our political concerns. We have conquered Holland, three fourths of Germany, Switzerland, and the whole of Italy: we have been moderate in the midſt of the greateſt proſperity; out of ſo many provinces, we have only preſerved thoſe which were neceſſary to keep us at the ſame point of conſideration in which France formerly was.

"The diviſion of Poland, provinces torn from Turkey, the conqueſt of India and almoſt all the colonies, had broken the general balance to our detriment; all that we have judged unneceſſary for the re-eſtabliſhment of this balance we have reſtored; and in doing ſo, we have acted conformably to that principle by which we have been always guided, never to take arms for the accompliſhment of vain projects of greatneſs, nor from the deſire of conqueſt. Germany was evacuated, its provinces were reſtored to the deſcendants of ſo many illuſtrious houſes, which were loſt for ever if we had not afforded them our generous protection. We have raiſed up and confirmed them; and the princes of Germany are at this day in a more ſplendid ſituation than their anceſtors ever were. Auſtria herſelf, after two unſucceſsful wars, has acquired the ſtate of Venice. At all times ſhe would willingly have exchanged the provinces ſhe has loſt for the Venetian territory. Holland was ſcarcely conquered when ſhe was declared independent; her union with our empire would have compleated our commercial ſyſtem; ſince the greateſt rivers of one half of our territory meet the ſea through Holland. Still Holland is independent, and its cuſtoms, its commerce, and its adminiſtration are directed by the will of its government. Switzerland was occupied by our armies; we defended it againſt the combined force of Europe. Its union would have compleated our military frontier; ſtill Switzerland governs itſelf by the act of moderation, and by the inclination of nineteen free and independent cantons. The union of the Italian republic with the French empire would have been advantageous for the advancement of our agriculture; nevertheleſs, after the ſecond conqueſt, we confirmed its independence at Lyons. We do more this day; we proclaim the principle of the ſeparation of the crowns of France and Italy, aſſigning for the period of that ſeparation, the moment when it ſhall become poſſible without danger to our people of Italy. We have accepted, and we will place on our head, the iron crown of the antient Lombards, for the purpoſe of new tempering it, to conſolidate it, that it may not be broken in the midſt of the tempeſts which menace it, ſo long as the Mediterranean ſhall not be reſtored to its priſtine ſtate. But we do not heſitate to declare, that we will tranſmit this crown to one of our lawful children, natural or adopted, the day when we ſhall be without alarm for that independence which we have guaranteed to the other ſtates of the Mediterranean.

"The genius of evil will ſeek in vain for pretexts to plunge the continent into war. That which has been united to our empire by the conſtitutional laws of the ſtate ſhall remain ſo. No new province ſhall be incorporated with it; but the laws of the Batavian republic, the act of mediation of the nineteen Swiſs cantons, and this firſt ſtatute of the kingdom of Italy are conſtantly under the protection of our crown, and we ſhall never ſuffer them to be attacked. In all circumſtances and in all tranſactions, we will diſplay the ſame moderation; and we hope that our people will have no longer occaſion to manifeſt that courage and energy which they have always ſhewn in defending their lawful rights."

At the audiences given by the emperor after his coronation many congratulatory addreſſes were preſented. That by the dean of the preſidents of the conſiſtories of the reformed church, was preſented by M. Martin, paſtor at Geneva, and is ſo remark-

able, as alſo the emperor's anſwer, as to merit inſertion:

"His majeſty has fulfilled the wiſh long ſince formed by the reformed churches of France, in enabling them to carry to the foot of the throne their homage, and the expreſſion of their ſentiments. It is with the livelieſt ſatisfaction that we come to expreſs to his majeſty for ourſelves, and for our churches, our reſpectful gratitude for the protection which he has hitherto granted to us, and the full confidence we place in the oath which he has taken in our preſence with ſo much ſolemnity, to maintain the liberty of worſhip; an oath that gives tranquillity to conſciences, and inſures the peace of the church. We hope that all the French of all communions, all of whom we regard as our brothers, feel as we do the value of this benefit. We will merit it by our gratitude, our fidelity, and our ſubmiſſion to the laws, of which we have uniformly given an example. May our fervent prayers draw upon his majeſty, upon the empreſs, and upon the princes of the imperial family, all the bleſſings of the king of the world!!! May his majeſty, after having done ſo much for his glory, add to it the title of pacificator of all Europe, and ceaſe to have any other way of exerciſing his virtues, except in contributing to the happineſs of his people, and augmenting the true glory of ſovereigns."

To this addreſs Bonaparte returned the following anſwer:

"I ſee with pleaſure aſſembled here the paſtors of the reformed churches of France. I ſeize with eagerneſs this opportunity to expreſs my ſatisfaction at the good fidelity and good conduct of the paſtors and citizens of the ſeveral Proteſtant communions. I wiſh it to be known that my firm reſolve and wiſh is to maintain the liberty of worſhip. The empire of the law ends where the indefinite empire of conſcience begins. Neither the law nor the ſovereign can do any thing againſt that liberty. Such are my principles and thoſe of the nation; and if any of my race who may ſucceed me, ſhall forget the oath I have taken, and, miſled by a falſe conſcience, ſhall violate it, I here devote him to public animadverſion, and I authoriſe you to give him the name of Nero!"

Bonaparte ſenſible of the ſuperiority of the Britiſh flag on the ocean, was ſedulouſly attentive to the ſtate of his marine force. Two large ſquadrons were laying at Rochefort and Toulon, ready to put to ſea, if favourable opportunity offered of eſcaping the vigilance of the Britiſh fleet. The French marine was alſo new organiſed; the office of high admiral, which had been filled by prince Murat, was aboliſhed, and the fleets in future were to be commanded by twelve vice and eight rear admirals.

While France was extending its conqueſts, and aggrandiſing its territories, the kingdom of Naples was a prey to anarchy, rapine and pillage; it was overrun with French troops, who cauſed the moſt cruel devaſtation wherever they went. Ferdinand, the imbecile monarch retired to Caſeria, whither his heroic queen was preparing to follow him.

In the American ſenate, the queſtion for the aboliſion of the ſlave trade was agitated, and after conſiderable diſcuſſion, the bill for its abrogation was thrown out by a conſiderable majority.

The Britiſh army in India received a check from the celebrated Holkar, attended with ſome very diſaſtrous circumſtances. The Calcutta Gazette detailed the following particulars of this unfortunate affair. Lieutenant-colonel Monſon marched with a view of communicating and co-operating with colonel Murray, who was on his march from Guzurat to attack the capital of Holkar's territories. Colonel Monſon's detachment, conſiſting of three thouſand men, was perpetually harraſſed in its march by the ſuperior force of the enemy. His ſituation was rendered more critical through a want of ſupplies, continued and heavy rains, which impeded his march and rendered the conveyance of the guns almoſt impracticable, and laſtly by treachery, ſome of his native officers having entered into a correſpondence with Holkar; two companies from one of the battalions, and a large party of the Hindoſtan cavalry deſerted him.

Amidſt ſuch a complication of diſtreſſes, it was aſtoniſhing that a ſingle man ſhould have eſcaped being made priſoner. After a march of above ſix weeks, however, colonel Monſon reached Agra, but ſo cloſely preſſed by the enemy, that the detachment was almoſt wholly diſperſed before the colonel arrived. The loſs in officers conſiſted of twenty-two. The priſoners were treated with great inhumanity by Holkar, who mutilated moſt of them. Colonel Murray was ſucceſsful in his march againſt Indore, the capital of Holkar's dominions, which ſurrendered without reſiſtance, on Auguſt 28, 1804.

General lord Lake arrived at Matura October 3, where Holkar had for ſome time been poſted: a few days, however, before lord Lake came up, Holkar ſent off his infantry and artillery to the northward. He advanced twice and engaged lord Lake's forces; but the cavalry put them to flight without any loſs being ſuſtained. On October 7, lord Lake marched to attack the enemy; they were driven from their ground and fled in all directions. Colonel Murray, who had been appriſed of his lordſhip's arrival at Matura, had advanced to a camp not far diſtant from Rutton to the ſouth eaſt. The troops of Holkar had been recently augmented by ſeveral French officers from the Mauritius, who had joined his ſtandard. This enterpriſing chief had lately been tampering with the Jeypour rajah, to induce him to betray the Britiſh officers in his ſervice; but the rajah diſmiſſed the propoſal with indignation. Holkar made ſimilar overtures to the chieftains of Oude with ſimilar ſucceſs. He was more fortunate in his endeavours to procure the intereſt of a Zemindar of great

great popularity, in the neighbourhood of Furrackabad, who aſſembled a new party in oppoſition to the Engliſh; but he was ſoon deſerted, and obliged to ſeek an aſylum in the Jungles. The emiſſaries of Holkar had alſo promoted diſſentions among the Poligards, one of whom in the neighbourhood of Dindigal, had taken the field, and committed great exceſſes. He was, however, defeated by a detachment of Sepoys, and driven into the woods.

The accounts received from the iſland of Ceylon repreſented that iſland to be ſtill the theatre of anarchy, cruelty and oppreſſion. The inhuman king of Candy, who had rendered himſelf univerſally execrated by his cruelties, was ſtill glutting his paſſion with inflicting puniſhment upon the unfortunate captives. Some he impriſoned, others he mutilated, and many were driven by his oppreſſion into acts of rebellion. Fear, the conſtant attendant upon guilt, had made the tyrant fortify his palace, and ſtrongly garriſon it; ſuſpicious of every one about him, he added to his dangers and embarraſſments by daily murders. Such was the anarchy and confuſion in the capital, that the villages were deſerted, the roads were rendered impaſſable by the bands of armed men, who, profiting by the weakneſs of the government, plundered and deſtroyed all around them.

The emperor of Hayti, the celebrated Deſſalines, had been defeated in his endeavours to conquer the Spaniſh part of St. Domingo. The Spaniſh ſettlers in the diſtrict of St. Jago repelled his attack with great ſpirit. Deſſalines, intoxicated with his elevated ſituation, had loſt much of his popularity; and as that diminiſhed he became barbarous and ferocious, while the attachment to Chriſtophe was daily increaſing. This man, who filled the offices of general of diviſion of the north, and chancellor of ſtate, was originally an Engliſh negro, being born in the iſland of St. Chriſtopher, from whence he takes his name. Before the revolution Chriſtophe kept a dram ſhop at the Cape; he then went ſeveral cruiſes in French privateers; he afterwards procured a commiſſion in the Brigand army, was promoted to the rank of a captain, then made commandant of the place, and ultimately conſtituted general of diviſion of the north.

CHAP. XII.

Parliamentary Proceedings.—Naval Artificers.—Defence of the Country.—Admiralty Board.—Mutiny Bill.—Debates in the Houſe of Commons.—On the Abolition of the Slave Trade.—New Taxes.—Catholic Petition preſented to the Legiſlature.

FROM the conſideration of important events abroad, we now turn our attention to domeſtic occurrences, and reſume the debates in the Britiſh ſenate.

The caſe of Mr. juſtice Fox occupied a conſiderable portion of the attention of the lords, as to the form of proceeding; a variety of motions were made on the ſubject, when, on the ſuggeſtion of the lord chancellor, the further conſideration was adjourned for a ſhort period.

Lord Forteſcue roſe in the houſe of peers, on March 6, to direct their lordſhip's attenton to a ſubject of very great importance, and on which he meant to call upon them to join him in an addreſs to his majeſty. His lordſhip then ſtated, that in the ſpring of the year 1801, he was called upon as lord lieutenant of the county of Devon, to interfere in ſome very alarming riots which had taken place; the oſtenſible cauſe for which was the high price of proviſions. Upon a very careful inveſtigation, however, he found that the real ſources of theſe diſturbances had no connection with the price of corn: he found that the artificers in the dock yard of Plymouth had entered into an extenſive conſpiracy, for the purpoſe of raiſing their wages. This conſpiracy was of a moſt dangerous nature; the mutineers had appointed delegates to meet perſons of a ſimilar deſcription from other dock yards; they had correſponding committees, and had eſtabliſhed all the machinery requiſite for enforcing their claims: they had alſo contrived to blend their cauſe with the popular clamour againſt the high price of corn, and had joined the populace in the riots. Under ſuch circumſtances, he informed a noble duke who was then ſecretary of ſtate for the home department, and a very extenſive correſpondence took place between him and the noble duke. The reſult of this correſpondence was, that he was directed to proceed in his inveſtigation, and the noble lord at the head of the naval department alſo ſent down to Plymouth a commiſſion of three of the navy board, with whom he was deſired to co-operate. The enquiry terminated in diſcovering a ſyſtem of combination in the dock yard of Plymouth, the continuance of which would have been pregnant with danger to the country. It was at laſt determined to diſmiſs more than a hundred of the artificers who were found to have been active in promoting the combination. When they were diſmiſſed, the precaution was taken to ſend liſts of their names, accompanied with a deſcription of their perſons, to each of the king's dock yards. The object of the motion he was about to make was in conſequence of ſome of theſe perſons having been lately received in the king's dock yards, and alſo in the merchant yards. His lordſhip concluded by moving, firſt, for a liſt of the names of the perſons diſcharged in 1801 from Plymouth dock yard. Secondly, for a liſt of ſuch perſons as had ſince been received into that or other royal dock yards.

Lord Melville wiſhed to know whether this motion was

was to be the ground of any further proceedings; if it was to be followed by other motions, he ſhould be glad to be informed of their nature, becauſe in that caſe he might think it neceſſary to lay other documents upon the table. In agreeing to the preſent motion, he therefore thought it neceſſary to enter his caveat, that if any further proceedings was intended, he reſerved to himſelf the right of producing any papers he might think neceſſary for placing the whole of the tranſaction in a clear and fair light. Having ſaid this much, he wiſhed to ſuggeſt to the noble earl, whether it was neceſſary to produce the names of all the perſons who had been diſcharged from the dock yard. He ſhould ſuppoſe it would be ſufficient if the return contained only the total number along with the deſcription of their perſons.

Lord Forteſcue thought he had diſcharged his duty by bringing forward his motion, he ſhould therefore not oppoſe the amendment.

Earl St. Vincent remarked that it appeared to him impoſſible the houſe could form any judgment on the ſubject unleſs the names were produced.

Lord Melville's amendment was agreed to.

On Friday, March 8, lord King made his promiſed motion on the defence of the country. After ſome remarks on the inefficacy of the former acts for that purpoſe, his lordſhip entered into a comparative view of the number and quality of the military force raiſed for the years 1804 and 1805, more particularly as to the amount of the Britiſh infantry. The military force upon the whole for the preſent year was perhaps much greater than it was the preceding one; but this, properly ſpeaking, was not an increaſe in the Britiſh infantry; on the contrary, it could be proved that there was a real decreaſe of that particular force, when compared with the total increaſe of the army. In effectually providing for a diſpoſable force, much attention ſhould be paid to the nature of limited and unlimited ſervice: that idea had been much dwelt upon of late; alteration from unlimited to limited ſervice had been ſtrongly recommended, and it would be wiſe and neceſſary to adopt it. Human nature revolted at the idea of being tied up for life; and beſides the natural reluctance to ſubmit to ſuch an impoſition of ſervice, it tended even to defeat the object for which it was enforced. Nothing ſo much contributed to deſertion, or ſo much obſtructed the recruiting. We need only look to the powers of the continent, to the armies they raiſed and kept entire, and we muſt be convinced of the benefit that would ariſe from imitating their example in that reſpect. There were other circumſtances which powerfully counteracted our means of raiſing a large diſpoſable force, among which he would mention the averſion of Britiſh ſubjects to ſerve in the Weſt Indies. There ſhould at leaſt be a rotation in that ſervice, or elſe the black regiments ſhould be increaſed. The houſe muſt be ſenſible of the total inadequacy of our preſent military ſyſtem, and he ſhould therefore move, that a committee be appointed to reviſe all the bills that were paſſed to this effect laſt ſeſſion, and to conſider of ſuch means as might render our military eſtabliſhment more perfect and compleat.

Lord Camden was of opinion that great advances had been made towards perfecting our military ſyſtem during the laſt year. With regard to the Weſt India regiments, he perfectly coincided with the noble lord, and as far as any improvement could be followed up, it ſhould have his ſupport.

Lord Stanhope ſaid that the acts of laſt ſeſſion were oppreſſive, miſchievous and abſurd. The whole of our military ſyſtem led to conſequences the moſt alarming; it inflicted fines and penalties on perſons the moſt unblameable; and how were farmers to be indemnified, but by raiſing the price of all ſorts of proviſions?

Lord Romney obſerved that as to the meaſure under diſcuſſion, it might be true that it did not anſwer the ſanguine expectations of its framers; neither did it deſerve the character given of it by its oppoſers. If it was to be amended or repealed, he ſhould wiſh the propoſal to that effect ſhould come from the right honourable gentleman who brought it forward, and in whoſe abilities he had great confidence.

The earl of Carliſle expreſſed his decided approbation of the motion. The army of reſerve act, which had originated under lord Sidmouth's adminiſtration, had produced ſeveral thouſand men; the produce of the ſcheme of the preſent chancellor of the Exchequer had been conſiderably leſs; and he ſhould not be ſurpriſed, if ſome ſtill more ſublime genius ſhould ariſe and propoſe a plan, the reſult of which ſhould be abſolutely nothing. The praiſe demanded by miniſters ſeemed to be in an inverſe proportion to their ſucceſs. It reminded him of the line in one of Dryden's tragedies, where a lover exclaims "My wound is great, becauſe it is ſo ſmall;" on which a wit who was preſent cried out "Then "'twould be greater, were there none at all." As for the apology that the act had not received a fair trial, his lordſhip deſired the houſe to recollect that the act was introduced for the expreſs purpoſe of raiſing an immediate and powerful force.

Lord Hawkeſbury oppoſed the motion as pregnant with injury to the country. He contended that the military force was at preſent ſuperior to what it had ever been ſince Great Britain was a nation. The population of the united kingdom amounted to fifteen millions; the uſual calculation was that about one fourth of a population were capable of bearing arms, which would be three millions ſeven or eight hundred thouſand men. The number of men in arms in this country, not including volunteers, but men totally withdrawn from civil life, and excluſively employed in the military and naval ſervice, was

was very nearly four hundred thouſand men, being one man in ten of our male population. Now let us look to the continent, the population of France amounted to thirty-two millions, the fourth of which was eight millions: her whole force, naval and military did not exceed five hundred and ſixty thouſand men, which was not one man in fourteen of her male population. His lordſhip entered into ſimilar calculations on the force of Ruſſia and Auſtria, proving that the latter was as one to fourteen of her male population, and the former as one to thirteen. The country which approached the neareſt to Great Britain in this reſpect was Pruſſia. If ſuch was the compariſon when only that part of our military force was taken into calculation which was entirely abſtracted from the civil concerns of life, what would be the reſult, when to theſe was added the whole body of volunteers, amounting at leaſt to three hundred and ſixty thouſand men? We ſhould then find that one man in four of our male population was actually engaged in the defence of the country; a proportion he believed to be greater than ever exiſted in the moſt turbulent periods of the French revolution, even in the reign of the tyrant Robeſpierre, when the apprehenſion of the guillotine crowded the ranks of the Gallic armies.

Lord Suffolk condemned the practice of taking the beſt men from the militia after gentlemen had beſtowed their time and trouble in training them.

The duke of Montroſe, defended his majeſty's miniſters; for he could conſider this motion in no other view than a motion for an addreſs to remove them. He inſiſted that his majeſty's miniſters had not been tardy; but that much had been done for the defence of the country.

Lord Carysfort could not admit that miniſters had a right to take credit for the ſpirit and reſources of the country they governed further than as they had well directed and managed them. The ſpirit and reſources of the Britiſh empire were ample means in the hands of the preſent miniſters for producing every thing great; but inſtead of doing juſtice to thoſe means, they had prevented their effects. He reſpected the volunteer ſyſtem; he was a volunteer himſelf, and had been one in another part of the empire ten years before any of the noble lords oppoſite had come into office. But the government had no right to claim credit for a ſyſtem which the country had adopted of itſelf. The government had in fact damped that ſpirit by its regulations. His lordſhip was of opinion that the character of the country was but ill ſupported, ſince we had been three years at war, and had been contented with mere defence.

Lord Weſtmoreland aſſerted that the military ſtate of the country was amply ſufficient to juſtify his majeſty's government, and to hold out the moſt ſatisfactory expectations to the country. He wiſhed the noble lords oppoſite would propoſe the plans which they meant to ſuggeſt in the committee, if they had any to propoſe. Did they mean to withhold them till the happy day arrived when they themſelves would be in the cabinet, and the country would have every thing done for it that could be wiſhed for.

Lord Grenville ſaid that he would neither anſwer the arguments or the wiſh of the noble lord who had laſt ſpoken. He wiſhed, however, that the noble lord, in pity, not to thoſe on that ſide, but to thoſe whom he wiſhed to defend, had looked to his right hand and to his left before he had ventured to charge him and his noble friends with inconſiſtency. His lordſhip ſeverely animadverted upon lord Hawkeſbury's aſſertion, that it was not fit that any propoſition relative to the military ſtate of the country ſhould be originated in parliament, but in the executive government. Suppoſing that by this act two thouſand five hundred men were raiſed, was that a number of which a great nation like this could boaſt, when it was conſidered how much had been vaunted of the act before it was put in force? His lordſhip recommended ſtrongly the recruiting for limited ſervice, and concluded by voting for the motion.

The lord Chancellor was of opinion that the queſtion had been much miſrepreſented; he defended the meaſures purſued by miniſters, and oppoſed the motion becauſe it tended to deprive the country of a uſeful and beneficial meaſure, without any other being ſubſtituted for it.

His royal highneſs the duke of Clarence expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at the verſatility of ſentiment and inconſiſtency of opinion evidenced by ſome noble lords. He pointedly adverted to the conduct of the preſent and late firſt lord of the admiralty: the vigour and energy of the latter he ſhould always be proud to vindicate and approve; had that noble lord continued at the head of that department, we ſhould not perhaps have to lament ſome diſaſtrous events which have recently occurred.

Lord Sidmouth was anxious to reply to what he conceived a perſonal attack. Never was it his idea or intention that the bill ſhould oppreſs the people in form of a tax, and ſhould it be proved ſo to operate, it ſhould no more meet with his ſupport. With reſpect to the great variety of extraneous topics which had been introduced into the debate, and many of which had been perſonally directed againſt himſelf, he ſhould only ſay, that moſt, if not all of them were without foundation; but he ſtill did not fear to challenge any noble lord who indulged in theſe accuſations to come forward with a ſtatement of any one particular meaſure of that adminiſtration to which thoſe inſulting terms could juſtly apply. The noble viſcount, after referring to and vindicating the different acts of his adminiſtration, and their connection with the preſent motion, concluded by deprecating the adoption of a meaſure that muſt be practically

practically mischievous, as it would tend, under such a critical situation of the country, to unhinge all the plans that have been hitherto devised for its defence and security.

Lord Spencer could not but express astonishment at the compleat misrepresentation which had taken place. It was not merely the repeal of the defence act which the present motion had in contemplation, but a great variety of other improvements, and the adoption of other means by which our military system might be much perfected. Of the necessity of the present motion his lordship was fully convinced.

The house divided on the question, when there appeared a majority of seventy-five against it.

Monday, March 25, lord Grenville presented a petition from a number of Roman catholic noblemen and gentlemen of different parts of the united kingdom, praying to be relieved from the various disqualifications under which they laboured. His lordship then said, all that he at present meant was to move that the petition should lie on the table.

Lord Auckland observed that in the present state of the question he rose not to discuss the prayer of the petition, but merely to express a hope that having once been brought before parliament, it would not be permitted to rest where it was; but be proceeded in with that deliberate and dispassionate attention which would enable their lordships to come to a final decision upon it. His lordship added, that he viewed the theory of the petition to admit of a protestant king with a Roman catholic parliament; a protestant church with a popish legislature. He did not mean to say that such would be the practical result of granting the prayer of the petition; but theoretically it proceeded on a principle which tended to disunite the church and the state; two things which he had always been accustomed to regard as inseparable, and which he hoped would never be separated.

Lord Hawkesbury wished not to oppose the motion for the petition being placed on the table. The right of petitioning he viewed as sacred, and no obstacle should be thrown in the way of it. He however declared that when the petition was taken into consideration he should feel it his duty to resist it.

Lord Grenville declared that it was his determination to take their lordships' opinion upon the subject in the most solemn manner, without any longer delay than what was absolutely necessary.

The petition was then ordered to lie on the table.

All Europe had witnessed with astonishment and veneration the efforts of Mr. Wilberforce for the abolition of the slave trade; that traffic which for many centuries had disgraced this country. A few public spirited individuals first roused the nation to a sense of the iniquity of this trade. Clarkson and Granville Sharpe have the honour of being the primary agents; and by the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Wilberforce the subject was successively brought before the consideration of the British senate during several sessions of parliament. This philanthropic champion for the liberty of the oppressed African, moved on February 28, that the bill for the abolition of the slave trade be read a second time. On the question being put:

General Gascoine avowed his determination to oppose the bill in every stage of it. He confided in the wisdom and policy of the house that the members would not view themselves pledged by their decision in the last session to come to a similar one in the present, unless the necessity of the measure was fully proved. It was requisite in the first place to shew the expediency of the abolition at all, and next whether the critical circumstances of the present times could warrant it. Respecting the proportion of slaves to tonnage, he could prove by evidence at the bar, that the Americans took more slaves in their vessels than the British. The abolition was evidently meant to issue in emancipation; such was the idea entertained by the negroes themselves, among whom the discussion had already produced infinite mischief. No one could conceive it possible that without importation, a population could be kept up in the West Indies sufficient for the cultivation of the coffee plantations, which in their infancy required but few hands, but demanded a considerable number as they advanced to maturity. This was the worst time for the adoption of such a measure, on account of the danger which existed of a co-operation between the British negroes and those of a neighbouring island, where false speculative opinions had produced the most deplorable calamities. A conspiracy of this nature had been providentially discovered and defeated. He had been told that government had entered into a contract for five thousand slaves for military service. Now with any pretension to consistency it could not be denied, that if it were politic to purchase slaves for military use, it could not be impolitic to purchase them for civil service. With regard to humanity, let the advocates for it remember, that if this bill went to destroy the trade of the West Indies, upwards of seven hundred and fifty thousand would become destitute of employment. He trusted that the report of the committee of the assembly of Jamaica would have that influence with the house which it ought to have. The assertion was nugatory that increasing the number of slaves by importation would increase the danger; the proportion was now as thirty to one; and it signified little were this augmented to thirty-three or thirty-five to one. Some parts of the bill appeared to him to be peculiarly objectionable, and even wicked. The general then moved that the second reading of the bill be postponed.

Mr. C. Brooke alluded to the dreadful state of St. Domingo, and the danger to be apprehended from the vicinity of that island. The British mer-

chants had embarked large capitals in the trade; they had eſtabliſhed factories on the coaſt of Africa, and could it be expected that they would now abandon them? No; they would diſcover ſome circuitous mode of doing that which they now did openly. Other powers would avail themſelves of our relinquiſhment of the trade; ſo that the Africans would derive from it no advantage whatever. The ſituation of a negro in one of our Weſt India iſlands (diveſted of the name) would be found to poſſeſs more comforts than frequently fell to the lot of ſome of our labourers.

Sir William Young quoted ſeveral paſſages from Mr. Mungo Park and Mr. Browne, to prove that on the whole northern coaſt of Africa a ſyſtem of warfare was purſued; and argued that if the priſoners were not purchaſed by Europeans they would be ſlaughtered by their conquerors. Thoſe who were retained as ſlaves in Africa, were treated with the greateſt cruelty, many of them were compelled to work loaded with fetters; and it was an act of humanity to relieve them from this deplorable ſituation by tranſporting them to the Britiſh colonies.—The report from the Jamaica committee ſtated the emigration that the abolition of the ſlave trade muſt occaſion among the ſmaller coffee plantations as likely to be productive of infinite danger to thoſe who remained, by increaſing in a very great degree the diſproportion between the whites and the negroes. The imports from the Weſt Indies from 1801 to 1804 exceeded ſeventeen millions; the exports from Great Britain and Ireland were to an amount almoſt inconceivable; from Ireland alone in the laſt year one hundred and twenty-nine ſail of ſhips, compriſing thirty three thouſand tons, had cleared outwards for the Weſt Indies. It would be a dereliction of the awful truſt repoſed in us by the people was the immenſe revenue reſulting from this trade to be hazarded; a revenue on which we principally depended for the ſupport of our naval and military eſtabliſhment.

Mr. Barham ſaid, that a wiſh to co-operate with us in the deſign of abolition, had been manifeſted by ſeveral foreign powers; ſo that were this bill to paſs, the reſult would ultimately be the emancipation of the ſlave trade by every nation in Europe. Of the exiſtence of danger in ſuch a meaſure, he had always expreſſed his conviction; but though there was danger in the abolition of the trade, there was much more in the continuation of it. The fate of St. Domingo ſhould be a ſerious warning to us on this head, and ſhould deter us from adding daily to the number of blacks now in our iſlands. He ſpoke diſintereſtedly on this topic, as few eſtates were more in want of an additional number of ſlaves than his own. He had formerly ſuggeſted the ſending of ſepoys from the Eaſt Indies, to ſerve as troops in the Weſt Indies; and he hoped this hint would be attended to; it appeared to him happily calculated to remove a conſiderable part of the danger juſtly to be apprehended from the further increaſe of Africans.

General Tarleton thought he ſhould act ungratefully to his conſtituents, if he did not make every effort to defeat this bill. The trade of the town which he repreſented would be deeply affected by the meaſure. One hundred years ago the population of Liverpool did not exceed two thouſand five hundred; its ſhipping amounted to one hundred barks; and its capital did not exceed 2000*l*. At preſent that city had five thouſand ſhips floating, and its ſeamen were as good as any in the empire. Its population was eighty thouſand; and its capital of 2000*l*. had been increaſed to as many millions; and all this improvement had ariſen in a great meaſure from the ſlave trade. The agitation of this queſtion had unfurled the ſtandard of the Rights of Man, which had produced ſo many miſeries to mankind. He did not impute to the honourable mover principles of Jacobiniſm, though his meaſure was calculated to promote them.

Sir W. Pulteney was of opinion that the Weſt Indies could not be cultivated by Europeans; and in warm climates ſubſiſtence was ſo eaſily procured, that the people would not work unleſs urged to it. The meaſure then under conſideration was not the beſt mode of attaining the object profeſſed. It would be much more likely to produce the end deſired without miſchief, if the importation of ſlaves was to be rendered more difficult, ſo as that the perſons now in the trade might have time to accommodate their circumſtances to the change. Theory and practice were eſſentially different: he had known many theories ſupported by ſplendid eloquence, which afterward burſt into air. The diſproportion of blacks to whites being as thirty to one, was now a cauſe of danger to the colonies, and would be more formidable if new ideas were to be introduced among them.

Mr. Fox deprecated the mode of argument the honourable baronet had adopted. He was at ſome pains to know what theories he had alluded to; but his declamation would lead to a paradoxical concluſion, which he had not in his contemplation; namely, that all meaſures which were eloquently, that is, ably ſupported, ought to be dreaded. It had at one time, during the French revolution, been an opinion, that of all ariſtocracies the ariſtocracy of talents was the moſt dangerous. As to theories, undoubtedly many had failed, though ably ſupported in the firſt inſtance, as others had by the weight of numbers againſt them: but what was the theory in the preſent inſtance? That no advantage was to be derived from the abolition of the trade; what was the fact? That much miſchief exiſted, and conſiderable danger would ariſe from continuing it. As to the idea of making the abolition gradual, he

he thought the lapſe of thirteen years ſince the ſenſe of parliament had been pronounced on the injuſtice of the trade, without any plan having been produced by the advocates for it, the beſt anſwer.

Mr. Wilberforce wiſhed that his previous ſilence during the debate might not be conſtrued into an idea, that he had given up his opinion that the ſlave trade was contrary to juſtice. He argued from the example of the United States of America, that the natural increaſe was ſufficient to keep up the numbers even in climates leſs congenial to the negroes than the Weſt India iſlands. Nothing could tend more to increaſe the profits of the proprietor and planters than the abolition of the trade: the facility with which ſlaves were procured at preſent, being the cauſe of their being treated with no management or care. He abſtained from entering into the particulars of the treatment of the negroes, as that could only create mutual irritation: but the treatment was altogether ſuch as to degrade theſe unfortunate beings below the level of the human ſpecies: to be actuated only as brutes by the whip, to the total excluſion of the impulſe of the reaſoning faculty. He wiſhed to render the negroes a happy and induſtrious peaſantry; and to prevent the miſchief of their making uſe of their phyſical force to the deſtruction of their maſters, the example of a neighbouring iſland was ſufficient to prove to our Weſt India proprietors that the negroes were capable of forming plans on diſtant views; of maturing their deſigns with ſecreſy; purſuing them with induſtry, and executing them with vigour. He looked upon it as madneſs to deſire emancipation at preſent: but he knew there were among the proprietors themſelves ſome who looked forward with pleaſure to the time when it may take place with ſafety and advantage. The colonial aſſemblies left no hope of the abolition but from the Britiſh parliament, though it was the beſt gift that could be conferred on the iſlands, and the moſt certain means of their proſperity.

The houſe divided, when there appeared

For reading the bill a ſecond time	70
Againſt it - - - -	77
Majority	7

On Friday, March 8, the houſe proceeded to the order of the day for conſidering the report of the Middleſex committee relative to the conduct of the late ſheriffs of Middleſex.

Mr. Sheridan roſe for the purpoſe of oppoſing the diſcuſſion at preſent: if the houſe ſhould agree in this, he would follow it up by a motion for hearing counſel on behalf of the ſheriffs. Thoſe gentlemen were unprepared; they had not heard of their conduct being under conſideration, but by accident: they had but a ſingle day to prepare their briefs and defence. The act gave the committee no power to try the ſheriffs. After citing various precedents, and ſubmitting a few queſtions to the houſe, Mr. Sheridan added, that the ſheriffs had a right to be heard by counſel. He then moved that the diſcuſſion be poſtponed.

Lord Marſham agreed in wiſhing the ſheriffs to be heard by counſel; and on this ſubject there had been hardly any difference in the committee, whoſe ſentiments he had expreſſed. His lordſhip concluded by expreſſing his wiſh that they ſhould be heard by counſel.

The maſter of the rolls (Sir W. Grant) was of opinion that ſome legiſlative meaſure ought to be reſorted to in order to ſettle this queſtion, which certainly at preſent ſtood upon bad grounds. Either the committee ſhould have the whole judgment of the caſe, or the houſe ſhould retain it altogether. There had been no inſtance of hearing evidence or counſel on the report of a ſelect committee, when election caſes were referred to ſuch committees; and ſince the Grenville act, there was additional reaſon for confiding in the reports of ſelect committees: for his own part, he wiſhed for the benefit of counſel; the only point was, whether that would be conſiſtent with the practice of the houſe.

The chancellor of the exchequer obſerved, that as a number of gentlemen were of opinion that counſel ſhould be heard, and his learned friend alſo inclined to that opinion, he ſhould not have any objection; provided, however, it was to be clearly underſtood, that no other propoſition was to be grounded on his agreeing to this.

Mr. Sheridan replied, that he had the hearing of counſel alone in view. The queſtion that the debate be reſumed, was carried in the affirmative. Mr. Sheridan then informed the houſe, that the learned gentlemen who were to be counſel were not prepared to proceed, as they ſuppoſed the proceedings would be the ſame as on a former night.

Mr. Fox contended, that they had no right to draw ſuch a concluſion; and he put it to the candour of the right honourable gentleman himſelf, whether he was not of the ſame opinion?

Mr. Pitt admitted, that he did think the counſel ought to have been prepared. He was not diſinclined to grant any time, conſiſtent with the order of the houſe; but its dignity was not to be trifled with. If the counſel could aſſign any good reaſon for not being prepared, he ſhould have no objection to agree to any convenient interval before the debate ſhould be reſumed. The counſel being called in, Mr. Adam appeared at the bar as counſel for the ſheriffs, and ſtated, that he was not compleatly prepared; but if the houſe required, he would proceed in the beſt manner he could. He apologiſed for this circumſtance. He was now in attendance merely from the accident of having been in the neighbourhood, which had afforded his clients the opportunity

opportunity of informing him that his preſence was likely to be required. He ſhould view it as a matter of favour to himſelf, and advantage to his clients, if he was allowed time to review the caſe. He therefore conjured the houſe to permit him attentively to look over the precedents of parliament in this caſe; as without this reviſion, he could but ill perform his duty. Mr. Adam having withdrawn,

Mr. Pitt ſaid, that after what he had heard from the counſel, though he was not ſatisfied but that the counſel had heard ſomething which it was not ſo proper for him to hear, yet he would not preſs the diſcuſſion this day. He made this conceſſion on no other ground, than that the proceedings ſhould be fixed for the earlieſt day in the next week. He would therefore move that the debate be adjourned till Monday, and then counſel to be heard, which was agreed to.

On that day the chancellor of the exchequer moved for reſuming of the debate. Mr. Adam was then called in, and after having pleaded in an able and impreſſive manner for his clients in a ſpeech of three hours, he was ordered to withdraw.

Mr. Roſe then ſaid, that after all the attention he had given to this caſe, he conceived it to be as ſtrong as poſſible in favour of the reſolution. He ſaw throughout the whole proceedings of the election, a general partiality of the ſheriffs in favour of one of the candidates. They had through this partiality admitted the mill votes, contrary to every poſſible right. They had a perſon, who was called the orator, to declaim againſt Mr. Manwaring, in front of the huſtings, and apply every vilifying expreſſion to that gentleman; and when the impropriety was repreſented to them, they contented themſelves with ſaying he was a droll fellow. To prove that votes notoriouſly bad had been received, he would ſtate that one man had been allowed to vote from the heart of the city. If the oath alone was to be the criterion, without enquiry, elections would be carried by chimney-ſweepers and link boys, and by whoever ſhould command a corrupt mob.

Mr. Peter Moore expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at the obſervations of the laſt ſpeaker. He aſſerted, that though there might be thirty or forty bad votes for Sir Francis Burdett, there were ten times as many on the other ſide. The committee had ſtruck out ſix hundred votes indifferently on both ſides, becauſe the voters had not been aſſeſſed to the land-tax. The papers on the table proved that the ſheriffs had refuſed votes for Sir Francis Burdett, as well as for Mr Manwaring. Could any circumſtance more effectually prove their impartiality?

Lord Marſham aſſured the houſe, that the committee had not determined on the report without mature deliberation. He was convinced that an undue partiality had exiſted in the minds of the ſheriffs; and that at different periods they had purſued different modes of conduct, as it ſuited their wiſhes. After ſome further diſcuſſion, it was ordered on the motion of Mr. Roſe, "That Robert Albion Cox, Eſq. and Sir William Rawlins, knight, by their conduct and practices at the election for Middleſex, as ſtated in the reſolutions, and by refuſing to refer to the aſſeſſments to the land-tax, have acted in violation of their duty, contrary to law, and in breach of the privileges of that houſe: and that they be committed to his majeſty's jail of Newgate, and that the ſpeaker do iſſue his warrant accordingly."

March 13. Mr. Foſter opened the Iriſh budget, in which he propoſed to increaſe the duties on importation of timber, raiſins, pepper, &c.; a duty on riding horſes, and horſes drawing carriages; a tax on dogs; a duty on curricles and gigs; jaunting cars, paper, hats, and auctions; an addition of one penny on the poſtage of letters; a tax on houſes, under ſeven windows; and on ſtamps and licenſes. After a trifling oppoſition, the ſeveral financial reſolutions propoſed by Mr. Foſter, were agreed to.

March 19. Mr. Creevy roſe to make his promiſed motion reſpecting Mr. Fordyce. It appeared from a report preſented to the houſe in 1780, that Mr. Fordyce was receiver-general of the land-tax in Scotland, and that he owed about 64,000*l.* to government. He was next mentioned by the committee of finance in 1797: it there appeared that his arrears amounted to 90,000*l.*; for this it appeared he made an aſſignment of his property to the lord advocate, and the lords of the treaſury, to be held by them to pay the debt, ſubject to this proviſo, that Mr. Fordyce was ſtill allowed to keep his property under them. After twenty-one years of experience, Mr. Creevy ſaid he had no great hopes of the debt being paid by means of the lord advocate, or lords of the treaſury. No ſteps had been taken for the recovery of the debt; Mr. Fordyce was able to bear an hard ſtruggle at an election, and loſt his ſeat in conſequence of being too liberal with his money. A houſe had been built for him under the name of an office. Miniſters had forced Mr. Fordyce on the criticiſm of the houſe: if they choſe not to carry on a proceſs againſt him, they ought at leaſt not to put him in a ſituation to have any controul over the public expenditure. If miniſters were really in earneſt in reforming naval abuſes, Mr. Fordyce appeared ill calculated to be choſen one of the agents for that purpoſe. He concluded by moving that a committee ſhould be appointed to examine into the ſecurities of the debt of 81,671*l.* due from Mr. Fordyce to the public: whether any aſſignment of his property had been made; and whether any part of it had been applied to liquidate the debt?

The chancellor of the exchequer ſaid, that it had been agreed on all hands that the failure of Mr. Fordyce had ariſen from misfortunes. The government

vernment at the time when the misfortune happened, only removed him from the office where he could have the command of the revenue. No ſuch office had ſince been given him. What had been his ſituation ſince that time? He was appointed to a laborious duty reſpecting the lands of the crown. Parliament knew it, and adopted meaſures in conſequence of Mr. Fordyce's ſuggeſtions. To carry theſe into execution, Mr. Fordyce was appointed, and the reſult was a greater practical reform in that, than in any other department. The ſtate therefore had found him worthy of truſt from what he had done. With regard to the origin of the debt, it was well known that it aroſe in the failure of three agents, one of whom was not of his own appointment. The other great cauſe was the failure of Mr. Fordyce, the banker, in London, a circumſtance which aſtoniſhed every perſon at the time it happened. Under theſe circumſtances he thought no party feeling ought to injure Mr. Fordyce. By leaving him at large, his induſtry and genius had enabled him to pay part of the debt, and he had no doubt but the whole would be liquidated in a very ſhort time. Some of the ſecurities would in the end turn out to be valuable. One was on an eſtate in Grenada: a calamity happened at that place, and thus the money had been prevented being recovered. He thought the more regular way of proceeding would be to call for the different accounts; and if it appeared that every thing that was poſſible had not been done for the recovery of the money, a motion for a committee might be made.

Mr. Fox ſaid, that he had no idea of ſtating any thing of a blemiſh in the character of Mr. Fordyce, as to its integrity: but he lamented that he ſhould be placed in a ſituation where there muſt be a degree of dependence: and that might be expected to affect his conduct as to the manner in which he might make up his report on the ſubject of naval enquiry, of which he was a commiſſioner: it was natural to expect that he ſhould adopt the ſuggeſtions of miniſters: in a word, he was not placed in that ſituation wherein he could act with ſturdy independence, which was at all times deſirable in the character of a man who was to plan the reformation of abuſes.

Mr. Pitt explained the nature of the ſituation of Mr. Fordyce, as naval commiſſioner, to be ſuch, that he was under no unfair influence whatever.

The ſecretary at war obſerved, that ſo high was the opinion of Sir Charles Middleton of the talents, integrity, and fitneſs of Mr. Fordyce for the office of a commiſſioner, that he would not accept of that office himſelf without that gentleman's aſſiſtance and co-operation.

Mr. Creevy was ſatisfied for the preſent to adopt the mode propoſed by Mr. Pitt.

The houſe having reſolved itſelf into a committee of ways and means, on March 22, Mr. Pitt ſaid it was his duty to ſubmit to the committee thoſe taxes which were rendered neceſſary to ſupply the deficiency in ways and means occaſioned by the houſe having refuſed its aſſent to the propoſed duty on huſbandry horſes; and alſo as having withdrawn that part of the duty on ſalt which related to its exportation. In conſequence of this he was obliged to propoſe rather more than he could wiſh of a proportionate addition to articles of cuſtoms, and a ſelection of articles of exciſe. As to the articles of exciſe, the firſt he propoſed was upon glaſs of different denominations; upon bricks and tiles; an augmentation of the duty on auctions, coffee, cyder, and perry; vinegar, gold, and ſilver wire. Among the cuſtom houſe duties, he propoſed 10 *per cent.* additional upon iron, barilla, turpentine, and ſome other ſmall articles; and on all other goods imported an additional duty of 2½*d. per cent.* The different reſolutions were ſeverally read and paſſed.

March 25. Mr. Fox preſented a petition from the Roman Catholics of Ireland. He ſtated, that he had never riſen with more ſincere ſatisfaction and pleaſure, than in now being the humble inſtrument of ſubmitting to parliament a petition from the Roman Catholic body. The merits of that petition it was not his wiſh or inclination to diſcuſs at preſent: but he ſhould obſerve, that the Catholics had taken the moſt reſpectful and conſtitutional mode of claiming redreſs and emancipation from thoſe difficulties under which they have ſo long laboured. He then ſtated the ſubſtance of the petition, which was, that they might be effectually relieved from thoſe penalties they were liable to, and reſtored to the full and free enjoyments of the benefits of the conſtitution in common with their fellow ſubjects. Mr. Fox then moved, that the petition ſhould be laid upon the table, which was ordered accordingly.

CHAP. XIII.

Naval Affairs.—Domeſtic Incidents.—Lord Somerville's Exhibition of Prize Cattle.—Eaſt India Docks.—Review of Agriculture, Commerce, Arts, Sciences, and Literature.

OUR naval affairs had lately aſſumed a new degree of intereſt, from the recent activity and exertion of the enemy's fleets. There was no certain intelligence of the deſtination of the Rochefort, or even of the Toulon ſquadron. Two frigates belonging to the latter obtained a partial ſucceſs, having fallen in with a fleet of merchantmen in the Mediterranean, thirty-ſix in number*. Not more than five or ſix were taken; together with the Ar-

* The "Moniteur" ſtated them to amount to forty ſail, and declared the whole to be taken or deſtroyed.

row sloop of war, commanded by captain Vincent, and the Acheron bomb, captain Farquhar, which convoyed the fleet. A letter was received at the admiralty from captain Farquhar, dated Malaga prison, in which he described it as a most brilliant action. The Arrow and the Acheron (after signals were made for the merchantmen to escape) engaged the two French frigates in a most obstinate manner, notwithstanding the prodigious disproportion of their force. The French frigates were L'Hortense, of fifty guns, and six hundred men; and L'Incorruptible, of forty-four guns. The action commenced February 5, at four o'clock, A. M. and the Arrow struck at half past eight o'clock, and sunk soon after. The Acheron was burnt by the enemy, being also a compleat wreck. The sloop carried twenty-eight guns, and one hundred and thirty-four men: she had thirteen killed, and twenty-seven wounded; three of the wounded seamen were in her when she sunk. The bomb carried only eight guns.

Another brilliant engagement took place between his majesty's ship the Centurion, of fifty guns, commanded by captain Lind, and a French line of battle ship, the Marengo, of eighty-four guns, and two heavy frigates, commanded by admiral Linois. This action happened in the roads before Vizagapatam; in which was also the company's ship Charlotte, which was captured by the French. Captain Lind sustained two separate attacks from the French; the first lasted an hour and a half, and the second nearly the same length of time.

The Toulon squadron captured the Venus sloop of war, which had on board dispatches for lord Nelson, which were thrown overboard.

The British merchants at Lloyd's, ever employed in acts of patriotic benevolence and charity, opened a subscription this month for the purpose of educating and putting out to service the numerous orphans at Gibraltar, whose parents were carried off by the dreadful fever which had raged at that place. Happily that scourge of humanity had ceased its ravages; and on January 30, the port of Gibraltar was opened, and the troops sent out to reinforce the garrison, landed. To celebrate so happy an event, general Fox gave a grand ball to the inhabitants.

March 4. The foundation stone of the East India docks at Blackwall, was laid by captain Joseph Huddart, amidst a numerous concourse of people. These docks, though not so large as either the London or West India docks, are calculated to admit ships of larger burthen, by having deeper water, and locks of greater dimensions. They consist of two docks, and an entrance bason: that for discharging outward-bound vessels, covers nine acres; that for inward, eighteen; the entrance bason, three acres.

The institution of the agricultural society, or board of agriculture, was a measure of infinite importance to the landed interest of the country. Much attention had been lately paid to the breeding of cattle: viewed as a collateral branch of agriculture, the celebrated Bakewel, of Leicestershire, had first excited attention to this important subject. Lord Somerville, a nobleman of high talent and enterprise, had adopted the practice of making annual exhibitions of prize cattle. Liberal premiums having been offered for fattening and improving the breed, the late duke of Bedford had seriously directed his attention to this subject; and on his lamented decease, his spirit rested upon lord Somerville. The exhibition which took place on Monday, March 4, at Mr. Dixon's repository in Barbican, was far superior to any former one: it was crowded with agriculturists, breeders, graziers, noblemen, and clergy, to view the live stock, and agricultural improvements. The great and manifest utility, both public and private, of such exhibitions, must be apparent to the most superficial observer. The public interest is generally promoted in a ratio with the progress of agricultural improvement; and such scenes are the best schools where the effects of real practical knowledge is to be acquired. Farmers were in former times a recluse and isolated set of beings, who seldom saw or attended to any other species of live stock, or plans, or practice of husbandry, but their own, or those in their immediate neighbourhood. They consequently laboured under deplorable prejudices, of which nothing short of actual comparison could cure them. Agricultural meetings, and annual exhibitions of live stock, have had the excellent effect of gradually removing these prejudices, and of rendering the British farmer what he ought to be, a man of a larger and more liberal way of thinking, and more upon a level with men of other avocations: so far as regards information and improvement in his own concerns, these meetings combined pleasure and business.

Medical science sustained a great loss this month in the death of Dr. William Buchan. His name will be handed down to future generations with honour and applause, as being the first person who in this country simplified the art of healing; divested it of all the mysterious jargon, which rendered it far above the pen of the endeared multitude, and treated it in all its various branches with such plainness and perspicuity, as to render every man his own physician*. This was the end designed by "Domestic

* Notwithstanding the excellent design and intention of "The Domestic Medicine," it must be granted that in some instances it has been productive of injurious effects, in cases where the reader has been very ignorant, or affected with the hypochondrea.

"Domeſtic Medicine," a work of unrivalled popularity, univerſally known throughout the world. It has been tranſlated into every European language, and the author was honoured with letters and patents from ſeveral crowned heads. Among the reſt, the late empreſs of Ruſſia expreſſed her high ſatisfaction at the work. The idea of "Domeſtic Medicine," was evidently taken from Dr. Turot's "Advice to the People," a work very popular on the Continent. The native generous diſpoſition of Buchan, added to the benevolent feelings of his heart, made him occaſionally ſuffer (like other illuſtrious literary characters) the preſſure of pecuniary inconvenience. The latter period of Dr. Buchan's life was ſpent at the Chapter coffee houſe; there, in a choſen and ſelect circle, he diſplayed thoſe powers of the mind, that blaze of intellect which rendered his converſation the "feaſt of reaſon and the flow of ſoul." It was at this coffee houſe he breathed his laſt, in the ſeventieth year of his age. He was interred in Weſtminſter Abbey, and a neat monument, or rather tablet, marks the place where his remains are depoſited.

This month the earl of Maſſarene, ſo celebrated for his long captivity in the Baſtile, died. He was liberated at the deſtruction of that place, June 14, 1789. Upon landing in his native country of freedom and liberty, he threw himſelf on the ground with enthuſiaſtic rapture, exclaiming, as the celebrated Monteſquieu formerly had done on a ſimilar occaſion, *Je reſpire*; "I breath." He had contracted many ſingular habits during his impriſonment, and evinced great eccentricity in his conduct. His lordſhip married mademoiſelle Mary Anne Barrier, daughter of the governor, but a ſeparation afterward took place.

Mr. Greathead's invaluable invention of the life boat had excited a ſpirit of emulation to improve their conſtruction. Sir Sidney Smith, the hero of Acre, ſketched the deſign of a new conſtructed boat, and tried its effect at Dover: eighteen men embarked on board, attended by captain Weſtern, of the ſea fencibles. The pier and beach were crowded with ſpectators, who felt much anxiety at ſeeing the boat firſt plunge into the ſwell at the mouth of the harbour. She roſe however on the top of every wave; and as ſoon as the maſt was ſecured, the rigging of which appeared defective, the ſails were ſet, and ſhe moved with great rapidity through the breakers. This life boat, which was called Cancer, or the Crab, from her manner of moving, landed on the beach without the ſmalleſt inconvenience, to the admiration of multitudes collected together, who greeted the enterpriſing crew with repeated acclamations.

hypochondrea. The editor has known perſons who, from a habit of conſtantly conſulting The Domeſtic Medicine, have imagined they had the ſymptoms of almoſt every diſorder treated upon.

CHAP. XIV.

Proceedings of the Imperial Parliament reſumed.—Debates on the tenth Report of the Commiſſioners for naval Enquiry.—Mr. Whitbread's celebrated Speech.—Reſolutions of Cenſure upon Lord Melville paſſed by the Commons.—Debates in the Houſe of Peers on the Militia Bill.—Mr. Grey's Motion on a Breach of Privilege.—The Printer of the Oracle reprimanded by the Speaker.—Preliminary Diſcuſſion of the eleventh Report of the naval Commiſſioners.

THE ſhort lived, but meritorious adminiſtration of Mr. Addington, was productive in many reſpects of eſſential benefit to the country. To promote œconomy in the public finances was a favourite project of that miniſter. Under his auſpices certain commiſſioners were appointed to enquire into enormous and flagrant abuſes which had been diſcovered in the naval department. The commiſſioners executed their high truſt with the utmoſt circumſpection and diligence: from time to time they made reports of their proceedings to parliament; but their tenth report was of ſuch a nature as to attract univerſal attention. Upon examination of the accounts of the late treaſurer of the navy, lord Melville, then Mr. Dundas, it was diſcovered that his lordſhip had drawn large ſums of money from the Bank, through the agency of Alexander Trotter, Eſq. paymaſter. Lord Melville had been twice treaſurer of the navy. In 1785 an act was paſſed "for better regulating the office of treaſurer of his majeſty's navy;" which enacted, that all monies iſſued for naval ſervices ſhould be paid to the bank, and ſhould not be withdrawn unleſs for naval ſervices. Lord Melville was the perſon who brought forward this bill for the regulation of the office; and he it appeared was the firſt charged with infringing the ſtatute. Upon diſcovery of the proceedings of lord Melville and Mr. Trotter, the commiſſioners addreſſed a letter to him for information on the ſubject; to which his lordſhip did not afford the commiſſioners a ſatisfactory anſwer. The ſubject was brought before parliament; and on Monday, April 8, Mr. Whitbread moved various reſolutions againſt his lordſhip. He ſaid it was originally his intention to have moved, according to the cuſtom of proceedings of parliament in caſes of a ſimilar nature, for the houſe to reſolve itſelf into a committee to take into conſideration the tenth report of the commiſſioners of naval enquiry: but apprehending there might be ſome difference of opinion on the ſubject, he ſhould

only

only move the houſe to adopt certain propoſitions founded on the report. After panegyriſing the labours of the commiſſioners, Mr. Whitbread proceeded: "If the houſe of commons ſhould decide, as he ſincerely truſted they would, that the perſon who had flagrantly violated the law; who had connived at the facts ſet forth in the report; and whoſe connivance had been proved, had by ſuch conduct expoſed himſelf to the ſtrong and well founded ſuſpicion of having participated in a groſs ſyſtem of peculation, practiſed to the diſadvantage of the public. If in acquittal of their duty, and the truſt repoſed in them, they arraigned him and caſt that cenſure upon him which would imply they meant to follow it up by acts of puniſhment, in that caſe they would confer the greateſt benefit on the country. In the exhauſted ſtate of our finances, ſuch a deciſion would be an aſſurance that the houſe wiſhed to open a door to the obſervance of œconomy. It would have the effect of convincing the people that what they paid with ſo much difficulty, would be frugally and œconomically employed. It would prove to them that parliament would not ſuffer any perſon, however elevated his rank; however he had enjoyed the confidence of the country for a ſeries of years, to violate the law without expoſing himſelf to puniſhment. But if on the contrary the queſtion ſhould be blinked; if the houſe ſhould not dare to decide; or, if they ſhould decide in defiance of what he held to be the cleareſt evidence; the people might well think there was an end of every idea of public œconomy: they might well ſay that it was for the emoluments of office public characters were contending, and not for the good of the country: that thoſe who were out of office only wiſhed to occupy the ſituations of thoſe who were in, and were actuated by the ſentiments of intereſt rather than laudable ambition, which was the nobleſt incentive to public virtue: that it was not an honourable and laudable deſire of ſerving the country, but a ſordid deſire of gain, that urged them to ſeek ſituations of public truſt. He charged the noble lord, and in the courſe of the enquiry ſhould inſiſt, unleſs that which had been ſaid could be unſaid, and that which had been proved could be diſproved; that he himſelf had been a participator in the emoluments of the peculation practiſed on the public. A charge of the preſent nature had not been brought before parliament for a ſeries of years, and it was ſingular that the laſt charge was brought forward by lord Melville himſelf againſt Sir Thomas Rumbold. With reſpect to Mr. Trotter, he and lord Melville were identified with each other; they were one and the ſame. After an appeal to the legal officers of the crown then in the houſe ſoliciting their ſupport, Mr. Whitbread cloſed a luminous and brilliant ſpeech with moving thirteen reſolutions; the eleventh and thirteenth of which ſpecified, "That the right honourable viſcount Melville having been privy to and connived at the withdrawing from the bank of England, for purpoſes of private intereſt or emolument, ſums iſſued to him as treaſurer of the navy, and placed on his account in the bank, according to the proviſions of the 25th Geo. III. c. 31. has been guilty of a groſs violation of the law, and a high breach of duty;" and "That lord Melville, in applying monies iſſued for the ſervice of the navy to other ſervices, ſtated to have been of ſo delicate and confidential a nature, that in his opinion no account can or ought to be given of them, has acted in a manner inconſiſtent with his duty, and incompatible with thoſe ſecurities which the legiſlature has provided for the proper application of the public money."

Mr. Pitt obſerved, that if it was really true that there had been any aggravation of public burdens by any malverſations of thoſe in office, no man was more willing than himſelf to admit that it was a fit ſubject for the attention and cognizance of parliament. It was however ungenerous to raiſe a clamour, ſo as not to allow the public to conſider the matter candidly: when in point of fact, whatever might be the ultimate judgment of the houſe, there was at preſent no allegation that a ſhilling had been loſt to the public. He muſt ſay that the repreſentation as it ſtood at preſent, did not juſtify the houſe in coming to any deciſion whatever, much leſs to ſanction the reſolutions now preſented. He wiſhed not to elude or protract the proceeding, but to put it in a train, ſo as to procure the beſt information. His propoſition therefore would be, that the whole ſhould be referred to a ſelect committee, before which every information and explanation might be made without the danger of indiſcreet diſcloſure, and upon whoſe report the houſe might come to a final deciſion. He allowed that putting the public money to any riſk or hazard was alone highly to be cenſured: but he could not at the ſame time help obſerving that the circumſtance of no loſs whatever, not even a ſhilling, was in itſelf no mean argument; that conſidering the magnitude of the ſums, and the tranſactions, there could ſcarcely have been any great miſmanagement. Mr. Pitt concluded by propoſing that all the words of the reſolutions ſhould be left out, and in their room ſubſtituted, "That the tenth report of the commiſſioners of naval enquiry be referred to a ſelect committee."

Lord Henry Petty ſaid, when the propoſitions ſubmitted to the houſe by his honourable friend were agreed to, he would cheerfully acquieſce in the appointment of a ſelect committee. The houſe ought fully to conſider what was the nature of the illegal combination between Mr. Mark Sprot, who enjoyed the confidence of Mr. Trotter; Mr. Trotter, who enjoyed the confidence of lord Melville;

and lord Melville, who enjoyed, too long enjoyed the confidence of the public. There were combinations in this country, denominated Jacobinical; but he believed there never was one of a more dangerous, infidious, and mifchievous nature, than the one which was now difcuffing. [*Loud cry of Hear! Hear.*] When he looked at lord Melville's letter, it recalled to his remembrance the celebrated oration of Cicero againft Pifo, in which that orator breaking off from his argument, proving the guilt of Pifo, exclaims, "*Quis te miferior qui nequis fcribere rempublicam bene geftam, qui præfens ne que dicere auftus es.*" "But who is more condemned, or more guilty than you are, who dare not write, nor fay that you are innocent." (This happy quotation of his lordfhip electrified the houfe with rapture, and loud burfts of applaufe iffued from every quarter.) With what refentment, added his lordfhip, would lord Melville have rifen, had any individual prefumed to affert that he would be the firft to violate the very act which he himfelf framed. Yet this has actually happened! And ftill more wonderful would it be was the houfe of commons, after the difcovery of fo heinous a breach of public duty, to become fo negligent as to allow thofe documents of guilt to remain on their table, gladly acceding to them, acquiefcing and conniving at the crimes they divulged.

The attorney general fupported the amendment upon the ground, that the houfe ought not to take up the matter piecemeal, but fhould wait till all the evidence was before it.

Mr. Tierney was of opinion, that in difcuffing the propriety of lending from one fervice to another, the inveftigation fhould take place in a feleft committee. He however could not fee what that had to do with the tenth report. Did lord Melville demand more evidence to prove his innocence? Did Mr. Trotter affert his innocence? Did Mr. Sprot offer to tell the truth? Shameful tricks and fubterfuges had been reforted to in this bufinefs. Was lord Melville ignorant of the rifing profperity of Trotter, his improving condition*, and the caufe from which it originated? Credulity itfelf could not be impofed upon in fo glaring a tranfaction. There was enough to excite alarm, and to demand a fpeedy remedy. Good God! what times we live in, when Mr. Trotter fhould lend tens and twelves of thoufands out of the public money; when he difpofed with the utmoft indifference of millions juft as he pleafed, without confidering himfelf amenable for fuch an application and abufe. It muft be inferred, that lord Melville had an intereft in thefe pecuniary tranfactions with Trotter. This he believed in his conficience was and muft be the plain fact; it was likewife the opinion of the country.

Mr. Wilberforce expreffed himfelf in the moft decided manner in favour of the original motion. Though it was not fully evident to the houfe that lord Melville had any direct gain from the tranfactions which were alluded to, yet he could not fay his lordfhip had not received accommodation from them. It was however very clear that Mr. Trotter had acted upon a very large and extenfive fcale. If the houfe was once to fuffer a minifter to fay, that he had connived at the breach of a law by his deputy, a confidential fervant for a number of years, and that the fuperior was to pafs unconfured becaufe no perfonal corruption might be imputed to him, there was no fecurity remaining for the faithful difcharge of any public truft. Much as the people of England diflliked the levying of fhip money in the reign of Charles I. they thought it ten times worfe that the judges gave their opinion in favour of the meafure.

Sir Charles Price (alderman) faid, that as a magiftrate and a man he felt himfelf fully juftified in declaring, that if lord Melville had been entirely free from any criminality he would have anfwered more fully and unequivocally than he had done.

Lord Archibald Hamilton obferved, that no one Scotch member had fpoken againft the nefarious proceedings of the two Scotchmen, whofe conduct had been the fubject of debate: he therefore declared that he fhould vote for the motion as firft propofed. The houfe then divided on the original motion,

Ayes - 216 Noes - 216

The numbers being thus equal, the right honourable Charles Abbot, the fpeaker, gave the caffing vote in a moft folemn manner againft lord Melville†.

The propofitions were put *feriatim*, and carried in the affirmative without interruption, till the eleventh refolution, when Mr. Pitt moved an amendment, to leave out the laft words "gross violation of the law, and a high breach of duty;" and to infert the words, "contrary to the intention of the law." This being objected to, Mr. Pitt confented to withdraw it, and to fubftitute after the words, "for purpofes of private intereft or emolument," the words, "to Mr. Trotter;" becaufe, he faid, there was no proof of his connivance at drawing out the money for his own benefit or emolument.

Sir W. Pulteney approved this amendment; provided the words, "as acknowledged by lord Melville," were added.

Mr. Whitbread faid, he had no objection to the amendment. With thefe alterations the fpeaker read the motion.

Mr. Wilberforce faid, that not to brand the tranfaction by the epithets of grofs violation of the law,

* Mr. Trotter was at this time building a fuperb and fplendid manfion on Blackheath.

† This conduct of the fpeaker gave rife to a very popular toaft—"The Abbot of St. Stephen's."

and a high breach of duty, would be ignominious to the houſe. The original motion was carried.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the general ſatisfaction which pervaded the nation in conſequence of the termination of this important queſtion. The exalted rank; the ſuppoſed integrity of the nobleman, who had ſo long been a ſtar of magnitude in the political world; his long eſtabliſhed friendſhip with the premier; the places he had poſſeſſed; the ſituatiou he now held as firſt lord of the admiralty, rendered the circumſtance of his ſuppoſed miſdemeanor in the office of treaſurer of the navy, more notorious. Yet many who were not his partiſans, who diſapproved of his political ſyſtem, but admired his talents, were not ſuſpicious of his integrity until the tenth report of the commiſſioners of naval enquiry unfolded and developed ſuch a ſeries of tranſactions, that "appeared pregnant with guilt," as aſtoniſhed and excited the indignation not only of thoſe perſons, but the public at large.

On Wedneſday, April 10, the chancellor of the exchequer informed the houſe that lord viſcount Melville, in conſequence of the proceedings which had taken place in that houſe two nights ago, had ſent in his reſignation of the office he held as firſt lord of the admiralty, and that his majeſty had been graciouſly pleaſed to receive the ſame.

Mr. Whitbread requeſted that the laſt reſolution agreed to by the houſe ſhould be read: he then obſerved, that the notice given to the houſe by the right honourable gentleman oppoſite of the reſignation he had mentioned, was by no means unexpected: he therefore confeſſed he did not feel ſatisfied by it; nor could that houſe, or the public, until ſome further, and of more important effect, had taken place. Mr. Whitbread then moved, that "an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to remove lord viſcount Melville from all the offices held by him under the crown, and from his majeſty's councils and preſence for ever."

Mr. G. Ponſonby obſerved, that if he was perſuaded that the reſignation of lord Melville would be the end of his political exiſtence, he ſhould be diſpoſed to wiſh the ſubject not to be proved any further. If any man of authority would undertake that lord Melville would bow before the houſe of parliament, retire from the political ſcene, and be heard of no more, he would not inſiſt upon proceeding; but hitherto he found no perſon willing to give any ſuch ſecurity.

Mr. Windham obſerved, that the houſe muſt be aware that lord Melville was a man who had for a long ſucceſſion of years filled ſituations of great ſplendour and authority: that he had means of beſtowing the moſt extenſive patronage: that he was highly connected in the land: that he was ſurrounded by moſt numerous friends and relations: againſt ſuch a man, and ſo powerfully ſupported, it became the duty of that houſe to take the moſt rational ſecurity it could obtain, that the ſame thing ſhould not happen which did in the caſe of lord George Sackville, who, after having been diſmiſſed from his majeſty's ſervice by the ſentence of a court martial, was afterwards placed in the high and important office of ſecretary of ſtate. He wiſhed the houſe of commons not to relax in its diſcipline; not to tarniſh its full blown honours; not to ſpoil the gloſs of thoſe magnificent robes with which their late conduct had inveſted them.

Mr. Pitt truſted that the generous ſentiments of liberality and tenderneſs of ſparing the feelings of the noble viſcount in ſo new and humiliating a ſituation, would be adopted. He truſted they would be ſatisfied with hearing, that while the preſent reſolutions appear upon the journals all thoughts of lord Melville's reſtoration to power muſt ceaſe, and be totally at an end.

Mr. Fox ſaid he could not ſit ſilent in the houſe, and hear unfounded panegyrics beſtowed upon lord Melville. There was nothing in the character of that nobleman that ought to entitle him to tenderneſs in a caſe of convicted guilt. Was it becauſe he had increaſed the emoluments of office to an extent beyond any of his predeceſſors? Was it becauſe he obtained a grant to lady Melville of the feuds of Fife, with the arrears due at the time, without conſidering how theſe arrears ſtood at the time, and whether they were not the public money? For it is now underſtood that the amount of theſe arrears was not known at the time, and that the grant was made without knowing its extent. Was it becauſe he has added 1500*l. per annum* to his ſalary at the admiralty? Were theſe his claims to tenderneſs, and his titles to panegyric? He was of opinion that the addreſs to his majeſty was the beſt mode of finiſhing the criminal proceedings. However, after the declaration of the right honourable gentleman, Mr. Pitt, he had no objection to delay it. With regard to the puniſhment, Mr. Fox obſerved, that he knew but of two perſons who had been removed from his majeſty's privy council; the duke of Norfolk, and himſelf; and he could aſſert, they neither of them wiſhed lord Melville as a companion. The houſe of commons had proved themſelves the true repreſentatives of the people, by expreſſing their indignation at the conduct of lord Melville; but not a ſingle mark of diſapprobation had been expreſſed by his majeſty. This was not a nine days wonder: from the impreſſions it had made upon the people, and the ſtate of ferment in which the agitation of it may long keep the public mind, will it be right to enable thoſe perſons who

may not be the beſt diſpoſed to monarchical government, to draw a line between his majeſty and the parliament? Truſting therefore that miniſters would do their duty, he had no objection that the motion ſhould be withdrawn.

Mr. Wilberforce was not apprehenſive of any danger at preſent; but future times might be more favourable to abuſes, it was therefore the duty of the houſe to act with diligence and attention in contemplation of ſuch times. The houſe was bound to act upon principles of independence; but in circumſtances like the preſent, they ſhould not only exerciſe a legal juſtice, but proceed upon the eternal and univerſal principles of right.

Mr. Whitbread agreed that the houſe was in poſſeſſion of the promiſe of the right honourable gentleman, that lord Melville ſhould not again be admitted into any place of truſt, or into his majeſty's councils; could the houſe be ſure, that the king might not at one period or another change his adviſers. What regular means was there of knowing whether the promiſe would always be adhered to? Had the right honourable gentleman made any official communication to his majeſty of the opinion of the houſe of commons? In deference however to the opinion of ſome honourable friends, and of the houſe, he agreed to withdraw his motion; but he ſhould move, "That the reſolutions paſſed by the houſe be laid at the foot of the throne." This was unanimouſly agreed to. He then moved, "That the whole houſe do wait upon his majeſty with thoſe reſolutions." This queſtion was alſo carried.

On Thurſday, April 11, the reſolutions were preſented to his majeſty at St. James's, by the ſpeaker, and a great number of members: they were received moſt graciouſly by his majeſty, who thanked them for their care and attention to the public intereſt.

The houſe met again on the 25th, on which day Mr. Whitbread made his motion for the appointment of a ſelect committee, to enquire into the tranſactions contained in the fifteenth report of the commiſſioners of naval enquiry. With regard to this motion there were certainly ſome points of a delicate nature, which immediately implicated the right honourable gentleman, Mr. Pitt himſelf. Mr. Whitbread expreſſed his indignation at the contemptuous conduct of Mr. Sprot, and Mr. Wilſon, and he was ſurpriſed the commiſſioners had not committed them both.

Upon the motion being read and the queſtion put, the chancellor of the exchequer ſaid, that in ſo multifarious, ſo great, ſo ſtupendous an expenditure as ours, he was afraid that every thing could not be found exactly regular, but the houſe would apply themſelves to the ſubject with patience, impartiality, and juſtice; and if, after the labours of the commiſſioners, the houſe wiſhed to have further information, it certainly ſhould be done by a ſelect committee; he was deſirous of this, eſpecially as he was ſaid to be implicated in the tranſactions. "I have now," (added Mr. Pitt) "been many years in a high official ſituation, and hope I ſhall not be accuſed of vanity when I ſay, that I flatter myſelf the public will give me credit for not having been a party to any corrupt proceedings whatever. I truſt my friends will do me the juſtice to believe that whatever may be the implications or appearances from the tranſactions of others, my conduct has been free from every imputation of that kind; and I have no doubt that whenever the enquiry is made, it will be equally apparent to all the world." Mr. Pitt concluded by reading an amendment to the motion, ſpecifying, "That a ſelect committee be appointed to enquire further into ſuch parts of the tenth report as relate to the application of money granted for navy ſervices, and applied to other branches of the public ſervice; and alſo to any communications that may have been made to the chancellor of the exchequer, or to the lords of the treaſury, relative to any irregularities in the mode of drawing the public money, granted for the ſervice of the navy, from the bank; and to any proceedings that may have been taken for the recovery of the arrears due from the late Mr. Jollico, and to report the ſame."

Mr. Fox ſaid, that the right honourable gentleman was of opinion that if the houſe ſhould be of the ſentiment as to order a proſecution by the attorney general, then it ſhould not go into a committee; but he differed from him, and thought they ought to proceed immediately to the great object, which was, that if any enquiry was made at all, it ſhould be done as by men who were determined to go through with what they had begun, and evince to the world that they were in earneſt. He thought the houſe was in a curious and extraordinary predicament. If the attorney general was ordered to proſecute, the houſe could not expect, after the part he had taken in the preſent and late debates, to find in him a very zealous advocate. As to the enquiry itſelf, and the appointment of a committee, he certainly could not doubt but that thoſe gentlemen oppoſite to him, after what they had ſaid, would chearfully come forward and vote for the ſame commiſſioners. He hoped however the houſe would look with a jealous eye to this appointment, when they conſidered that the right honourable gentleman who was to bring it forward was a perſon who had avowed himſelf in ſome degree a friend to the man whom the houſe had already cenſured. When all theſe circumſtances were fully conſidered, he muſt own that the buſineſs was in very unfortunate hands. If the motion was to come from any other than the firſt lord of the treaſury, he thought it would appear under more fair and promiſing auſpices

ſpices. He hoped the houſe would not, when the committee was appointed, ſuffer it to be confined within narrow limits. The right honourable gentleman had that day, for the firſt time, expreſſed his diſapprobation of the conduct of viſcount Melville: this had raiſed his ſuſpicions, and he thought it his duty to put the houſe on its guard.

The maſter of the rolls ſaid, there were but two alternatives for the houſe to chooſe, either to go into a committee of general inveſtigation, or to have the matter decided by a court of law: if the houſe choſe the latter, the caſe ſhould go before the court without any previous prejudice or diſcuſſion.

Mr. Alexander ſaid, he reſpected public opinion as much as any man: but God forbid that the houſe ſhould be driven into any meaſure by the force of public opinion. It appeared to him that a court of juſtice could give relief in the preſent caſe, and it was contrary to every principle of law and juſtice to ſet on foot two courſes of trial at the ſame time for the ſame offence. Such however would be the caſe, if the proceedings recommended by the gentlemen oppoſite ſhould be adopted, for he could perceive no difference between the houſe threatening a trial, and actually carrying on a trial againſt a party.

Mr. Sheridan complained that the amendment proceeded upon a ſuppoſition of a vote actually carried for ſending the cauſe into a court of equity, when in fact no ſuch meaſure had been adopted. The undertaking of the attorney general did not promiſe much good. He was certain a committee might ſend for papers and records, for Mr. Coutts's books, and the bank books, and adopt various other ways of getting at the truth, not in the power of a court of equity. If a committee were ſo trifling a thing, how came it that the gentlemen upon the other ſide were ſo lately of a different opinion? The other night they contended that it was raſh and premature to condemn lord Melville without a previous enquiry in a committee. Now it appeared a committee was good for nothing, and they preſſed that the attorney general ſhould proſecute without a previous enquiry in a committee.

Mr. Fox ſaid, that the attorney general had fairly admitted that when the buſineſs would come before a court in the ſhape of an action, it would be neceſſary to ſhew that the money ſued for belonged to the public, and not to lord Melville, or Mr. Trotter; which, by reaſon of the manner in which the accounts had been kept by the latter, it would be almoſt impoſſible to prove. He thought it would be the greateſt dereliction of duty for the houſe to let the buſineſs out of their own hands.

Mr. Whitbread ſaid he ſhould withdraw his motion relative to the bill of diſcovery by the attorney general; and truſted he would not only have the majority of the houſe, but the right honourable gentleman himſelf in favour of his motion for a committee.

The houſe divided on the queſtion, when there appeared a large majority in favour of the amendment. A motion of Mr. Fox, "That the members of the committee be choſen by ballot," was alſo loſt by a ſtill greater majority.

On the 29th the chancellor of the exchequer roſe to move for leave to bring in a bill for continuing for a limited time the powers granted by act of parliament to the commiſſioners appointed to enquire into naval abuſes. Though he could not in conſcience approve of all the acts of theſe commiſſioners; he obſerved, that in their progreſs they had brought to light matters of ſuch ſerious and eſſential intereſt to the concerns of the public, that the purſuit of their enquiries appeared to be moſt highly neceſſary.

Mr. Whitbread thought it rather inauſpicious that the right honourable gentleman ſhould at this early ſtage introduce his motion with caſting a reflection upon the commiſſioners at the moment that the public voice loudly applauded their conduct. The only objectionable point in the conſtitution of the commiſſion was, that it was not furniſhed with ſufficient power: hence delinquents were enabled to brave enquiry, and to refuſe to anſwer queſtions which they conceived might tend to criminate themſelves. If the commiſſioners had done any thing worthy of reproach, he had much better have propoſed a vote of cenſure on them. He wiſhed the commiſſion to poſſeſs extraordinary powers, and that it ſhould not reſt with the perſon examined whether or not he ſhould anſwer any queſtions propoſed to him. To come at the truth was now impoſſible: he therefore moved as an amendment to the motion, that after the word "continue," the words "and amend," might be added.

Mr. Pitt replied, that he was at liberty to expreſs his opinion of the conduct of the commiſſioners in ſome particular points, and could not diſguiſe that he could not altogether approve of it. He wiſhed the commiſſion to remain as it was; and if it was thought proper to augment its powers, ſuch an object would be beſt attained either by a ſpecific motion, or by inſtructions moved for to the committee.

Mr. Fox thought it very extraordinary and unprecedented in the annals of parliament, that a motion for continuing a commiſſion of this kind ſhould be introduced in the language of diſapprobation. If the commiſſioners had acted wrong, why not ſpeak out boldly,

> "Juſt hint a fault, and heſitate diſlike,
> Willing to wound, but yet afraid to ſtrike."

Mr. Pitt then moved and obtained leave to bring in a bill "for appointing commiſſioners to enquire into

into the military expenditure of the country; to correct any abuſes, and to report upon ſuch remedies as may be expedient."

Mr. Grey, in the houſe of commons, April 25, complained of a ſcandalous and inſulting libel contained in a newſpaper (*The Oracle*) of that day, a part of which he read, and the purport of which was, that "Lord Melville had been condemned without a trial." Mr. Grey then moved, that Peter Stuart, the proprietor and publiſher of the Oracle, ſhould attend the houſe on the next day.

Mr. Pitt ſaid, he did not riſe to oppoſe the preſent motion, becauſe the words contained in the paragraph were certainly libellous; but to obſerve, that before gentlemen began to ſcrutiniſe any paragraph of the ſame kind they ſhould conſider that this was not the firſt time that paragraphs of that nature had appeared in ſeveral of the newſpapers. If a new ſyſtem of vigour was commenced, it ſhould be conducted with uniform impartiality.

Mr. Grey expreſſed his inability to underſtand what was meant by the right honourable gentleman's language. He had himſelf admitted that the paragraph was libellous. If the right honourable gentleman ever noticed any publication of ſuch a nature, and had not brought them under the view of the houſe, he had neglected his duty.

The attorney general did not think that the reading of a particular paragraph was always a diſcreet ground for entering a proſecution. The motion for Mr. Stuart's attendance was then carried.

Mr. Stuart being ordered to the bar, was ſhewn the paper containing the offenſive paſſage, which he acknowledged as having printed and publiſhed. He was then aſked, "What he had to ſay for himſelf? When he addreſſed the ſpeaker as follows: "Permit me, Sir, to aſſure you that I very much regret that any part of the contents of my paper of yeſterday ſhould have incurred the diſpleaſure of this honourable houſe. If, Sir, I have expreſſed myſelf too warmly in favour of lord Melville, for whom I ſhall always entertain the higheſt reſpect and eſteem, I beg that this honourable houſe will view it as the unguarded language of the heart, and not a wilful intention to provoke the cenſure of a power on which our deareſt rights and liberties depend. I entreat you, Sir, that ſome allowance may be made for that freedom of diſcuſſion of public affairs which for a long ſeries of years has been ſanctioned by common uſage; and that the haſty compoſition of a newſpaper may not be conſidered as a deliberate deſign to offend this honourable houſe."

The attorney general ſaid, he would not object to the propoſition, yet he thought there was too much eagerneſs in ſome to proſecute on this occaſion. There had been proceedings of Whig clubs, in which an oppoſite gentleman had been reported to have ſaid, that the houſe of commons afforded no ſecurity or protection to the people while it remained ſo conſtituted. Theſe, and other paragraphs equally irregular, had been inſerted in the public prints; and though he did not believe the honourable gentleman alluded to had expreſſed himſelf in ſuch a manner, yet in no inſtance had that honourable gentleman ever thought proper to call the authors of them to account for their miſdemeanour.

Mr. Fox obſerved, that what he had ſaid any where he never was aſhamed of; and if the houſe had thought proper to call upon him to ſtate why he had ſaid ſo, he certainly would have done it. The motion was put and carried.

Mr. Atkins Wright then moved, "That Mr. Stuart be called to the bar, reprimanded, and diſcharged."

Mr. Grey had no objection, if the houſe thought the puniſhment adequate.

Mr. Stuart was ordered into the cuſtody of the ſergeant at arms. On the enſuing day brought to the bar, reprimanded by the ſpeaker, and diſcharged.

CHAP. XV.

Affairs of Europe.—Viſit of Bonaparte to his Italian Dominions.—Emperor of Germany acknowledges Bonaparte as King of Italy.—The Emperor of Ruſſia mediates for Naples.—Miſerable Situation of Hanover.—Tranſactions in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies.

THE emperor of France having augmented his power by the addition of the Italian ſtates, and having been ſolemnly proclaimed king of Italy, reſolved upon an immediate viſit to his new dominions, and have the antient iron crown of the Lombards placed upon his head at Milan.

On April 2, the emperor and empreſs left Fontainbleau, and arrived the ſame day at Troyes. Here they were received by a guard of honour: the ſtreets through which they paſſed were decorated with triumphal arches, columns, and inſcriptions. The emperor of Germany, weakened even to puſillanimity, recogniſed the title of the French emperor as king of Italy: indeed no alternative was left. His crooked ſyſtem of policy had already reduced him to a mere vaſſal of France, and a formidable inſurrection had broke out in Servia, which required his immediate attention, as well as placing a ſtrong cordon of troops on the frontiers of that country. The emperor of Ruſſia was unceaſingly active in oppoſing the arbitrary encroachments of France upon the rights of nations, by his inter-

ference. General St. Cyr was prevented ſeiſing the forts of Naples: that unhappy kingdom, through the impotence of its monarch, was upon the verge of annihilation. In vain had been the efforts of the illuſtrious cardinal Ruffo, and the heroic queen, to ſave the country from ruin. Ferdinand had been under infinite obligation to Great Britain: its fleet, under the command of the gallant Nelſon, having been the aſylum of the Neapolitan court, and to Alexander, Ferdinand was now indebted for the preſervation of his fortreſſes and ſtrong towers. Hanover, once the reſidence of the illuſtrious princes of Brunſwick, exhibited a melancholy picture of miſery, brought on by the rapine and extortion of the French: four thouſand conſcripts arrived there to be cloathed, at the expence of the Hanoverians.

The new conſtitution of the United Provinces was in no reſpect congenial with the wiſhes of the people: much murmuring and diſapprobation was expreſſed, but the powerful arm of the law, aided by military force, awed into ſubjection.

A diſpatch received overland, appeared from the governor and council of Bombay, which ſtated, that an attack had been made by a diviſion of Holkar's infantry and artillery on the city of Delhi. Lieutenant-colonel Burn was the officer on that ſtation: the enemy advanced, and erected a four-gun battery very near the baſtion of the city wall, and its fire had great effect. To check their progreſs a ſortie was reſolved upon. The party employed conſiſted of about three hundred and fifty men, under the command of lieutenant Roſe; of which number about fifty, with a ſix-pounder, compoſed the reſerve, under lieutenant Dickſon. The whole were ſpeedily and well conducted to the enemy's battery, and ſoon got poſſeſſion of their guns, and ſpiked them, the party returning under a heavy diſcharge of ſhot and grape. The enemy attempted another aſſault upon Delhi, but were repulſed with conſiderable loſs.

The force employed in the Deckan, under lieutenant-colonel Wallace, was advancing towards the river Taptie. A party of the Peſhwa's troops, detached from Galna, had obtained poſſeſſion of the town of Nunderbar, and of the greater part of that diſtrict, without meeting with any oppoſition. Colonel Wallace intended to remove to Borenair.

Accounts were received this month from the Baptiſt miſſionaries at Serampore: five Hindoos were baptiſed: the printing of the Old Teſtament in the Bengalee language, was proceeding with rapidity: the whole New Teſtament had been tranſlated into the Hindoſtan language, as well as ſeveral other books.

The Rochefort ſquadron, which had eſcaped the vigilance of the Britiſh fleet, had ſteered its courſe to the Weſt Indies. The French forces landed at Dominica, and took poſſeſſion of Roſeau. A three decker, and two ſeventy-four gun ſhips, frigates, &c. anchored in the bay of Roſeau, and fired upon the forts and town, but made no impreſſion until the town unfortunately caught fire. As the force at the place was conſidered inadequate to conteſt with that of the enemy, general Prevoſt thought it prudent to retire to Prince Rupert's Bay*. After having ſummoned the brave general Prevoſt to ſurrender, the French evacuated the iſland.

CHAP. XVI.

Naval Tranſactions.—Domeſtic Occurrences.—Inſtallation of the Knights of the Garter.—Public Meetings.—Proceedings of the Courts of Law.—Miſcellaneous Incidents.—State of Commerce.—Agriculture.—Arts.—Sciences.—Literature.—Obituaries.

THE London Gazette of Saturday, April 6, contained a copy of a letter from Sir Samuel Hood, ſtationed in the Leeward Iſlands, to Mr. Marſden, incloſing an account of a moſt brilliant exploit of captain Betteſworth, of the Curieux ſloop, in capturing the Madam Ernouf, French privateer. Captain Betteſworth, upon perceiving the brig made all ſail away, and after a chaſe of twelve hours, arrived within † ſhot of her: ſhe then commenced a very heavy fire of great guns and ſmall arms. After a ſevere action, the privateer hauled

* The bay of Prince Rupert is one of the beſt in the Weſt Indies. It is about three miles acroſs from the Head to Point Round; and about as much from the entrance of the little town of Portſmouth, at the bottom of the bay. Portſmouth is ſeated on the beach, between two ſmall rivers; it was deſigned for the reſidence of ſome American loyaliſts in 1783, and to have introduced the cultivation of rice in the neighbouring ſwamps and low lands, by which much waſte land would become profitable: but the promiſes and intentions of the exiſting adminiſtration were fruſtrated, the ſpeculations failed; many were ruined; the land reverted to its original wildneſs, and the few poor loyaliſts who ſurvived, returned to America, to ſeek that aſylum which they had been falſely allured from. At this town the navy take in wood and water; and from ſupplying the crews and the garriſon with vegetables, and ſome other trifling neceſſaries, the few inhabitants, who are chiefly people of colour, now derive their principal ſupport. Near the watering place is a tomb erected to the memory of lord Cathcart, who died here on an expedition againſt Cuba. Prince Rupert's Head is diſtant from Roſeau, the capital, about eight leagues: in the road is a famous paſs, called "The Lion's Mouth."

† The gallant captain, in his letter to Sir S. Hood, in the language of a Britiſh tar, emphatically ſays, "within *point blank* ſhot of her."

down

down her colours. The Curieux had five killed, and three wounded; the enemy thirty killed, and forty-one wounded. Captain Bettesworth had already received three wounds in the service, and in capturing this ship received a very severe wound on the head by a musket ball.

The intrepid captain Owen, of the Immortalité, was adding additional laurels to his brow. He captured a Spanish privateer brig of fourteen guns, and sixty-six men, from Coruna.

A well arranged and spirited attack was made upon the enemy's flotilla at Boulogne, in which the Locust and Starling gun brigs sustained nearly the whole heat of the action, being within pistol shot of the range of French batteries. Eight large schuyts, each having on board from twenty to twenty-five soldiers, besides seamen, and carrying two eighteen-pounders, were captured and towed into the Downs. The Locust, commanded by that meritorious officer lieutenant Lake, in company with the squadron under captain Honeyman, was ordered to the attack, and immediately ran one of the flotilla along-side; and notwithstanding a most tremendous fire was opened from the batteries, and a spirited defence made by the commander of the French vessel, the Locust succeeded in cutting off her opponent, and bringing her out. The Locust, in running so close to shore, received three shots from the batteries in her hull; one at the water line going through the starboard side, cut the cables between the decks, and forcing her planks quite open, occasioned her to make so much water, that she was obliged to bear away for the Downs. Lieutenant Lake had not a man killed or wounded.

A letter from vice-admiral Sir Andrew Mitchel, in the London Gazette of April 23, contained particulars of the capture of his majesty's ship Cleopatra, by the French frigate "Le Ville de Milan;" and its subsequent retaking with the "Ville de Milan," by the Leander. Sir Robert Laurie commanded the Cleopatra, and gallantly defended himself for a long time, till overcome by the superior force of the enemy.

Captain H. Lambert, of the Wilhelmina, of eighteen six-pounders, and one hundred men, had a gallant action in the Indian seas with La Psyche, a French ship, mounting twenty-six twelve-pounders on her main deck, four twenty-four pound carronades of a side, on the quarter deck, besides four on the forecastle, with a great number of men on board. Captain Lambert's loss was very inconsiderable, having only ten men wounded: the Wilhelmina was so much damaged in its rigging, as to oblige the captain to relinquish pursuing the enemy, who had made off. Captain Lambert was immediately promoted to the rank of post captain.

The generosity of British tars was strikingly displayed in the following circumstance:—The brave lord Cochrane, captain of the Pallas frigate, who had recently brought in a rich Spanish prize to Plymouth, understanding that there was private property belonging to the captain and the supercargo, to the amount of thirty thousand dollars each person, the hard earnings by commerce in the burning clime of South America; the saving of nearly twenty years, with which they were returning to their families and native country, to enjoy the fruits of their commercial speculations; lord Cochrane felt for them with that generosity ever compatible with real courage, consulted his officers as to the propriety of returning each of those gentlemen five thousand dollars, which was immediately agreed to, when his lordship ordered the boatswain to pipe all hands on deck, and addressed the crew with much feeling, stating the facts. On this the benevolent tars with one voice sung out, "Aye, aye, my lord, with all our hearts," and gave three cheers. The Spaniards, overcome with this noble instance of the generosity of British seamen, actually shed tears of joy at the prospect of once more being placed in a state of independence.

The order of the Garter is one of the most magnificent and solemn of any institution of that nature in Christendom. It is a noble vestige of antient chivalry. It recals to the mind deeds of renown and gallantry. It was instituted by a prince, the pride and glory of the English nation; the conqueror of France, the hero of Cressy; a prince who first raised the superiority of England in the estimation of the nations of Europe; which subsequent monarchs have supported, aided by a navy and military the most undaunted and heroic. Edward the Third was as valiant, as brave, nor do the annals of chivalry record any princes more eminent for real gallantry* than Edward, and his illustrious son the Black Prince. The accidental circumstance of the countess of Salisbury losing her garter while at a dance, is well known to have been the origin of this institution. The installation of knights, which was now to take place, had for a long time excited public curiosity. His majesty had resolved in splendour and magnificence it should eclipse any thing ever yet seen. St. George's Day was the period fixed for this splendid spectacle, to take place at Windsor. Early in the morning his majesty presented his favourite regiment of royal horse guards blue with a pair of silver kettle drums. At eleven o'clock precisely a flourish of trumpets announced

* Mr. Burke might well exclaim, that the age of chivalry is past. What is the gallantry of the present day compared with that which prevailed in former times? The gallantry of those days was a noble and sublime principle, which frequently produced great and interesting effects. The gallantry of the present is an evanescent selfish passion, unconnected with any object of utility, effeminate in its nature, disgusting in its progress, and very pernicious in its effects.

announced that the proceſſion was in motion. It moved from the royal apartment through the preſence and guard chambers, and deſcended by the great ſtair caſe through the hall to the outer court, through the line of troops to the ſouth door of St. George's Chapel. A ſecond proceſſion followed after of the queen, princeſs of Wales, dutcheſs of York, the princeſſes, and the ladies of the court: theſe laſt were all dreſſed in garter blue. The ſovereign and the knights companions being ſeated, after the uſual forms Garter king at arms introduced the duke of Rutland, who was then inveſted with the inſignia of the order. The proxy for the earl of Hardwick (Sir Joſeph Yorke) was next introduced; and then ſeverally the duke of Beaufort, the marquis of Abercorn, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Winchelſea, and the earl of Cheſterfield. The regiſter of the order, Dr. Douglas, biſhop of Saliſbury, being indiſpoſed, that office was performed by the honourable and reverend Dr. Legge, dean of Windſor. The church ſervice being cloſed, the royal family, with the knights, proceeded to dinner in St. George's Hall. When the deſert was placed on the knight's table, a variety of ſplendid ornaments covered it, conſiſting principally of ſeveral figures of knights on horſeback, wholly of ſilver, ſurmounted by the ſtar and order of the Garter, in ſolid gold. The plate on the king's table conſiſted wholly of gold, and was ſuppoſed to be worth 12,000*l*. This ſervice of plate was made for king George I. About a quarter paſt eight in the evening eighteen tables which had been previouſly placed in the Caſtle Yard, were covered with proviſions of all kinds, and nine hogſheads of ale were placed on three large benches. When the multitude ruſhed in a ſcene of the utmoſt confuſion enſued, every one being more anxious to plunder than to eat: from the windows of the queen's apartment the royal family ſurveyed the ſcene. There was a feature of this day (the feſtivities of which cloſed with a ball) which ſeemed to operate with electric effect. The unparalleled exhibition of a royal houſe, of which nine illuſtrious perſonages were ſharers in the official celebration (excluſive of the venerable monarch) "The roſes and expectancies of this fair ſtate." The ſovereign, like the father of his people, uniting his ſubjects with himſelf, and ſharing with them and the children of his royal houſe, the honours and the glories of the nation.

The vote of cenſure paſſed by the houſe of commons on lord Melville, occaſioned a conſiderable degree of public diſcuſſion. General meetings were called throughout the kingdom, to expreſs their ſentiments on this ſubject; of which the city of London took the lead.

We ſhall now direct the attention of our readers to ſome intereſting trials which took place this month in both the criminal and civil courts of law. At the Surrey aſſizes at Kingſton, a caſe, which excited conſiderable intereſt in the Borough of Southwark, came before the judges. Mr. John Peacock, an eminent flour factor in Montague Cloſe, Southwark, was tried for the wilful murder of Michael Coleman, who died in Guy's Hoſpital of wounds received from him. It appeared in evidence that the deceaſed, who was a labouring diver, was in Montague Cloſe. Two witneſſes, George and James Mitchel, ſwore, that paſſing by they ſaw Mr. Peacock ſtrike the deceaſed three times with one hand, holding at the ſame time a ſheathed bayonet in the other. They perceived him fall apparently ſenſeleſs, and Mr. Peacock requeſted them to remove him to the Crown, which is oppoſite: he was then taken to Guy's Hoſpital, where he died in a few days. Mr. Peacock made a very ingenious defence: he denied in the moſt ſolemn manner the evidence of the Mitchel's, and animadverted with ſeverity on the moral and political character of one of the witneſſes, who, he affirmed, was connected with thoſe meetings which had ended in the untimely fate of colonel Deſpard, and his ill-fated aſſociates. Mitchel, at the cloſe of the defence, made a violent and outrageous reply, but was ordered out of court. The jury acquitted the priſoner.

At the Middleſex ſeſſions, April 29, James Bunly was tried for aſſaulting and beating his female child, Sarah Bunly, and for burning her in various parts of the body. The girl was thirteen years of age. Upon the day ſpecified in the indictment, this ſavage ſeiſed hold of his child, and held her right hand in the fire until two of her fingers were greatly burnt; he then held her by the feet, with her head downwards, and threw red hot coals upon her thighs, hips, &c. The jury found him guilty, and Mr. Manwaring, the chairman, ſentenced him to two years impriſonment in the Houſe of Correction.

A dreadful fire took place at the extenſive flour mills of Meſſrs. Milward's, at Bromley, near Bow. In leſs than three hours every part of the concern was conſumed, conſiſting of four flour mills, malt houſes; of ſix and ſeven floors, containing upwards of two thouſand ſacks of flour, and a conſiderable quantity of wheat, rye, and other grain: two barges, which lay in the river Lea, adjoining the premiſes, one of them laden with wheat, were alſo conſumed. The total loſs was conjectured to be fifty thouſand pounds.

The agricultural reports for this month were highly promiſing: the growing wheats improved much from the cold, dry weather, which prevailed through the greater part of the month. Additional ſupplies of fine dry bread corn from Scotland, arrived at Mark Lane.

Dr. Pearſon, in a recent analyſis of peat, or turf aſhes, diſcovered that they conſiſt almoſt wholly of ſulphate of iron, commonly called green vitriol of iron,

The Death of Lord Nelson, October 21st 1805.

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